PROCEEDING

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE ON HUMANITY ISSUES

YOGYAKARTA, JUNE 3, 2015

Reviewer:

Prof. Dr. Tulus Warsito

Dr. Surwandono

Takdir Ali Mukti,M.Si

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FOREWORD

International Student Conference on Humanity Issues (ISCOHI) is a academic forum that conducted by Magister of International Relation Program, University Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. By presenting the speakers from domestic and international level, this international conference is focus on the college students. The program invites students to get used to being a speaker in international conference. Considering that the students are the main spear to create an academic atmosphere in university environment. We want the passion, potency, and thought of the students can be realized in the forms of writing which later will described and presented in the conference. Therefore, by following this international conference, students are expected to get used to join and participate in the same event, but in a bigger scope.

We hope this international conference on humanity issues (ISCOHI) may be a forum for the students to share academic experience and be more productive in the scientific publication. Furthermore, Magister of Intenational Relations University Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta also invite the students to keep working innovatively for making a better future. Thus, the feeling of proud in having a good process while young will appear after graduated or in the future.

All the scripts in this proceeding are the works result of the students which consisted of several sub theme-clusters, and have been through a mild editing stage by reviewer team. We congratulate the students who have given their best works for this conference. In the future, hopefully there will be much more attaintments which the students can created. Also, a lot of

gratitudes go to all of participants who already join and be a part of this ISCOHI event.

Besides, a deep gratitude also goes to the majors and the publisher for a great cooperation until the publication which collect the student writings in the form of proceeding can be published. Last but not least, great gratitude dedicated to the readers for accepting this publication as the first international students conference on humanity issues which conducted by Magister of International Relation Program, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. Hopefully, this publication will give a lot of benefits and lessons. Then for any shortcoming and weaknesses in this proceeding, we would like to apologize.

Yogyakarta, May 21, 2015

Steering Committee

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HEALTH SCIENCES
AND
ENVIRONMENT

The Analysis of Tempe Water Bath Potency Towards Medical Treatment for Diabetic Mellitus as The Global Widespreading Dangerous Human Disease in The Modern Day

Yusuf Susanto

Medical Department student of Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta

yusuf.susanto93@gmail.com

Abstract:

The danger of Diabetic Mellitus has been recognized as the worst global threat in terms of health because of the severe suffer they had such as stroke, cardiovascular and many others. Therefore, it must be solved as soon as possible. This paper purposes on how the Tempe Water Bath can afford to become the medicine for Diabetes by controlling the blood sugar level on human body. From literature studies is obtained that mechanism of decrease in blood sugar because of Tempe Water Bath has a crucial content that is *Isoflavone* which functions to obstruct *glucose* and soya bean fiber withdrawal from the inside of human body. It is further indispensable to the human about the dose of giving more precise. So, it very expected the product of Tempe Water Batch can be measurable as new therapy for Diabetes patient in this world.

Keywords: Diabetic Mellitus, Tempe Water Bath, Blood Sugar.

Introduction

Diabetic Mellitus (DM) constitutes a batch of symptoms emerged to someone, marked by blood glucose sugar exceeded normal grades and disturbance of insulin metabolism in the aftermath of damage to pancreas sells (Sinaga, 2012). The accusative of Diabetic Mellitus cannot exert insulin effectively. This high blood sugar level condition is related to the long term detriment, *disfunction*and ravage of any core organs such as eyes, kidney, nerve, heart and blood artery. (Sada N.M *et al.*, 2013).

Diabetes can be classified as chronic disease that will be suffered a lifetime so that the progressivity of disease will always be running (Permana, 2009). In the spreading of Diabetic Mellitus disease can enable to occur various complication whether it is short term or long term (Himawan *et al.*, 2009). Uncontrolled Diabetes triggers all sorts of Micro-Vascular complication (*Neurophaty, Nefrophaty, Rethinophaty*) and Macro-Vascular (Atheroma) that will have impact to many organs inside the body (Sada *et al.*, 2013). *Ulceration*, Infection, *Gangren*, and Amputation are disease ravel which will take money until trillion of dollars every year (Robert, 2006 *cit.* Gapila, 2013).

According to WHO, Diabetic Mellitus occupies the 4th rank of non-communicable diseases as the cause of death in the world. Around 1,5 million of people in the hemisphere of world died as result of having Diabetic Mellitus. Diabetic Mellitus is included into one of the biggest killer in the Southeast Asia and Western Pacific (Widowati, 2008). In the developing countries, Diabetic

Mellitus until now remains a factor which is related as the cause of death approximately 4-5 times bigger. In accordance with the data from WHO or IDF, the prevalence of Diabetic Mellitus in Indonesia in the year of 2000 is around 5,6 millions of inhabitants, however in the reality it is obtained about 8,2 millions of people. Of course, this is very horrendous for *practicians*, so that it is necessary to be done the endeavors of prevention and the mitigation comprehensively in every related sector (Permana, 2009).Based on WHO, usual and common therapy embraces 3 big parts as follows: Diet combined with the training if it is possible, the therapy of Oral *Hipoglikemic* medicine and medical treatment with insulin. The therapy is aimed to improve the life quality to the sufferer through the control of blood sugar level intensively (World Diabetes Foundatio, 2009). Nevertheless, the therapy that has been using until now still has many obstacles. It is sort of diet combined with training constitutes one of effective therapies if the accusative is absolutely disciplined (Worong *et al.*, 2013). Besides, it is needed good supervision from many sides, whether it is patient or doctor because if this is not complied, accordingly the condition of sufferer will be getting worse (Witasari, 2009).

In addition, the *Medicamentose* therapy to children yet debatable (Olokoba *et al.*, 2012). Up to now, the science about the effectiveness of medicine and long term effect towards its consumers is still a bit. Since 1995 until now, there are many adult Anti-Diabetic medicines which is agreed by Food and Drug Administration (FDA) however there is only one medicine that is agreed for children consumption that is

Metformin. For therapy with Insulin injection is a therapy which can occur the effect of fast decrease in blood sugar level, nonetheless this therapy takes expensive price and special treatment starts from the injection dose must be precise, then the injection technique must be correct and local reaction after giving Insulin injection may not be ignored considering majority of Diabetic Mellitus accusative is low middle class society. (IDAI, 2009).

Viewing this sort of circumstance where Diabetic Mellitus is a progressive chronic disease with complication which is more difficult to be handled, so it is needed an effective and efficient alternative therapy as the effort of prevention and mitigation of Diabetic Mellitus (Rao *et al.*, 2010). The Tempe Water Bath potency tend to be measurable therapy in terms of price, easy to be obtained and non-noxious side effects for human body as the problem solving towards the disease of Diabetic Mellitus which its sufferers are getting more and more in the entire world.

Theoretical Framework

Tempe Water Bath as new solution of prevention and mitigation of Diabetic Mellitus is a product of Tempe which its primary composition is soybean. Tempe Water Bath is made by using: Tempe (250 gr) which is packed by banana leaves cut into small pieces then mixed by 1 liter (1000 ml) hot water in a washbasin and let is during 12 hours. Then, the water is leaked through and induced to Diabetic mouse in the appropriate temperature (Syaoqi *et al.*, 2015). As consequence, all sorts of essential contents which are

foundin Tempe that is the result of Fermentation from soybean will be soluble in boiling water.

The Epidemiology data during decades of years indicates that the society in the region of Asia is society with the biggest consumer of soybean in the world, it is much higher than western region. The consumption of soybean in Japan is estimated more than 50 grams per day, meanwhile in the United States of America is less than 5 grams per day. The consumption pattern is influential to the disease pattern, particularly degenerative diseases such as Diabetic Mellitus, Coroner Heart attack, stroke and Hypertension. Tempe is traditional food in Indonesia that derived from soybean and it is very popular in Indonesia (Utari, 2010).

For the time being, Tempe is also considered as functional food because its nutrient contents and active substance is useful for health (Utari, 2010). The soybean contains complex carbohydrate, protein, fibrous composition and *Isovlafone* which each of them contributes to decrease the blood sugar index. The research has indicated that product that is from Tempe with soybean content, soybean protein and *Islovafone* can reduce Insulin resistance and repairing the blood glucose control for the accusative of Diabetic Mellitus(Sinaga, 2012). In the previous research about the effect of Soybean Tempe towards Diabetic Mellitus, *Isoflavone* can have a role as α-glukosidaseinhibitor which hinder removal of glucose by *Vili* intestines and inhibiting *tyrosine kinase* (Khisna *et al.*,2011 *cit.* Syaoqi *et al.*, 2015).

It is known that *Isoflavoen* inside the soybean as result of fermentation has positive effect in reducing

Athrogenic fat and Lipoprotein Serum level even affecting Lipid metabolism through Gen expression. The fibrous composition inside Tempe also gives the effect towards the decrease in blood sugar level by hindering the absorption of glucose from small intestine (Chang *et al.*, 2008). The complex carbohydrate and fibrous composition can lower risky factor of Diabetic Mellitus blooming (Sada *et al.*, 203). The composition of protein inside Tempe comprises *Arginine* which is related to the recuperation of particular wound for the accusative of Diabetic Mellitus. It is supported by the previous research that the giving of *Arginine* in long term will accelerate the recuperation of injury to the patient of Diabetic Mellitus (Utari, 2011).

Tempe Water Bath in its function to prevent and to control the level of Diabetic Mellitus also has strength in terms of its contents compared to the consumption of ordinary Tempe. It happens because the Tempe Water Bath contains a little bit protein that is Purine compared to intact Tempe, because not all protein will be soluble in the hot boiling water. The result of research shows the high consumption of Purine will cause the increase in Uric acid level quickly where the excess of Uric acid will cause the disturbance of metabolism inside the body and Tempe is on one of daily basic foods with high purine (Lestari, 2013). Henceforth, with consumption of Tempe Water Bath will be much safer for the patients of Diabetic Mellitus because it will reduce the risk of increase inUric acid.

The literature search procedure to answer the clinical problem is by exploring online library by using searching tools such as *Pubmed*, Google Scholar, Google

and relevant books. The keywords that is used is "Diabetic Mellitus type 1", "Diabetic Mellitus type 2", "Tempe", "Soybean", "Complication" and "Prevalence" by using limitation, studies are practiced to Humankinds and experimental animals that is White Rats, English and *Bahasa* publication, last ten years publication, with range of all ages, the keywords are found in the title and abstract and all sorts of publications constitute case studies, *Randomized* Clinical Experiments, Meta Analysis and article review. The further investigation is done manually to the relevant references generates few articles beyond time frame of years. By using investigation method, in the commencement it is found 29 articles which fulfilled the criteria. After investigation of those articles' title and abstract, it found about 23 relevant articles with problems, comprises one experimental *Quation*, one description, one interview, one observation, seven pure experiments, one cross sectional, one controlled random clinical experiment article, two case series articles and eight review articles. Level of evidence are decided based on the classification produced by Oxford Centre for Evidence-based Medicine Level of Evidence.

The Mechanism Of Tempe Water Bath To Decrease Blood Sugar

This paper explains on how Tempe Water Bath can have potency to reduce blood sugar level that will be contributed towards the medical treatment of Diabetic Mellitus as Global dangerous disease in the modern day. Based on the investigation of relevant literature resources, the author will elaborate about the mechanism

of Tempe Water Bath which contains soybean that aims to prevent and control blood sugar level to Diabetes Mellitus.

Table of outcome measuring experimental animals' blood sugar result pre and post induction

No	Group	N	Blood Sugar level average (mg/dl)		P value
			Pre Therapy	Post Therapy	
1	Control	5	63.7420	65.8180	.004
2	DM + *Glibenklamid*	5	229.3520	98.5820	.000
3	DM	5	220.1440	218.8640	.336
4	TWB 40grams/1L	5	218.9920	162.4120	.000
5	TWB 80grams/1L	5	218.7080	142.1280	.042
6	TWB 160grams/1L	5	216.6920	117.0200	.000

Source: Syaoqi *et al.*, 2015 (*Description*: diabetes mellitus (DM), tempe water bath (TWB)).

On the table above indicates the average of experimental animals' blood sugar level with 6 kinds of distinctive behaviors started from pre and post therapy with Tempe Water Bath. The group of therapies on the table above is shown by number 4,5 and 6 interpreting the significant decrease in blood sugar level compared to the groups without using Tempe Water Bath treatment after exercised by statistic analysis with Paired T-Test (Syaoqi *et al.*, 2015). Accordingly, based on the research done by Mr. *Syaoqi* and his companions, therefore Tempe Water Bath has potency to reduce the blood sugar level to the experimental animal that is White Rat with *Wistar* type.

The result of this research indicates that supplement affects significant (p <0,05) reduction in the blood sugar level to *Alloksan* Induced Diabetic rats compared to negative control group. The highest activity is viewed by the highest dose of Tempe Water Bath with dose of 160 mg/L. The effect of decrease in blood sugar level can be explained by the all sorts of soybean composition function (Sada *et al.*, 2013).

The Superiority of Soybean Fibrous Composition

The soybean fibrous composition contains Pectin compound, galactomannans dan arabinogalactans with high viscosity. These chemical compounds postpone the emptiness of stomach side and absorption of glucose (Holf *et al.*, 1979 *cit*. Sada *et al.*, 2013). The effect of soybean fibrous composition can also be related to the absorption of derogate glucose absorption caused by the slow-moving of emptiness of stomach side and limitation of glucose absorption in the small intestine. (Zacharia, 1983 *cit*. Sada *et al.*, 2013).

Study about Zacharia (1983) observed that soybean fibrous composition reduce *Trigliseride* level to Diabetic Rats significantly. It seems that the soybean fibrous composition cancelled the absorption of glucose and acid fat from top part of small intestine, so that it gives a little bit *Substract* for *Trigliseride* synthesis (Chang *et al*., 2008).

The Potency of Isoflavone

The high consumption of *Isoflavone* with soybean protein diet has been also referred to enhance the tolerance of glucose and Insulin resistance (Awad, 2014). The research indicates that the extract of soybean (*Cloroform* and Alcohol) has significant Anti-Diabetic activity along with Anti-*Hypercolesterolemia* activity. It is presumably the role of Tempe Water Bath with soybean components has potency to increase the Pancreas Insulin Secretion from island cells of *Langerhans* (Sada *et al.*, 2013).

The result of this research has been appropriate with the result of research which claimed about the effect of slow-moving towards the development of Diabetic *Exacerbacy* complication through *Glikemic* control. According to the previous researcher, *Isoflavon* enhances *Lipoprotein* clearance and HDL-C Biogenetic through Gen Expressive regulation which is related to *Peroxisome* Nuclear Receptor, Proliferator receptor-activated, glucose metabolism and can improve Lipid (Babashahi *et al.,* 2015).

The Necessity of Tempe Water Bath

In the effort of preventing degenerative diseases, there have been many researches done in Indonesia. Although there is no any recommendation to the huge amounts of suggested Tempe consumption, however if it referred to maximal amount of consumption MUFA dan PUFA, that is less than 20% and 10% from total energy and considering the need of useful *Nabati* protein for Health, that is 25 grams per day, accordingly

it will be very good if it is consumed every day one glass (200 ml) Tempe Water Bath around 250 grams Tempe per day. The consumption of Tempe is utmost advantageous considering its high protein contained, nevertheless the fat is dominated by useful saturated fat for Health. Another surplus, Tempe is much cheaper than animal foods (Utari, 2010).

In order to maximize the advantage of Tempe and to reduce the decrease or damage of Tempe nutrient compound, thus it is suggested that Tempe is not cooked by frying but by submerging or leaking through hot boiling water. Because many important nutrient compositions are not lost, henceforth the consuming Tempe Water Bath is much more recommended and constitutes one of new more effective innovation. The endeavor to increase Tempe Water Bath Consumption movement, it needs to be done because it is able to reduce the risk of Diabetic Mellitus easily.

Conclusion

Studies from all sorts of literatures whether it is Experimental or Non-Experimental indicate that the blood sugar level towards the scrutinized subject that is experimental animals and human being will experience the decrease in blood sugar level after being treated by therapy with Soybean Tempe. The similar result has also been proved by Tempe Water Bath therapy towards Diabetic Mellitus, it will facilitate the accusatives of Diabetic Mellitus to consume Tempe Water Bath without damaging essential composition of Tempe. Based on literature studies, Tempe Water Bath can have potency to decrease the blood sugar level that will be

contributed to the medical treatment of Diabetic Mellitus as the disease which appeal world attention in this modern day.

Recommendations

Results from this study suggests that suplementing the diet with Tempe Water Bath indicated a beneficial effect on the improvement of blood glucose control and antioxidant enzyme activities in Diabetic Mellitus patients. However, it is necessary for further research particularly for Human about dose of giving Tempe Water Bath more precise, the effect of purine to Tempe towards the increase in blood-vessel acid and the need of in depth investigation about the role of Tempe essential composition towards the decrease in blood sugar level. Therefore, from the potency of its composition is expected that Tempe Water Bath product can become new more effective and efficient medical treatment in terms of medical sciences and measurable for the society around the world.

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European Union Policies on Sustainable Consumption: The Role of Eco label in Triggering The Policies of The States

Della Nurlaela and Satryo Pringgo Sejati
Magister Political Science and International Relations Programs Post-Graduate Muhammadiyah University Of Yogyakarta

Introduction

Everything that exists in the universe holds its own portion and limitation, including the earth. A place that we step today bears a big amount of weights number which every time could be increasing rapidly. The phenomenon of the earth showed two sides, whether it shows the incredible of the earth that excessively providing anything for the living things (human, animals, and plants) from the small needs to the complex needs and also reverse shows many disaster phenomenon that damaging the earth. Most of the biggest problems that happened to the earth tends came from the human. Head by head was created continuously to inhabit the land of the earth up to meet the high number of population. This high number of population required the finite earth (refer to its natural resources) to fulfill the infinite demand from the people.

The condition where the human and its resources lived in one world brought to the life cycle, which the process of produce and consume happened. Yet, seeing to the lately condition of the world, globalization system lead the states around the world cross each other without figuring things out on the boundaries. So, the states may

exchange their production and consumption from one state to the other state. These kinds of actions have significant purposes for every state that following the globalization system in order to have a relation and cooperation among the states regarding to the development of each states, whether it comes from the political development, social, culture, education, technology and even economy development.

And now, economy itself becomes one of the measurements of a state to be developed or under developed. Hence, the idea of global competitiveness started arose in the global scope for the states to compete in proving that they are able. While competitiveness itself can be defined *"by the productivity with which a nation utilizes its human, capital, and natural resources, and it is determined by the productivity of its economy"*. (Porter, 2005) Here, Michael Porter, one of researcher explained that productivity of the economy can be measured by the value of goods and services that produced from its sources. And this productivity could supports the strong currency, high wages, and income of the states.

Moreover, related to the increasing of the amount of population, now the world almost placed to its maximum capacity, while the needs of the people are growing continuously. Hence, the competitiveness of the states in term of economy runs higher than before. This action is committing in order to achieving and fulfilling the needs of the people in consume. Globalization started, and everything starting globalized. The world is starting to face a global condition. One of those conditions is the phase of high mass consumption. The

higher of the people needs in consuming, then the higher of the economy and its resources to be improved.

Yet, everything has its constraint and impacts because again, the world has its portion and the limitation. Therefore this development of the world goes to the scarcity such as land scarcity, water scarcity, food scarcity, and energy scarcity. Beside of that, the more sophisticated of one state in launching the technology, then the wider of those technology distribution used in the people's life.

However, the production of those technology which also able to produce all the needs of the people from the industrial, agriculture, and many others can't be separated from the side effect that felt mostly on the environment field. Those kinds of effects can be seen by many the phenomenon that happened to the world such as Global warming, deforestation, ozone depletion, marine pollution, and so on. Therefore, what the world must be facing today is huge and dangerous problem which comes up at the same time. That somehow will lead to a bigger and worse condition if the world could not find any solution to solve the problems. The problem that started roots from the dilemmatic of environment, confronted a serious choice whether the world would like to improve the economic growth by continuously fulfilling the needs of the people or to maintain the totality of the environment.

Theoretical Framework

Dependency Theory basically was developed in 1960s and 1970s, when the free market policies of the development theory so much lead the developing

countries to the edge of the economy destruction or collapse. Dependency theory by Andre Gunder Frank stated about the detailed criticism of the dual society which maintained that underdevelopment society has a dual structure which is traditional and modern sectors. Because for Frank, assuming the underdevelopment to traditional rather than capitalism is a historical and political mistakes. Frank thought that the economy, social, politic, and the institution are resukted from the penetration of Capitalism (Richard Peet). Here, Frank focused on the center/ core and periphery. This relation both of states will polarized as capitalism developed and underdeveloped for the other one as a historical process. Then in this perspective, dependency theory was a holistic in that it attempted to place a country into the larger global system. Simply, it more suppress the external causes of underdevelopment rathet than those internal to a pheripheral society. And a strong emphasis that Frank stated in his dependency theory is placed on the economy, rather than social and cultural interactions.

Analysis

This kind of dilemmatic required the states as the main object of the world to take an action in handling the environmental problem. Then comes to the idea of Sustainable Development where all the states are in the process to realize the sustainable development. According to Sustainable Development Commission, Sustainable Development is a development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs (Sustainable Development Commission, 2014). Here is

elaborates the different types of societies which consist of an urban societies, or a poor societies. This differentiation of types of societies showed the differences on its consumptions. Even the urban society becomes the minority in the world but their consumption is higher until reach more than half portion of the population. It also reflects condition of the state. The more develop of one state, the higher income of the state, then the higher of them in term of consumption, over and over again.

European Union is one of the institutions that give its concern toward this problem. European Union basically known as one of regional institution that focuses in tackles and handles a particular condition in European countries. Since long time ago, European Union has taken many necessary and important actions to achieve and gain its objective of growth and jobs. While the objective of the European Union itself is to integrate environmental sustainability with economic growth and welfare by decoupling environmental degradation from economic growth and doing more with less (ECSD, 2014).

European Union also has run out some policies in dealing with the problem remembering that most of European countries are depend on the imports of energy and natural resources, then the increasing amount of products that consumed in Europe are produced in the other parts of the world. Because of that, the impacts of the consumption in the European Union are felt globally like as we know today that the way we are produce and consume contributed to the environmental problem. In case of dealing with the issues, European Union is trying

to make some policies on Sustainable Consumption and Production and Sustainable Industry Action Plan that formed by the Commission since 2008 which focus on the improvement of the energy and environmental performance of products and foster the mind set of consumer. These policies includes setting the ambitious standards throughout the Internal Market, ensuring that products are improved using a systematic approach to incentives that can make the products reduce the impacts of the risk toward the environment.

So here one of the policies of the European Union on the sustainable consumption is Eco labeling. Eco label is an approach to give any label toward the products of the companies which ensure that those products are environmental-friendly (ec.europa, 2014). Therefore this action lead some countries who become an exporter in EU need to follow the procedure and the policy of the EU on the sustainable consumption. In the end, it can be concluded that the existence of the EU policies on the sustainable consumption beside as a role model, also embrace and invite the others countries who depend on Europe as their biggest importer change and label their products as the products that minimize the bad impacts to environment.

European Union released some policies on the sustainable consumption and production and industrial action plan as one of their effort of concerning toward the problem. This strategy complements the existing policies on energy use. The core of the action plan itself is to improve the energy and environmental performance of products and foster the uptake by consumers. This

includes the way of them labeling the products that contain in the EU Eco label.

Eco label is a voluntary scheme that also recognized as one of the European Union policies on the Sustainable Consumption in maintaining and keeping the environment for the sake of the present generation and also for the future generation. This Eco label was established in 1992 to encourage the business for the market product and services that are environmental friendly.

Nowadays, that Eco label green logo seems becomes a requirement for the state who want to sell their products in the global trading. Besides showing that those products is permitted to sell, also it is showed that the process of their production is not create any bad and negative impact toward the environment. So, the consumer can use those products without considering the impact to the environment. This kind of policy of the European Union was elaborated and reflected as one of the strategy to reduce the negative impact of the production of the consumption on the environment that lately tend to be faced the degradation. Therefore Eco label more focus on the sustainability issues, especially from the environment.

In the beginning, this Eco label was more press to be applied for the member states of the European Union. Also this strategy was focusing on the companies in order to address the producer to behave carefully in producing the products. But then, remembering that also a lot of companies in outside the Europe continent export the products to the European countries, therefore it is also required most of countries in the world to get this

label in order to be able to launch its products to the world free market, especially for the countries who depend on the exports to European countries. Because of that, the things that done by the European Commission for the first very beginning was doing research and survey to the European society by interviewing them about the Eco label.

And the result showed that almost 4 in 10 EU citizens in the survey had seen and heard about eco label, and only 19% of the citizens that had been bought the products with the mark of Eco label and the awareness of the EU Eco label was noticed a lot in Lithuania, Denmark, and Estonia (around 49% until 51%) while the lowest was noticed in UK, Italy, and Sweden (around 26% until 31%) (European Commission, 2009). This percentage of the societies who recognized the Eco label still weak enough, therefore, beside suppress to the companies, based on the figure above, the Eco label also pretty much focus on the social which required the knowledge of Eco label to be socialized to the society in order to change the mindset of the people regarding of decide to buy and use products that can be recycle and re use continuously and on how important to keep our environment sustain by using the eco friendly products.

Furthermore, the facts also prove that the progress of the Eco label are incredible fast because now a lot of countries started to holds the licenses of Eco label by fulfilling the requirement or criteria that referring to the environmental goodness such as tested by the panel of experts from a number of stakeholder including consumer organization and industry which make sure that the process of the products in the life cycle are

proper with the condition of the environment whether it comes from the extraction of the raw materials, the process of production, the process of packaging, the process of transport including export and import, also right through to use and recycling. In the lately research of the European Commission, the amount of the countries that applied Eco label in their products to be runs out around the world. Those countries are Egypt, China, Chinese Taipei, Hongkong China, Indonesia, India, Malaysia, Israel, Republic of Korea, Thailand, Turkey, Albania, Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Findland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Malta, Netherland, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Canada and the United States of America, Australian and New Zealand.

And now referring to the theory, the policies of European Union on the Sustainable consumption as one of the efforts to realized the sustainable development for all the states around the world play an important role in triggering the policies of the other countries. It is happened because a lot of periphery countries that refer to the developing countries exports the products a lot to the core states which in case here is the European Union member states. Eco label is succeeded in giving the pressure and influence whether it goes to the society as the small scope, and goes to the companies who created the products as a big scope. This was done in order to address the behave of the people in limit and bound their satisfaction on consuming and producing something. So, what European Union launched, the states must follow

those procedure of Eco label in order to keep and maintain the cooperation in export and import the products.

Yet, this also must be set in the main of the companies thought that this policies is not solely for only the run of the trade cooperation, but it also give the benefit for them in the future while today maintaining the environment. So, the most interesting one is that the idea of dependency are showed here, when the peripheral state depend on the exports to EU need to start to change their production label with the Eco label. Such in case of Indonesia as one of the peripheral country that still depend a lot on the foreign investment, and imports from the other countries.

Here, Indonesia usually exports the wood to the European countries. Because of the strategy of EU in launching the Eco label strategy, then the Wood companies in Indonesia also need to get the license of Eco label that prove that their products are eco friendly. Which means that every process of the products making, such as from the cutting of the trees, they need to make sure if that is not the illegal logging. Also goes to the distribution to the factory, the manufacture not give a bad impact to the environment. Even though the price for getting the Eco label is not cheap, especially in the process of making the products, but the companies also can increase the price of the products because its specification by gaining the Eco label mark.

Then here, that is what makes the theory of dependency showed up in case of like this, the case is only to maintain the environment from the bad consumption, but the action of European Union in

releasing the Eco label brought them to a good exploitation of many countries. Because implicitly, the influence of European Union beside as a role model for the other countries to have the a good policies for the environmental issues, also succeeded in gathering and triggering the policies of a lot of companies around the world to follow the rule of the European Union.

Conclusion

Here, we can conclude that the Eco label triggering the policies of the other countries in having the same policies in changing the way of the production of the consumption. This dependency actually doesn't lead to the bad one. The dependency of the peripheral states on the economy like Andre Gunder Frank said to the core one, makes them following the rule of what the policies of the core made. So, in this case of sustainable development the core develop first, and the consumption of the core usually spend a half of the society of the world even though they are minority.

Yet, because the one who have a lot of money first will consume more than the one who don't have money. Hence, this exploitation of the core to the peripheral one have a good side, in order to gather all the state in the world aware of caring the environment by starting to produce something with reducing the bad risk for the environment. Here, what can I found that the sustainable development will be achieved when all the objects in the world realize of the importance of being immortal, when all the things can be appeared for a long time and you still able to consume what you need continuously with a limitation.

Sustainable development also can be realized when you stop thinking a lot, when you can match the idea of consume and produce in balance capacity because the biggest problem not comes from the environment disaster, or economy crisis. Yet, the biggest problem in the world is comes from yourself. So what the world face today is not solely a big problems in handling the environmental dilemma, whether they want to sustain the environment or increasing the economy, but what the world face today is the habit of the people who occupied the world.

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Global Governance to Overcome Environment Issue for Humanity

Iman Sumarlan
Magister of International Relations Science
Faculty of Social and Political Science
Universitas Muhammadiyah yogyakarta
imansumarlan@gmail.com

Abstract

Recently the world politics has been changes from realism paradigm to liberalism. States Actors of international relations had changes from dependence to interdependences. In other word it has change from dependence pheriferal state to centre state. Now, actors of International relations was not dominated by state actor, but has spreading widely in multiple actors in the world. The issues like human right, gender, environment, citizen migration, terorism, corruption, etc., become a new concentration either individual or civil society that focusing, pay attention and have capability for giving contribution to solve that common problem.. Contributions and attention of some non state actor of international relations facing common problem give implication how to governance globally. In short, it was used to call global governance. The global governance concept in political international frame was very significant. The scholars of international relations try to give each perspective. This paper will discussing how the global governance overcome the international problems. By global governances approach this paper focusing on environmental issues especially deforestations that has bad impact to food crises. That were threat all of country either developing or developed country. thus, how global governances system overcome deforestation in the international political systems.

Key word: Global Governance, International Issue. Deforestation.

Background

The Origin of Global Governance and Environment issue.

The institutions that emerged in the immediate post-Second World War period, most notably those associated with the United Nations(UN) Bretton Woods Conference, represent an important step in international economic, social and political relations. Previously, conflicts between nations were resolved principally by means of the Westphalian model of international diplomacy, whereby state-centred sovereignty remained unchallenged. Today, this sovereignty still remains intact, butit is increasingly the subject of a system in which governments are rendered accountable to each other – albeit imperfectly – through such bodies as the UN. A whole series of covenants, treaties and declarations has also arisen between contracting states in the wake of the post-Warsettlement, including the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Despite their shortcomings, these agreements represent an attempt toredefine the national interest and protect society's minority groups from the excesses of the state – and from each other. The result is a farmore global understanding of international relations (IR), institutionally expressed through a range of such bodies as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).These developments, combined with the integration of global financial activities in the post-Cold War period and the ongoing growth of information and communication technologies, have all contributed to the description of the

contemporary era as one driven by the processes of globalization (Timothy Cadman, 2011).

At the same time, and historically commensurate with the rise of globalization, it is also possible to discern an increasing environmentalization of global institutions. Two important contributions were the establishment of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN, now the World Conservation Union) in 1948 and the creation of the United Nations Commission on the Human Environment (UNCHE) 20 years later. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the Stockholm Declaration of 1972, both of which arose out of UNCHE, placed the imperative for environmental action on the global level, and set the normative context for future discussions about the environment.

Global action reached a high point with the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The substantive outcome of Rio, Agenda 21, formally recognized the participation of non-state interests, particularly non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the framework of international environmental policy and environmental decision-making at all levels.1 Participation is an essential component of citizen power, without which democracy is an empty and frustrating process.

Before discussing citizen global movement overcome an environment problems. Better have to know knowing and understanding global governance concept as a frame of references look up global problem,

in this case is environment issue. There are some arguments defining Global Governance. One of scholars like Lawrence S. Finkelsteinsaid that global governance is show up anything to surface or reality transparancy (Lawrence, 1995: 368). According to Dingwerth & Pattberg said that global governance are a new perspectives that help us describing, understanding and explaining a tranformative world politics (Klaus Dingwerth, 2006: 185-203).

> *"Global Governance is not merely a label.*
> *Global Governance isnew perspectives that help*
> *us describe, understand, and explain a political*
> *world that is itself undergoing profound change"*

Whereas international committee of global governance define global governance as below;

> *"The sum of the many ways individuals and*
> *institutions, public and private, manage*
> *their common affairs. It is a continuing*
> *process through which conflicting or*
> *diverse interests may be accommodated*
> *and cooperative action may be taken. It*
> *include formal as well as informal*
> *arrangements that people and institutions*
> *haveagree to or perceive to be in their*
> *interest (Commission on Global*
> *Governance, 1995).*

Global Governance Context and Challenges

Recently, Individuals have become paramount actors mainly because of the Internet and its capacity to link them to others in remote parts of the world. The resulting networks enable individuals to interact and to convey ideas and pictures as well as facts and pictures to places where they have not been before. As a result, people are no longer locked into the circumstances endured by their forefathers. They are now freer to let their minds and families roam widely across long-standing barriers to movement and travel. Among the consequences of their enhanced freedom, people are increasingly inclined to converge, to form organizations, and thereby to pursue their goals collectively. The jet airplane enables people to move about widely and quickly to visit family and friends as well as implement tasks associated with their organizations and businesses.

In the other word James N Rossenau mentioned this things as as an *individual network era* or *individual revolution*. Very tendency it was cause booming of interest group (James, 200). The rise of humanity issue, security, public health, education that must be anticipated and overcome seriously impact to individual involved for taking actions. Also build some interest group which suittable with that issue. These are some global challenges in contemporary world.

Various global challenges in the contemporary world:

1). Environment problems (*global warming, deforestation, air pollution, haze, ecological destruction*), 2). Economic challenge (trade disputes, financial crisis), 3). Security problems (wars, the spread of weapon of mass destruction and nuclear weapon,

terrorism, transnational crime, failed states, ethnic conflict, etc), 4). Disease (*HIV/AIDS, SARS pandemic, avian flu*), etc

None of the problem cannot be managed by a sovereign state acting alone, even a super power. All require cooperation of some sort among governments and increasing numbers of non-states actors in the world. Many require the active participation of ordinary citizens.Some demand the establishment of new, international mechanism for monitoring or the negotiation of *new international rules*, and most require the refinement of means for securing state compliance

Some of global problems was happened widely seldom, the others only was happened in limited scope. Truly according to specified issue like in Africa, Southeast Asia, European or groups of countries.

Goal of Global Governance

Issue-based studies of global governance (say, of the global environment, or global health) do not on the whole invite questions of the sort, 'for what purpose?' At a minimum, the definition of global governance quoted above 'Efforts to bring more orderly and reliable responses to social and political issues' – suffices, at least as far as the immediate, functional fullfilment of basic human needs and planetary stability are concerned. These activities can still be controversial, since they inevitably entail negotiation and bargaining over responsibility and costs. But in conditions where threats of a fundamental kind can quickly globalize, contention is more likely to gather around the particulars of practical engagement than about hidden agendas.

However, global governance is not merely an extended form of crisis management; and such global governance as is now extant concerns the distribution of power and the construction and maintenance of orders that plainly advantage certain states, organizations and peoples at the expense of others, or at the cost of irreversible environmental damage. That portion of the global governance literature concerned with fundamentally inclusive and humane global (Jim Whitman, 2009: 14).

Ten Major Global Environmental Challenges

Accompanying the twentieth century's vast economic expansion have been two categories of change of enormous consequence for the natural environment. First is the dramatic increase in the consumption of the earth natural resources, principally the so called renewable resources the forests, the air, the soils, the fish and animal life, the freshwater. Renewable resources have been appropriated by humans at rates far in excess of resources principally the fossil fuels and the nonfuel minerals originally thought to be most subject to scarcities, have thus far been regularly available. The second development has been the exponential growth of what we have come to call pollution. Yet, the buildup of too much CO_2 from fossil fuel burning and other sources now threatens to alter the planet's climate and disrupt both ecosystems and human communities.

Today, pollution is occurring on an unprecedented scale worldwide. It is pervasive, affecting in some way virtually everyone and everything on the globe, from CO_2 in our atmosphere, to polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) in our bodies, to acid rain on our land. It

is the combination of these developments high demands on renewable resources and large-scale pollution that has given rise to the major global threats we now face.

James Gustave (2006: 18) show the 10 principal threats: 1). Acid rain and regional scale air pollution. 2). Ozone depletion by chlorofluorocarbons and other industrial and agricultural chemicals. 3). Global warming and climate change due to the increase in "greenhouse gases" in the atmosphere. 4). Deforestation, especially in the tropic. 5). Land degradation due to desertification, erosion, compaction, sanitation, and other factors. 6). Freshwater pollution and scarcities. 7). Marine threats, including overfishing, habitat destruction, acidification, and pollution. 8). Threats to human health from persistent organic pollutants and heavy metals. 9). Declines in biodiversity and ecosystem services through loss of species and ecosystems. 10). Excessive nitrogen production and over fertilizations.

Deforestation.

From ten global environment challenges that faced by world citizens, writer would like to focusing on forest damages or deforestation. Moreover Indonesia include and become a part of significant actor inside. As we know that most of Indonesia island surrounded by wild forest. According to calculation that a half of world depence on tropical forest especially agriculture. It was become main factor for realizing food security. A new study about deforestation give indication that only 20 percent original forest (wild forest) in tropical country unmanageable and this number getting decrease.

Today, central government own almost 80 percent of the remaining intact forests in developing countries. Forest ownership and management by central governments have sometimes resulted in mismanagement, heavy political and economic pressures to allow cutting and immigration, and wides pread corruption, cronyism, and illegal logging. For example, in Vietnam the government nationalized the entire country's forest estate in the 1960s, leading eventually to a rapid increase in forest destruction nationwide as previous local controls and regulations were super ceded by state-owned logging companies.

These pressures for forest destruction have been both worsened and ameliorated by international factors. International development agencies like the World Bank, though much better today than in 1980, have poured many. Millions into dams, highways, power development, and transmigrations chemes, often to the detriment of forest areas. Critics of globalization charge that economic globalization and the World Trade Organization are magnifying the trend toward expanded logging by encouraging high levels of foreign investment, weaker domestic regulation in the face of international competition, and loss of local community controls.

Our central argument is that to maximize globalization's potential for good across the world requires a fundamental reform of global governance structures in general and the international architecture for environmental cooperation in particular. Building greater environmental sensitivity into the multilateral trade and financial institutions is necessary but will not be

sufficient. An equally rigorous and urgent reform of the global environmental governance architecture is imperative. We propose the creation of a Global Environmental Mechanism (GEM) to reveal global-scale environmental risks, facilitate bargaining and negotiation, support sound management of the global commons, and promote the dissemination of best policy practices and new technologies.

No Trees No Humans.

Have you ever wondered what a world without trees would look like? Close your eyes, and try to imagine a desolate Earth. There'd be no more paper, and everyone would have to resort to technological use that is, if anyone was left. Trees are a crucial factor to our existence not only because they produce paper, lumber and chewing gum, but because they serve an important role in the carbon cycle. And because of our ever-increasing population of 6.7 billion, that seemingly distant future is nearing each and every day. People have proposed many solutions to this environmental issue called deforestation, including either shipping everyone to the Moon or to just stop cutting trees.

Even if our species survived the devastation of deforestation, life as we know it would be very different from now in 2011, where only half of the world's forests are gone. Scientists speculate our great-grandchildren might not even have the chance to visit the great Amazon rainforest in 50 years! Yet on such a dry, lifeless world, no one would be left to experience the disastrous consequences of deforestation. Little tribulations like the decrease of property value and

potential increase of urban noise become irrelevant compared to other calamities like roadside spills, animal wastes, water runoff into streams, and sewage/farm chemicals left unfiltered. For now, let's find out the local and global effects of deforestation:

FILTHY AIR: Without trees, humans would not be able survive because the air would be unsuitable for breathing. If anything, people would have to develop gas masks that filter the little oxygen that would be left in the air. Trees are a crucial part of the carbon cycle, a global process in which carbon dioxide constantly circulates through the atmosphere into organism and back again. Carbon is the second most valuable element to life, you know, after water.

Anyway, trees take carbon from the atmosphere through photosynthesis in order to make energy. This carbon is then either transferred into oxygen and released into the air by respiration or is stored inside the trees until they decompose into the soil. Therefore, the absence of trees would result in significantly HIGHER amounts of carbon dioxide in the air and LOWER amounts of oxygen. The filthy air would also be full of airborne particles and pollutants like carbon monoxide, sulfur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide and its temperature may increase by up to 12 F.

LIFELESS SOIL: If the air hadn't already wiped out everybody, the next disastrous consequence of deforestation is its damaging effect on soil. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization, 2.5 billion people depend on agriculture for their livelihood. If deforestation get its way, those people won't be the only ones affected. The soil would become full of dangerous

chemicals and pollutants that are usually filtered by trees. In addition, soil erosion is currently prevented by trees because they protect the land. However, soil would be unprotected, and vulnerable to reduction in soil quality and top soil nutrients. Soil erosion would become more prevalent, and eventually all the soil will lose its arability and agriculture will fall...leaving us people to starve.

CHRONIC DROUGHT: Arid conditions will surface not only because of dangerous unfiltered substances, but also because at one point it will rarely rain. Sounds crazy, right? During the "dry season," trees regulate and anchor the dirt by releasing water. Deforested areas, however, are liable to chronic droughts that obstruct river navigation, disrupt industrial operations and kill crop production all together. Storm water runoff (if it rains) not reduced, but increased which will contribute to small floods and topsoil erosion. Furthermore, trees add humidity into the air through transpiration---but the lack of trees results in the lack of moisture in the air.

NO TREE-BASED PRODUCTS: Of course, if there aren't trees, there won't be any products you can get from them. We use and waste paper everyday without realizing we're helping to kill four billion trees cut down every year. Due to global deforestation, there'd be no paper, baseball bats, barrels, books, blocks, benches, crutches, coffee filters, guitars, grocery bags, pencils, pine oil, beds, billboards, buttons, fuel wood, charcoal, industrial round wood, candy wrappers, chewing gum, cork, crayons, spices, egg cartons, kites, linoleum, luggage, paper, ping pong balls, wooden chopsticks,

rubber, tambourines, telephone books, tires, bark, fiber, dyes, incense, latexes, oils, resins, shellac, tanning compounds, waxes, toilet paper, turpentine, xylophones or wooden yo-yos. Food harvested from trees like fruits, nuts, berries (and maple syrup) would be nonexistent as well. Other causes of deforestation today include agricultural expansion, infrastructure expansion, conversion to cropland/pasture and the construction of roads. Moreover, countries are forced to increase the rate of forest loss by population pressures, profits, and internal social/political influences.

WATER WARS: And at one point in the future, the level of freshwater resources available will become as scarce. There are already many debates over whether we currently abuse non-renewable resources, but the most important of these resources is probably freshwater. Freshwater is the basis of human survival, and agricultural/industrial operations. Future politicians are going to have to make ground-breaking decisions on how to preserve enough freshwater resources for their country, and one option would be to wage war against others to the death.

THE LOGIC FOR GLOBAL COLLECTIVE ACTION

The essence of globalization is connectivity. The forces that connect people and places across the world and, in the words of Thomas Friedman, have shrunk it "from size medium to size small," are also profoundly affecting the global environment. Globalization is, in part, an ecological fact. A series of environmental challenges span multiple countries and even the world. Polluted waters, collapsing fisheries, invasive species,

and the threat of climate change have all been brought about, at least in part, through the forces of globalization. Clearly, the primary responsibility for environmental protection rests with national governments and local communities. But some problems are inescapably global in scope and cannot be addressed without international cooperation.

Five goals Global Environment Governance , in particular, stand out as being particularly important and command broad-based support:

• *Goal #1. Leadership.* The GEG system should grasp the attention and visible support of high-profile political leaders. The key institutions within the system should be managed by leaders of the highest professional calibre and international repute; all working together towards the best interests of the GEG system as a whole.

• *Goal #2. Knowledge.* Science should be the authoritative basis of sound environmental policy. The GEG system should be seen as a knowledge-based and knowledge-producing system.

• *Goal #3. Coherence.* GEG should operate as a coherent system with reasonable coordination, regular communication and a shared sense of direction among its various elements.

• *Goal #4. Performance.* The institutions that make up the GEG system should be well-managed; they should have the resources they need and should use these resources efficiently; and they should be effective in implementation. The ultimate purpose of the GEG system is to improve the global environmental condition.

• *Goal #5.Mainstreaming.* The GEG system should seek to in corporate environmental concerns and actions within other areas of international policy and action, and particularly so in the context of sustainable development. (Nadaa Taiyab, 2006)

Agenda of Global Governance for securing food crisis caused by deforestation:

1) **Focuses on Food for People**, putting the right to food at the centre of food, agriculture, livestock and fisheries policies; *and rejects* the proposition that food is just another commodity or component for international agribusiness.
2) **Values Food Providers** and respects their rights; *and rejects* those policies, actions and program that undervalue them, threaten their livelihoods and eliminate them.
3) **Localizes Food Systems**, bringing food providers and consumers closer together; *and rejects* governance structures, agreements and practices that depend on and promote unsustainable and inequitable international trade and give power to remote and unaccountable corporations.
4) **Puts Control Locally** over territory, land, grazing, water, seeds, livestock and fish populations; *and rejects* the privatization of natural resources through laws, commercial contracts and intellectual property rights regimes.
5) **Builds Knowledge and Skills** that conserve, develop and manage localized food production and harvesting systems; *and rejects* technologies

that undermine, threaten or contaminate these, e.g. genetic engineering.

6) **Works with Nature** in diverse, agro ecological production and harvesting methods that maximize eco system functions and improve resilience and adaptation, especially in the face of climate change; *and rejects* energy intensive industrialized methods which damage the environment and contribute to global warming.(***Nora McKeon, 2011)***

Conclusion

Both economic and ecological interdependence demand coordinated national policies and international collective action. Our increasingly globalized world makes new thinking about international environmental cooperation essential, both in its own right and to undergird further economic integration. An extraordinary mix of political idealism and pragmatism will be required to coordinate pollution control and natural resource management policies on a worldwide basis across a diversity of countries and peoples, political perspectives and traditions, levels of wealth and development, beliefs and priorities. But the gains will go beyond the environmental domain. Indeed, coordinated pollution control strategies and natural resource management standards provide an important set of ground rules for international commerce, serve as an essential bulwark against market failure in the international economic system, and make it more likely that globalization will yield broad benefits.

It is time to re-engineer the environmental regime, aiming for a new, forward-looking, sleeker, and more efficient architecture that will better serve environmental, governmental, public, and business needs. A new global environmental architecture need not compete with efforts to strengthen national pollution control and natural resource management programs and should, in fact, reinforce such efforts. Success in the environmental domain depends on a multi-tier governance structure supporting vibrant efforts at the local, national, and global scales.

The logic of a Global Environmental Mechanism is straightforward: a globalizing world requires thoughtful and modern ways to manage interdependence. The world community would benefit from the presence of an authoritative environmental voice in the international arena, a recognized forum for national officials and other stakeholders to work cooperatively to address global-scale issues, and a legitimate mechanism to ensure that efforts to promote economic progress and environmental goals are mutually reinforcing.

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Institute for Climate Impact Research, and Oldenburg University
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HUMAN AND SECURITY

South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty of Rarotonga As The Response of South Asia Pacific Region on Nuclear Weapon Test

Hardi Alunaza SD
Graduate Student of International Relations Program
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
hardialunaza@gmail.com

Abstract

In the 21st century South Asia Pacific region will have great attention from the world. Geographical, social, economic and political in the South Pacific region influence on how the leaders of island nations take a stand on global issues, especially the issues that threaten their existence as sovereign states. This paper tries to explain how the efforts made by the leaders in the South Pacific is more focused on issues of non-traditional security, especially the efforts to minimize the impact caused by nuclear radiation, as a result of nuclear weapon test conducted by countries like the United States and France. With the concept of Balance of Power, this paper attempts to review on how the small countries in the South Pacific region established alliances as a form of rejection of nuclear weapon testing in the South Pacific as well as on how effective their efforts to build the South Pacific region as one of the nuclear free zones in the world.

The rejection of the South Pacific community against all forms of nuclear testing mainly carried out by the United States, British and also France is not as a kind of effort which is further than the balance of power. However, it is more closely referred as a political means

to demonstrate their existence to the world, that they are parts of the world's population who have right that deserves to be rewarded and aligned with the rest of the world. Principally, there are three effects due to radiation which can directly affect to the human body: 1). The cells will die, 2). the multiplication of the cells that can eventually lead to cancer cells, and 3). The damage can occur in the egg or testis which will trigger the process of deformed babies in the womb.

Keywords: South Pacific, Balance of Power, Nuclear Radiation, Human Issues

Introduction

One region that is often overlooked by the international political observers, and even considered as an unimportant region is Asia South Pacific (hereinafter referred to as the South Pacific). The lack of natural resources is economically advantageous to do exploration, and the number of relatively small population and socio-political instability conditions they experienced make it knocked out of the arena of international politics. However, it does not mean that the region is not eligible to be a review of the study of International Relations. World class futurologists such as Theodore Roosevelt, Mohammad Hatta, John Hay, Welliam Seward, Friedrich Engels, Alfred Thayer, and Doctor of Queen Langie ever stated that in 21st century South Asia Pacific region will become the world's attention (Abriyanto, 1990: 68).

Geographical, social, economic and political in the South Pacific region are the effects on how the

leaders of island nations take a stand on global issues, especially the issues that threaten their existence as sovereign states. The leaders of countries in the South Pacific which are members of the South Pacific Forum (SPF) are aware, that the Countries are far removed from the center of world power and political fights that an invasion or attack from outside is something that is highly unlikely. They are quite satisfied and entrust pragmatic security in Australia and New Zealand. The governments of the islands, except Papua New Guneau (PNG), Fiji and Tonga, choose not to form an army or merge into military alliances (Steve Hoadley, 1992: 22).

Even so, it does not mean that the leaders of the countries in the South Pacific lack attention to security issues. The main challenge to security in the South Pacific is not in the form of traditional security threats such as the invasion from the outside or the presence of territorial claims from outside and within the region. In other words, the main point of attention of the decision makers in the region is not focused on the relationship between major countries and traditional security issues, but threats to peace arising from internal conflicts, transnational crime, human trafficking, environmental issues, fishing illegal, natural disasters, social and economic challenges, as well as it is because they are small countries in the region and are physically isolated from the international trade (Nusa Bhakti, 2002: 1).

This paper aims to explain how the efforts made by the countries in the South Pacific are more focused on issues of non-traditional security, especially efforts to minimize the impact caused by nuclear radiation, as a result of nuclear weapon test conducted by

countries like the United States and France. Using the Balance of Power concept, this paper attempts to review on how the small countries in the South Pacific region established alliances as a form of their opposition to nuclear weapon testing in the South Pacific as well as on how effective their efforts to build the South Pacific region are, as one of the nuclear free zones in the world. Furthermore, this paper is using descriptive method with qualitative approach to explain the phenomena. The data collection technique is literature study consisting of books, journals, and including data from the website reliable and supporting the explanation of this paper.

Conceptual Framework

Paul finds that the most logical way to achieve the balance of power is with the merger of smaller countries with equally strong rival countries. The merger is beneficial action and is a necessity for them. If not, it will appear a way for a strong state that threatens to further hegemony. So, as a result, weak countries will be losing on sovereignty and independence. From this, it can be seen that system balance of power to support the points is contained in the Westphalian treaty on the rights of sovereignty of a state (Paul: 2004).

In his article entitled 'Introduction: The Enduring Axioms of Balance of Power Theory and Their Contemporary Relevance', TV Paul divides the three forms of Balance of Power. Firstly, Hard Balancing is the means used to achieve a balance of power to maintain and increase military power. Secondly, it is Soft Balancing. It is when countries raise the intensity of its power along with other powerful nations that may

dampen the country new rising powers that could threaten and cause fears. Thirdly, Asymmetric Balancing is the circumstances in which nation state has efforts to achieve a balance, but there is no direct symptom of actors outside the state itself as terrorists who could threaten security.

Balance of power has become an integral part in international relations theory developed by realism. The theory of balance of power begins with the assumption that the state is an actor who has a minimum interest to be able to survive and has a maximum interest to universal domination. Countries will use any means to achieve this purpose. Realists believe that the way the countries maintain their security and stability in the international system is through balancing.

There are four basic thoughts why balancing occurs: 1) The international system is anarchic and neither party is able to provide security for the country; 2) Countries want to maintain life as an independent entity; 3) Competition on military and economic power is a fact of international politics; and 4) when the state tried to make himself more dominant, and countries that feel threatened will form a coalition defense (external mechanism) or will increase its strength (internal mechanism). Cold War and competition among countries in Europe in the 19th century are examples of when balancing is implemented.

Paul introduced the concept of "soft balancing" to improve the relevance of balance of power theory in explaining the phenomenon of balancing in the international system that puts the US as a hegemony today. Soft balancing is not done by using military

means, but by diplomatic means, among others, the use of the voting rights in international negotiations or development cooperation among the countries that have the goal to reduce US flexibility in pushing and in implementing foreign policy and to resist US forces through international institutions. Soft balancing does not directly challenge the great strength of military hegemony, but its activity may slow, difficult, and raise the cost of the use of force. Soft balancing can also be the basis of cooperation that could give birth to a hard balancing in the future. When running the soft balancing strategy, a country still can cooperate with countries that offset.

Pape says that at least there are four strategies for a country to do a soft balancing. They are territorial denial, entangling diplomacy, economic strengthening, and signals of resolve to balance. Territorial denial, or rejection territorial, is a strategy that makes a country with superpower denies access to the territory in the region that is used by the superpower country for military purposes. Superpower country typically requires access to a specific region in another country as a military base or a transit of army, air force, or navy when it wants to do battle with an enemy whose territory is adjacent to that country. Balance of power becomes the only alternative to prevent a country's great power to have abundant power, which can lead to feeling of threatened for other countries which are weaker (Morgenthau: 1973).

Denuclearization Movement in South Asia Pacific Region

The emergence of the movement of the people who want to create a world order that is peaceful, quiet and protected from various threats, like the threat of terrorism, and environmental issues such as global warming and natural disasters, to the dangers posed by nuclear waste does not exist only in developed countries. The society movements also occur in Third World countries, including the case in countries that are in the South Pacific region.

This area includes the islands of Micronesia (Mariana, Guam, Saipan, Tinian, Rota, Carolina, Yap, Babelthuap, Koror, Peleliu, Angaur, Truk, Ponape, Kusae, Marshall, Kwajelein, Bikini, Majuro, Jalaut and Enewetok), and the islands of Melanesia (islands of Maluku, East Nusa Tenggara, Irian Jaya, Salomon, Vanuatu, New Caledonia and Fiji), as well as Polenesia (Tonga, Western Samoa, American Samoa, Cook, Polenesia France, Pitcairn, Norfolk, Nauru, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Tokelau, Wallis, Futuna, Niue, Rapanui, Hawaii plus Papua New Guinea, Australia and New Zealand).

The strategic South Pacific becomes one focus of the foreign policy of the United States. Even, during World War II, South Pacific had been used by the US as a buffer zone in facing the aggression launched by the Japanese. US' dominance continues even though the Cold War has ended which is marked by the collapse of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989 and earned union of West Germany and East Germany on October 3, 1990 (Vivanews.co.id, 2012). With the end of the Cold War and the change into a multipolar world order, the emergence of countries with strong military power of the

fleet is equipped with the most cutting-edge technology, especially nuclear power.

Such conditions spur the United States which regards itself as the world's police force to continue developing its weapons, especially nuclear power-based weapons. At this point, the US has a strong reason why President Reagan in 1981 revealed that the 21st century is the century of the Pacific (Hamid, 1992: 66). To continue developing nuclear weapons, the US needs an arena that can be used as test sites for weapons of mass destruction which must be away from the US mainland so that they avoid the danger of nuclear radiation that can lead to many serious diseases such as cancer.

The United States and other developed countries as well as France and the United Kingdom do not take into account on how the negative impact caused by the nuclear test they did towards public health in general and in natural environment destruction of the South Pacific. It should be noted that the United States is a pioneer that firstly did nuclear test in the South Pacific in 1946, and then was followed by Britain in 1957. Even, France in the period of 1966 to 1986 had conducted 86 times of nuclear tests (Frey, 1983: 11). It thus raises concerns from the public about their rights to speak to the world, in that they (South Pacific communities) also belong to the world community who have the right to live as they should be.

Meanwhile, Australia and New Zealand, as the two closest major countries in the region, that were relied upon as opinion leaders, were also unreliable to quell the major countries in the nuclear tests. In conditions like these, anti-nuclear activists from various

countries such as Thailand, South Korea, and the Philippines went on to liberate the South Pacific from nuclear. South Pacific leaders finally realized that they had to perform a rescue on surrounding communities from the dangers of nuclear waste radiation that is able to destroy both people and nature. They are aware that only by doing the alliance then the South Pacific would be 'slightly' imputed existence. It encourages the formation of a treaty known as Rarotonga agreement on August 6, 1985 in Cook islands.

Rarotonga agreement is an achievement of the countries in the South Pacific region to liberate them from the area of nuclear weapons, signed by Australia, New Zealand, Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, Western Samoa, Kiribati, Tavalu, the Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea (Abriyanto, 77). The content of the agreement is a ban on the manufacture, including trial and deployment of nuclear weapons and the manufacture of nuclear waste. It also contains a ban on the export of nuclear material (uranium) that is not for peaceful purposes.

Viewed from the perspective of the Realists, the agreement is an attempt to gather strength from the countries of the region that feel threatened and will get the negative impact caused by nuclear radioactive substances. Principally, there are three effects due to radiation which can affect the human body, such as: 1). The cells will die, 2). the multiplication of the cells that can eventually lead to cancer cells, and 3). The damage can occur in the egg or testicle, which will trigger the process of handicapped babies in the womb.

Moreover, Prof. Dr. T. Jacob (1988: 46) states that as a result of nuclear testing, the conditions of the

Marshall Islands and Micronesia are very poor, where the radioactive dust spreads to the island of Rongelap that cause disease in the population because of radiation and thus they had to be evacuated. In 1968, the testing of the weapons in the region led to the sinking of three islands to the bottom of the sea and several islands around Makronesia are uninhabitable for 30 years (Grand Howard, 1981: 128-136). Many residents in the islands of Rongelap also suffer from thyroid tumors and cancer caused by nuclear radiation.

Weaknesses contained in Rarotonga agreement make it not very effective to suppress countries like the US, Britain and France in order not to make the South Pacific as a nuclear test site. They still continue what they did although the comprehensive treaty banning nuclear test, in its first chapter on basic obligations, states that "Each state party does not perform any nuclear weapon test explosion or other nuclear explosion, and prohibits and prevents all such nuclear explosions which are in all places under the jurisdiction or supervision "(Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012).

However, the effectiveness of international law is highly dependent on the level of a country's adherence to the legal obligations arising from international law. International law works at its core emphasis on effective control over the country. Its existence is not only demonstrated by the existence of the legal principles but also by the willingness of the state to run it. That is why the international legal system can be said to be well ordered because every sovereign nation cannot be governed by authority as citizens are governed by institutions' citizenship (Soegiyono: 1).

These weaknesses include firstly, the exclusion of any state to reject the presence of foreign vessels carrying nuclear weapons (so, it is depending on each country whether they want to refuse or to accept). Secondly, in these agreements, types of nuclear weapons are only intended for nuclear warheads only, while for the nuclear-powered missile is not listed in it. Thirdly, Guam as a basis of the United States military activities, in fact still within the reach of the South Pacific, is not included in the coverage area. Fourthly, the absence of authorized agencies that oversee the export-import of nuclear basis although it is for peaceful purposes.

The South Pacific community rejection of all forms of nuclear testing mainly carried out by the United States, Britain and France is also an effort that is far from the balance of power. However, it is more closely referred to as a political tool to demonstrate their existence to the outside world that they are parts of the world's population who have a right that deserves to be appreciated and to be aligned with the rest of the world. They also want to show that although as a group of small countries, it does not mean that the superpowers like the United States, Britain and France could be offhand in performing all actions without considering the negative impact thereof.

Conclusion

Rarotonga agreement is an achievement of the countries in the South Pacific region to liberate them from the area of nuclear weapons, signed by Australia, New Zealand, Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, Western Samoa, Kiribati, Tavalu, the Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea. The contents of the agreement of Rarotonga explain about the ban on the manufacture, trial and deployment of nuclear weapons and the manufacture of nuclear waste. It also contains a ban on the exports of nuclear materials that are not for peaceful purposes. The agreement is an attempt to gather strength from the countries of the region that feel threatened by the negative impact caused by nuclear radioactive substances. Principally, there are three effects due to radiation which can directly affect the human body, such as: 1). The cells will die, 2). The multiplication of the cells that can eventually lead to cancer cells, and 3). The damage can occur in the egg or testicle, which will trigger the process of deformed babies in the womb.

South Pacific community rejection of all forms of nuclear testing mainly carried out by the United States, Britain and France is also an effort that is far from the balance of power. However, it is more closely referred to as a political tool to demonstrate their existence to the outside world that they are parts of the world's population who have a right that deserves to be appreciated and to be aligned with the rest of the world. This article studies the Rarotonga agreement as a response of the countries in the Pacific Region over the nuclear test related to humanitarian issues. The writer intends to emphasize that this paper uses the concept of

balance of power as the conceptual basis for explaining the phenomenon under study. It is likely that there will be different research results when viewed from a different angle, and will also produce different conclusions.

Recommendation

The recommendation of this paper is it should have to make clear that all the leaders of the countries in the South Pacific region demonstrate a strong attitude and improve the content of the Rarotonga agreement, such as the lists of each country to reject the presence of foreign vessels carrying nuclear weapons to enter Guam as a range of areas that are still included in the Pacific region. In addition, there should be more efforts to limit the use of nuclear weapons by establishing an institution that has the authority to monitor the export and import of nuclear base in the region.

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Fiqh of Harmony Inter Religious: Building A Life Without Conflict

By: Anjar Nugroho
Faculty of Islamic Studies
University of Muhammadiyah Purwokerto
Email: anjarnugroho75@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper is to develop Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh) thought to offer a values system in developing inter-religious life of peace without conflict. The purpose of fiqh of harmony is look at the ways to think that diversity is part of sunnatullah (Allah's law), and seeks to build a harmonious life among different people. Religion is one of the plurality phenomenon to be realized every persons, a long history of human life has spawned a culture of creativity in various forms including spiritual creativity. With their spiritual creativity show that the man is a spiritual creature. But have all people having this consciousness? Whereas many cases of conflict among and inter-religious are sticking out as the part of lack of tolerance among and inter-religious. In this context, Fiqh of Harmony finds a point of urgency. Fiqh of Harmony exsplores normative values in the Holy Qur'an to find the goodness aspects deeply. Goodness values are universal as the essential nature of syari'ah/ fiqh who want to realize peace and prosperity of mankind.

Introduction

The regime in Indonesia has several times changed, but the conflict between religious communities not being reduced. Some cases that arise, both between and intra-religious, such as the expulsion of the Shiite community in Sampang, East Java and the Ahmadiyah community in West Nusa Tenggara, rampant accusations of "blasphemy" or "cult", the disputed building houses of worship and also the problem of discrimination due to restrictions on religious definitions and many similar cases, if allowed to pass over time. There is no long-term handling, even if there is a settlement, only just touching the surface aspect of the settlement minus dive deep and long-term, such as the removal (relocation) for minorities. Relocation necessarily solves the problem, but the source of the problem, such as mental attitude hostile to the other will not ever go out with their relocation.

What factors are causing a series of problems such religious kept sticking in Indonesia, is the question unanswered. The Government preferred to deal with something are more likely image effect than have to think hardly to formulate a plan of handling more cases have wider coverage and long-term.

Diversity that should be the source of value for knitting sociological relations between religious communities and between the wider society more promising to live peacefully and side by side like brothers, actually in some cases is a major source of the emergence of cases. *Bhinneka* which means it is otherness or diversity has not been conceived as part of a

faulty historical reality and humanity. Different is the most fertile ground for growing hatred to the other (the other). Different from the others gave rise to ego who thinks that the other is wrong and what is done to justify themselves to one another, without regard to the noble values of religion, namely salvation and blessing for the universe (*rahmatan lil'alamin*).

Plurality or plurality are necessity. The diversity of the nature and responses and and content of human reflection on the environment gave birth to the diversity of cultures, civilizations and even religions. Awareness to recognize the reality of plural becomes a necessity. This meant that each human being can live free to be himself, according to the search and choice, and can appreciate and respect the selfhood of others. Awareness about plurality, including religious plurality will bring other people easily understand the freedom of choice that is taken by others. Religion is one of a plurality of phenomena to realize every persons, a long history of human life has spawned a culture of creativity in various forms including spiritual creativity. From their spiritual creativity shows that man is a spiritual creature (homo religious) (Amstrong, 1993:xix).

If everyone is aware of it, then the faith-based sociological issues that led to violence or conflict can be resolved. The problem are, when awareness of the differences have not been embedded in each person, then in this context it is necessary to fundamentally awareness regarding the way of thinking of looking at the reality of diversity. One way to measure it is to offer thought-imaginative explorative excavated from religious values, in this case is Islam. Therefore this paper offers a

diversity of jurisprudence as an alternative to building a way of thinking that sees otherness are part of the laws, and strive to build a harmonious life among peoples of different.

The Purpose of Fiqh

Before elaborating more deeply about the *fiqh* of harmony, the authors will describe about the understanding of *fiqh* in general and probe deeper into the purpose or philosophical foundation for jurisprudence. *fiqh* means knowledge of the laws of *Syari'ah* concerning human actions, the knowledge is drawn from the proposition that is *tafshîliyyah* (Khalaf, 1978: 15). In principle, *fiqh* requires two basic components so that the building can stand, namely the proposition (the texts of the *Qur'an* and *Hadith*), the *istinbath* method (processes and procedures retrieval legal decisions/specific value within a/some texts.

On top of *fiqh* forming components, are the bedrock of *fiqh* which became the starting point of the whole process and results (product idea) *fiqh*. *Fiqh* basically is referring to human benefit. As has been expressed by scholars of *Usul Fiqh*, every law (*fiqh*) that contained benefits for the servant of God (man), that benefit both worldly and hereafter. Therefore every mujtahid in concluding the law of the case at hand, should be guided by the objectives of the Islamic fundamental values (*Syari'ah*) in formulating the law, so the law which will be determined in accordance with the benefit of mankind.

Mashlahât terminology is something useful, either to draw something or produce something, such as

generating benefits and happiness or by refusing, as distanced from the danger and disease (al-Rahman, w.y.: 12-13).

Mashlahât, according to Abdullah Abd al-Muhsin az-Zaki, is a provision in the law to formulate attractive benefits and reject *mafsadât* of humans (az-Zaki, 1980: 513). While al-Khwarizmi defines *mashlahât* is maintaining *Maqasid ash-shari'ah* by refusing *mafsadât* of people (al-Syaukani, w.y.: 242). Al-Buti looked *mashlahât* is a benefit that is desired by the *syari'ah* for His servants to maintain religion, life, intellect, lineage and property (al-Buti, 1977: 23). Ash-Syatibi define *mashlahât* something that refer or be returned to the enforcement of human life (Ash-Syatibi, w.y. 29).

While al-Ghazali defines:

Which together mean by mashlahât is maintaining the goal of Personality '. And the purpose of Personality 'to the creature there are five, namely maintaining religion, life, intellect, lineage, and their property. Thus, all of which include the maintenance of the five basics that are beneficiaries and all that does not cover these basics is mafsadah and refused mafsadât is a benefit al-Ghazali, w.y. : 251).

In this sense, al-Ghazali did not make sense *mashlahât* as 'urfi. He meant to benefit or reject difficulty according *Maqasid as-syar'iyyah*, not expediency and the difficulty itself. In this case sometimes people looking at something useful, while the view is damaging (*mafsadât*) or vice versa thus, there is no certainty between *mashlahât* and *mafsadât* according

to 'urf humans and *'urf syar'i*. In other words, in view of al-Ghazali, beneficiaries is maintaining the goal of *syari'ah*, though contrary to the purpose of man. Because the purpose of man, when in opposition with the aim of *syari'ah* in a certain benefit is not a benefit, but the passions that have penetrated into the psyche (Hasan, 1971: 6). Therefore *mashlahât* not only seen from a human angle, but should look at what has been mentioned in the passage (Zaid, 1954: 20).

Strengthen the opinion of al-Ghazali, Wahbah az-Zuhaili *mashlahât* view that every effort be returned to maintain the goal of Personality 'that is based on the Qur'an, *Sunnah* and *ijma'*. If *mashlahât* understood like that, then there is no difference of opinion to make it as evidence (az-Zuhaili, 1986: 765). Az-Zuhaili then explain more clearly as quoted as follows,

Because humans differ in determining the benefit in accordance with the realization of expediency *zati* (real) and not reject the benefit that has been agreed upon, then the enforcement of the law there should be a balance between human justice in determining beneficiaries and benefits. From this it becomes clear the need to determine the beneficiaries under the provisions of Personality ', with should not be charged to a specific individual. Thus it can be understood that in accordance with the law of human nature (az-Zuhaili, 1986: 750).

Hasan Hanafi in this case has developed paradigm Maliki Fiqh and Usul Fiqh, for the benefit approach (*mashlahât mursalah*) as well as defending the interests of Muslims. This paradigm Malikiyah corroborated by Abdullah Ibn Mas'ud tradition

developed from Umar Ibn al-Khattab. Hanafi found *al-Malikiyah* closer to reality to take a legal decision based on the public good (Ridwan, 1998: 35-36).

Hasan Hanafi Islam left critically examined the entire tradition of legislation (*tasyri'*) by accepting what is contained in the Qur'an and *Sunnah* are valid, because shari'ah basically standing on the runway *mashlahah*. *Mashlahah* the principle study of Al-Quran 'an and *sunnah*, *ijma* and *ijtihad* (Ridwan, 1998: 36).

Thus, it becomes clear that the fundamentals of building thought Islamic law (*fiqh*) is benefit. Universal human benefit or in more operational expression, social justice. Because from the beginning, Islamic law does not have a base (purpose) other than human benefit. Standard expression that proclaimed Islamic fundamental values (*syari'ah*)sake of human happiness, inner and outer, worldly, and hereafter they reflect the principle of benefit.

See description of *fiqh* and *mashlahat* above, can be attributed to the phenomenon of diversity / diversity that occurred in Indonesia and around the world, that is, when the purpose of religious life is harmonious life without discrimination between one party to the other party, then this goal line with the aim of fiqh which makes *mashlahat* as a base. Departing from this point, and can be built epistemology of fiqh thinking that leads to life harmonization between/intra-religious.

Fiqh of Harmony

Nurcholish Madjid (1999), a leading Indonesian Muslim scholar offers an alternative theology he calls pluralistic theology. In fundamental devinition, pluralistic theology is believed that all other religious beliefs also exist in our religion (all religions are the some different parths leading to some goal). Basically all religions are the same (and single), though has a different path to the same destination and one. In al-Qur'an, for example illustrated that all the Prophets were Moslem (those who surrender to Allah). All religions of the Prophets and Apostles it is Islam (surrender totally to God). While Islam par Excellence is an institutionalized form of the same religion, so that all religions it is actually the one and the same. The only difference is in the form of sharia. In religious language is called "the road". All religion is "the way" to God. In the Qur'an term path is expressed in so many words, according to the meaning that is plural, the many roads that used the Koran, such as *Shirat, sabil, syari'ah, tariqah, minhaj, mansak* (in plural is *manasik*) and *maslak* (in plural is *suluk*) (Madjid, 2000: 67).

Confirmation of the Koran on the formulation of the plurality of beliefs Nurcholish as described above can be referenced in the following verses:

And each has mecca that he faced him; please race then you (the act) virtue. Wherever you are surely God will gather you all (on the day). Allah hath power over all things. (al-Baqarah (2): 148).

And we have lowered the Koran to you with the truth, confirming and become the touchstone of the reactor books existed before; then decide their cases

according to what Allah and do thou follow their desires to leave the truth that has come to you. For each kind of you, we give the rules and the way the light. Had Allah willed maketh ye one race (course), but Allah wanted to test you for giving him to you, so Race in doing good. A step that only God ye return, and He will tell you what you used to differ (al-Maidah (5): 48).

The beginning of the first verse fragment *li huwa kullin wijhatun muwallîha* literally tranlation is "And each has mecca to which it is facing". Authorities classical age interpretation generally stated that what is meant by the word "individual" (*kullin*) in the verse fragments is each religious community or their respective religious communities (*ahl al-adyân, ahl al-milla*). Therefore the Ministry of Religious Affairs in the Qur'an and Terjemahnya translate a fragment of verse by "And for every nation there is their qibla (himself) that he faced him" (Thabari, 1995: 208).

All though a term that describes the way in religion seemed not one, but many, and very dependent on each individual has their own idiom of how religion. But in fact the road is one, but the track a lot. This is the principle that describes the unity in diversity.

Etymologically the word *wijhah* in the verses above need delaborasi further. The word lexical meaning hand, direction, destination, place before, Qibla and the like. Al-Azhari (370/980) said *wijhah* means mecca. Ibn Faris (d. 395/1004) said *wijhah* means any place that is in front of you. According to Ibn Mandhur (d. 711/1311) *wijhah* means wherever you go, it also means Qiblah. Al-Wahidi (d. 468/1076) and Al-Baghawi (d. 516/1122) defines *wijhah* as the name for everything that we are

facing him. *Wijhah* words have the same root even in some of its meaning is synonymous with the word *wajh* (face to face). *Wajh* word refers to understanding everything that is in front (in the front), protruding elements that represent the essence of something, the heart, purpose, direction, side, street and truth. Overall conceptual network contained in said wijhah and various derivatives refer to understanding the direction, goals, orientation, views, and religious practices (al-Qurthubi, w.y.: 223).

With the statement of the Qur'an that every religious community has the qibla orientation symbolize each would be seen for recognition in the Qur'an to religious pluralism. Such appreciation is a reflection of Islam's response to religious pluralism as a phenomenon of society and is a part of the conception of religion which is reflected in this holy book. The Qur'an teaches that the message of Muhammad is not a new and unique in the history of revelation. He is just one of a long chain of the apostles of God who was sent previously by alternating with the same basic mission.

In the midst of religious plurality at the time of the prophethood of Muhammad, not hinder him to develop attitudes toleration between followers of different religions or beliefs. In fact, Muhammad never gave a very inspiring role models in front of his followers. History records that the Prophet never ostracized and even expelled from spilled blood (Mecca). He was forced to migrate to Madina for some time and then returned to Mecca. The event is known in Islam by freedom of Mecca (*Fathul Makkah*). In the event that a full victory, the Prophet did not took this

step revenge to anyone who has previously drove from his native land. "You guys are *Tulaqâ* (ye-free)", soon sayings of the Prophet to them (Abdullah, 1996: 61-65).

The event was very inspiring and gave deep impression to the adherents of Islam wherever they are. Prophet has given concrete examples and also examples of understanding and appreciation of religious pluralism very real presence of his people. Without first polemic philosophical-theological struggle, the Prophet did not require "truth claims" on behalf of himself and on behalf of their religion. He took a stance agree in disagreement (*al-Takatsur*: 1-8), he did not impose his religion to be accepted by others (*al-Kafirun*: 1-6).

Islamic ethics, as has been called for by George F. Hourani (1985), is the nature of "Ethical Voluntarism", actually contains the dimensions of historicity exemplary (*al-uswah al-hasanah*) emanating from the behavior of the Prophet Muhammad. Ethics siding against fundamental humanitarian values very highly regarded by the adherents of Islam. Favor of the fundamental values, rules, means to pull off all sorts of theological barriers that have crystallized and formed by life's journey in the history of humanity itself perspeksif Islam, the conception of religious ethics, especially regarding inter-religious relations, is to be very open and dialogic. Call to find common ground (*kalimatun Sawa'*) between the various adherents scribes call model is typical of the Koran (Abdullah, 1996: 61-65).

Normative teachings of al-Qur'an as a reference so that Muslims can build a good mutual understanding with people of other faiths, as can be understood from the statement of the verse, *"And do not curse gods whom*

they worshiped besides Allah, lest they be cursed God exceeded the limit without knowledge. (*al-An'am*: 108), and *"Do not argue with the People of the Book but in a good way"* (*al-Ankabut*: 46). Fostering mutual understanding that both can be done by increasing the frequency of constructive dialogue to clarify their respective positions and understand the position of the other party. This dialogue also serves to avoid disharmony between religious communities.

Dr. Verkuil was distinguished inter-religious dialogue in three forms. First, the dialogue in order to create mutual understanding among the people. With dialogue, religious communities are able to learn the teachings of different religions. Secondly, the dialogue is used as a way to create a partnership to tackle together in the community. Third, the dialogue in the framework of the spread of the gospel and other Scriptural (Jonge, 1987: 182).

In paragraph Q.S. *al-An'am* paragraph 108 forbids Muslims to do insult, have ruction and use words that offend people of other religions, but according to *al-Ankabut: 42,* may well discuss and exchange views on their respective religious experience. The issue of religion is actually a very sensitive issue. Love and loyalty of a person to his religion, as confirmed by Abu Hayyan, can encourage people to act exceeded the limits of reasonableness and contrary to common sense and a clear mind when religion is scorned or accept humiliation (Madjid, 1999: 77). Each of these religious people thought they were doing good deeds in their religion, so that if there were chided will soon rise to excessive anger.

Create ideal conditions for achieving inter-religious meeting point is in the interest of all parties and shared responsibility. That burden cannot be borne entirely by Muslims or Protestants or by the parties Catholics and others unilaterally. It so happened in the history of the Prophet's life, especially those directly related to the declaration of "Constitution of Medina" is by Robert N. Bellah (1965) referred to as a declaration of "modern" which appeared before the human civilization is really modern was arised (Bellah, 1965: 78).

In the Islamic perspective, the basics to live together in a religiously pluralistic society, from the beginning, it has been built on a foundation of normative and historically as well (Abdullah, 1996: 43-45). If there are obstacles or anomalies here and there, the main cause is not due to the heart of Islam itself that is intolerant or exclusive, but more determined and conditioned by historical circumstances-economic-political encircling Muslim communities in various places. Competition for control of economic resources, hegemony, much more coloring non-dovey relationship between religious believers and not by the content of the ethical teachings of the religion.

For that contribute ideas that need to be submitted to the relevant religious community with a pluralistic reality that often lead to inter-religious conflict very acute is how to make fiqh of harmony as a new perspective that the truth claims can be erased in a religious perspective. And no less important is how all parties can do much to overcome religious conflicts that have ripped the nation's unity and fraternity.

Conclusion

After seeing the description of fiqh diversity at the top, at least, there are two steps that can be done within the framework of conflict prevention and resolution and inter religion. First, changing the way people toward religion from the personal image into impersonal image. symbolistic of something into something substantive. Because, indeed, the most essential of the existence of a religion is not the organization of the rites and ceremonies of other religious praxis; but how the values of nobility, justice, humanity, mercy and peace are the principal message of religion itself-downs can be applied in everyday life of its adherents.

Religion is not a set of doctrines dead, static, symbolic, or utopian. Religion should really be understood as a union of values mentioned above are very personal and realistic. That is why a good appreciation of the religious can be seen from the deeds, morality, and social life of each community practice.

Second, develop inter-religious dialogue. So far, the discourse of dialogue between religions tend to be among the elite religious consumption only. While at the grass root level people, this discourse is relatively unfamiliar. In fact, the potential for conflict between religious communities has strengthened at the grassroots level. It would require the development of inter-religious dialogue discourse with more intense involve grass roots people.

In the early stages, the dialogue could be a study of each community to the teachings of his religion of brotherhood, humanity, the interaction between religious

communities and so on. Because anyway in every religion there are universal values that can unite the perception of every people of different religions would healthy social relationships and reasonable. And at a later stage, people of different religions could begin to talk about the problems they face together, in the format of "we" all the talk about "us". Is no longer in the format of "us" talk about "you".

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Quo Vadis Refugees in Conflict Area
Case Study: Refugees in Crimea and Syrian

Bambang Widianto Akbar
Magister Political Science and International Relations
Programs Post-Graduate
Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta
bambangwidiantoakbar@ymail.com

Abstrak

Menurut Konvensi 1951, negara – negara berkewajiban memberikan suaka kepada pengungsi, yang didefinisikan sebagai mereka yang berada di luar negara kebangsaannya dan tidak dapat atau tidak mau kembali ke negara asalnya. Menurut prinsip non pemulangan, sebuah negara tidak diperbolehkan untuk mengusir ataupun memulangkan seorang pengungsi. Ketika konvensi tersebut disetujui, ia berlaku terutama untuk pengungsi Perang Dunia II dan pengungsi yang lari dari komunisme. Namun, dalam beberapa dekade terakhir, masalah pengungsi mulai mencakup jutaan orang yang lari dari kekerasan di tanah airnya. Sebagaimana yang kita lihat saat ini, dimana peristiwa Arab Spring yang terjadi semenjak 2011 silam, telah mengakibatkan jatuhnya ratusan bahkan ribuan korban jiwa serta ribuan pengungsi lainnya yang berasal dari berbagai negara seperti Mesir, Libya, hingga Suriah. Bukan hanya dalam kasus Arab Spring semata, namun juga dalam kasus pecahnya konflik di Krimea antara Rusia dan Ukraina yang berujung pada konflik berdarah yang berkepanjangan hingga saat ini. Selain menyebabkan jatuhnya korban jiwa dan rusaknya instabilitas politik, konflik yang terjadi di dua negara tersebut (Suriah dan Ukraina) telah membuat ribuan warga negara mereka 'terpaksa' harus mengungsi ke beberapa wilayah di negara tetangga untuk menghindari jatuhnya korban jiwa yang lebih banyak lagi. Dan celakanya, dalam kelanjutannya tidak sedikit dari para pengungsi tersebut yang mendapatkan hal – hal yang kurang mengenakkan dari negara yang dituju seperti kurangnya pasokan logistik, tempat tinggal yang layak hingga tak jarang para pengungsi tersebut justru mendapatkan penolakan dari negara yang dituju untuk 'mengadu

nasib' demi melanjutkan masa depan kehidupan mereka. Yang tentunya melanggar Konvensi 1951 yang telah disebutkan di atas.
Kata Kunci : Pengungsi, Suriah, PBB

INTRODUCTION

In December 1950, United Nations (UN) had founded United Nations for Human (UNHCR), who responsibly to implementing Convention 1951 which related with Refugees Status, where consolidation by UN in 2001. Since UNHCR founded, UNHCR helped more than 50 million of refugees with give humanitarian assistance include food, reception centre, and medical assistance, and this institution had gived Nobel prize in 1954 and 1981. Now, UNHCR had office in 115 countries and had cost around $ 1 billion, almost more much since 1994, where to originate from voluntary contribution (Richard W. Mansbach & Kirsten L. Rafferty, 2012 : 748).

The practice of granting asylum to people fleeing persecution in foreign lands is one of the earliest hallmarks of civilization. References to it have been found in texts written 3,500 years ago, during the blossoming of the great early empires in the Middle East such as the Hittites, Babylonians, Assyrians and ancient Egyptians (www.UNHCR.org)Over three millennia later, protecting refugees was made the core mandate of the UN refugee agency, which was set up to look after refugees, specifically those waiting to return home at the end of World War II.

The 1951 Refugee Convention spells out that a refugee is someone who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion,

nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country."Since then, UNHCR has offered protection and assistance to tens of millions of refugees, finding durable solutions for many of them. Global migration patterns have become increasingly complex in modern times, involving not just refugees, but also millions of economic migrants. But refugees and migrants, even if they often travel in the same way, are fundamentally different, and for that reason are treated very differently under modern international law.

Migrants, especially economic migrants, choose to move in order to improve the future prospects of themselves and their families. Refugees have to move if they are to save their lives or preserve their freedom. They have no protection from their own state - indeed it is often their own government that is threatening to persecute them. If other countries do not let them in, and do not help them once they are in, then they may be condemning them to death - or to an intolerable life in the shadows, without sustenance and without rights.

Meanwhile, according to the theme of this paper, if we discuss about refugees in Syrian and Crimean. This case will not let from conflict situation in their country. As far as we know, the conflict in that two country (Syrian and Crimean/Ukraine) had not finish until now. And this conflict make a situation more worst than better, because the refugees had spread out to several countries in around of Syrian and Crimean. And of course this situation will increase several problem in

global politics. Syrian as example, an estimated 9 million Syrians have fled their homes since the outbreak of civil war in March 2011, taking refuge in neighbor countries or within Syria itself. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), over 3 million have fled to Syria's immediate neighbors Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. 6.5 million are internally displaced within Syria. Meanwhile, under 150,000 Syrians have declared asylum in the European Union, while member states have pledged to resettle a further 33,000 Syrians. The vast majority of these resettlement spots – 28,500 or 85% – are pledged by Germany(www.syrianrefugees.com). Not only Syrian, but also Crimean refugees had same problem. Many Crimean refugees had spread out in several countries in around of Ukraine. Of course, this problem will be talk in this paper.

Theoretical Framework

In this paper, the author will use the Theory of International Society. I choose this theory because this theory can explain the responsibility of human especially, international society. Include the refugees problem, because refugees problem is a common problem that should have solved with all of us. In order that, I feel International Society Theory will explain this phenomena and maybe give solution to solve it.

Approaches Foundation of International Society

In the opinion of someone in this approach (Wight, 1991: 1), International Politics is 'broad experience of human with special characteristic, problem, and

language. Studying International Relation is "go into this tradition" and "join in discussion" with the aim is to understand it.' The main point in this approach is that International Relation must be understand as a "society of nobility states".

To understand society state is not a problem about application of social science models, but a problem about how to be friendly with history of International Relation like which experienced by involved peoples, who important, among of them is a statesman: president, prime minister, diplomat, military commander, prime of defense, and others society who take action in the name of state in foreign problems. In this approach, all of International Relation students must be involved with social world of International Relation by try to rule experience of past practical and present practical too (Robert Jackson & George Sorensen 2009: 182).

International Society Tradition is one classic approach in International Relation. But, this approach to make an endeavor to avoid difficult choice among (1) egoism and state conflict and (2) kind intention of human and cooperation which to appear by debate among realism and liberalism. In other side, International Society student is avoid pessimist opinion from classic realism group which amazing as politic organization which independent and proud to himself which related and face to face each other only for the name of instrumental from narrow interest self (Ibid: 183 - 184). In order that, realism group consider that International Society approach is wishful approach because this approach always discuss about the kind of International System, whereas in realism group opinion,

International System doesn't work in state life in global politic system.

In this paper, author will explain this theme with secondary Data, so the source in this paper is come from books, article, document, etc which can help the author for give information to readers about this theme of this paper. And for the chapter. First Chapter will discuss about Syrian Refugees, this chapter will discuss about the situation of Syrian and the situation of refugees and for Second Chapter will discuss about Crimean Refugees, so this chapter will discuss about the conflict of Crimea (Ukraine), the situation of there, and of course will discuss about the situation of Crimean refugees. Finally, in Final Chapter, the author will explain the conclusion of this paper and give recommendation of this situation.

Discussion

Syrian Refugees

An estimated 9 million Syrians have fled their homes since the outbreak of civil war in March 2011, taking refuge in neighboring countries or within Syria itself. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), over 3 million have fled to Syria's immediate neighbors Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. 6.5 million are internally displaced within Syria. Meanwhile, under 150,000 Syrians have declared asylum in the European Union, while member states have pledged to resettle a further 33,000 Syrians. The vast majority of these resettlement spots – 28,500 or 85% – are pledged by Germany (www.syrianrefugees.com).

After 1000 days of conflict, more than 120,000 deaths, and with nearly half the population displaced within and beyond its borders, there is no end in sight to Syria's civil war. The hoped-for diplomatic momentum following the breakthrough agreement on chemical weapons in September 2013 has not eventuated, and expectations are minimal for the Geneva talks scheduled to commence in late January 2014 (Gareth Evans, 2014 : 19).

Who is to blame for the failure to prevent or halt this ugly war, the world's worst continuing conflict? Was there any kind of intervention—and if so, by whom and when that could have made a difference? More generally, does Syria sound the death knell for the new Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norm, embraced unanimously, with hope and fanfare, by the UN General Assembly meeting at head of state and government level in 2005, and applied with conspicuous effect by the Security Council in Côte d'Ivoire and Libya in 2011? Are mass atrocity crimes genocide, ethnic cleansing, major war crimes and crimes against humanity going to become, once again, the subject of global indifference?

There are no easy answers to any of these questions, and they are going to be long debated. But despair would be premature. There are at least some grounds for optimism that—even if it has come too late to avert the worst of the suffering in Syria—we are not necessarily condemned to go on repeating the horrors of the past, the catastrophes of Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia, and the like, now etched so deeply in our collective memory (Ibid).

The tensions that exploded in Syria in early 2011 were long in the making and never going to be easily containable. But a major opportunity to break the cycle of violence breeding violence was completely lost with the failure of the UN Security Council to even condemn the behavior of the Assad regime, let alone take more robust measures, when it first became obvious that unarmed protestors were being savagely attacked, and for many months thereafter. That gave the regime a sense of untouch ability and impunity, leading to further repressive behavior which energized a fight- back by opposition forces, helped by military defections and some external support, which spiraled quickly into the full-scale civil war we have been watching, with horror, unfold ever since (Ibid).

Meanwhile, this figure includes 2.2 million Syrians registered by UNHCR in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon, 1.7 million Syrians registered by the Government of Turkey, as well as 24,055 Syrian refugees registered in North Africa (UNHCR).

In the case of Syrian, for example, at least two of these criteria have seemed to most objective observers to have always been difficult to satisfy. "Proportionality" demands that the scale, duration, and intensity of any proposed military action be the minimum necessary to meet the threat in question, but the trouble with most of the proposed "minimalist" intervention solutions establishing "no-fly zones" or "no kill" buffer zones, for example is that, in Syrian conditions, full-scale warfare would almost certainly have been required to impose them: the minimum may entail something like the maximum.

Similarly with the "balance of consequences," most analysts agree that any military intervention would have to be massive in scale to secure a peace, and likely to generate many more casualties along the way than it would prevent, given the complications posed (unlike in Libya) by a strong government military, profound internal sectarian differences, the strength of jihadist and anti- democratic elements within the opposition, and the potential for any intervention to ignite the whole region (Ibid : 23).

The other element of a new process would require some kind of serious ongoing review of coercive mandates once granted. This is likely to be met with some resistance by the P3 on the grounds that there must be some flexibility in the implementation of any military mandate, and that military operations can never be micro-managed.

These are not unreasonable concerns, but equally there is no reason, in principle or practice, why broad concepts of operations, as distinct from strategy or tactics, should not be regularly debated and questioned as necessary. Whether civilian protection can be accomplished without full-scale war-fighting and regime-change is exactly such a question that the P3 should be prepared to debate. It is not necessarily a matter of establishing any new institutional mechanism though sunset clauses, requiring formal renewal if a mission is to continue, are hardly unfamiliar in the Security Council. It is more a matter, again, of there being some real understanding that ongoing debate on mandate implementation is wholly legitimate (Ibid).

It is probably too late to hope that evolution of a new consensus along these lines will make much difference in Syria itself, where the only hope now appears to be a diplomatic solution, brokered by the US and Russia working cooperatively together and with all options for the composition of a transitional administration left on the table. But it does hold out the hope of getting the R2P project back on track for future hard cases (Ibid : 24).

Crimean Refugees

After we discuss about Syrian Refugees and Situation of there. Now, I will explain you about Crimean Refugees. One community that's been seriously affected are the Crimean Tatars, the peninsula's ancient Muslim minority. About 1,700 Crimean Tatars found refuge in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv, and photojournalist Misha Friedman decided to visit Lviv and hear their stories (public radio international). Friedman says they come from all walks of life and left for a combination of reasons. "You have some who are religious and feel that their religious freedoms would be much controlled by Russia, which they equate with Soviet Union," he says. "And because of their history, they have almost a genetic fear of all things Russian."

The empire of the Crimean Tatars was the terror of southern Russia in the 17th and 18th centuries. But since their conquest by Russia in the late 1700s, the shoe has been on the other foot. The Tatars suffered bouts of persecution under the stars, and then were uprooted by Stalin during World War II and exiled to Central Asia. They were only allowed to return to their homeland in

the 1980s. "So there's a level of mistrust to anything Moscow says," Friedman says. The suspicion is especially acute among the older generation, he says, since they have such vivid memories of exile and persecution under the Soviets. "They also have a sense of being Ukrainian. They like living in Ukraine and want that to continue."

Russia has been careful to treat minorities relatively fairly in Crimea, but Friedman says individuals who speak out against Russian rule can find that life becomes difficult. Some might find their businesses targeted for "nationalization." Others, he says, have disappeared. Friedman came away impressed by the Tatar refugees in Lviv. "Not a single family in Lviv was doing the exact thing they did back home," he says. "I met someone who taught French in Simferopol for over a decade, together with his wife. They were French teachers, and he was now making plov — actually an Uzbek dish — at a local market," Friedman says. "That, to me, was incredibly impressive, that they weren't just sitting at home in despair, blaming everything on Ukrainians or Russians or geopolitics, but they were actually doing things." (Ibid). As Sergei Gabuyev, a kiosk owner in rebel-held Donetsk, watched a street fight between two groups of insurgents devolve into a sea of AK-47 fire in front of the city's central bus station one evening, he knew it was time to leave (themoscowtimes.com).

As had been typical among Ukrainians before the annexation, Gabuyev used to spend his summer vacations in Crimea, nestled somewhere in the verdant slopes of Yalta or the idyllic Yevpatoria steppe.

Gabuyev now lives in Crimea permanently, having abandoned his home and business as Donetsk slid into chaos."When I left Donetsk, I expected to return in one to two months' time, but at this point it looks unlikely that I'll be able to go back for the foreseeable future," Gabuyev, 40, told The Moscow Times. "Life is difficult in Crimea, but it beats the constant shelling in Donetsk," he said. Like many Donetsk refugees The Moscow Times spoke with during a recent visit to Russia's newest region, Gabuyev's loyalties are to Moscow.At least seven Crimean residents have been abducted in the past year. Their fates remain unknown. Another person disappeared, only to turn up dead and bearing physical signs of torture, London-based advocacy group Amnesty International said in a statement Tuesday.

Wednesday marks one year since President Vladimir Putin delivered a landmark speech in the Kremlin, declaring Crimea's accession to Russia's federal fold and launching a turbulent era of Russian relations with the West that many pundits have described as a new Cold War.Thousands of war refugees have fled the rebel-held Donetsk and Luhansk regions seeking safe harbor in a region recently decried by senior U.S. State Department official Victoria Nuland as "suffering a reign of terror." In February, Crimea's First Deputy Prime Minister Mikhail Sheremet said some 6,500 refugees had fled to the peninsula from Ukraine's war-ravaged regions in the preceding two months alone, Ukraine's Kharkiv news agency reported.

Several months prior, in August, Sheremet said the total number of east Ukrainian refugees in Crimea was "at least 30,000-50,000," the Novosti Kryma news

agency reported. Today, the streets of Yalta, Sevastopol and Simferopol are bustling with cars bearing Donetsk and Luhansk license plates. If you see a premium sedan or a luxury SUV, chances are you'll find a pair of Donetsk plates attached to it.Once a week, he leaves Crimea for the coastal Ukrainian city of Odessa to visit his 4-year-old son, who lives with Gabuyev's sister. When asked about the boy's mother, Gabuyev remained evasive. Together, Gabuyev and his roommates pay 25,000 rubles ($404) a month for the flat. But this is the off-season price. He fears that when summer begins and prices surge as Russians spill into the peninsula to vacation as he once had, he'll no longer be able to swing the rent. Still, Gabuyev counts himself among the lucky ones. Many of his fellow refugees can't even afford the luxury of a cramped, shared apartment, instead being relegated to sleeping in their cars.

Aside from soaring on-season prices, Gabuyev and the others may soon face a whole new threat: inhospitable bureaucracy. As Crimea continues to adapt to life under Moscow's rule, Russian migration legislation is beginning to take hold, which will require many Ukrainian citizens to somehow legitimize their residential status — a process that most can expect to be costly and time-consuming. Under the relevant law, citizens of Ukraine can stay on Russian territory for no more than 90 days within an 180-day period. In order to work legally, foreign citizens must obtain a temporary residence permit, a work permit or a special license known as a work patent.

A governmental decree passed last July that eased the bureaucratic burden for Ukrainians seeking

refuge in Russia does not extend to the Crimean Peninsula. Thus, Ukrainians who have sought refuge there can either get a work patent according to the normal protocol, or opt to relocate to mainland Russia — though Moscow, St. Petersburg and Chechnya are also closed to them.

Obtaining a work patent can cost up to 20,000 ($324), as the process requires a comprehensive medical screening, Russian language tests and a plethora of fees. Once the patent is issued, the foreign citizen must continue to pay up to 2,500 rubles each month in fixed income taxes. These newfound obstacles have led a number of Crimean businesses to fire refugees from Donetsk and Luhansk, Lyubov Vlasenko, head of a refugee center in the town of Kerch, told Ukraine's Hromadske radio station. Makeshift refugee shelters have been established by volunteers in every major city in Crimea. Refugees are offered help looking for work, temporary shelter, food and clothing. Several Soviet-style sanatoriums and modern hotels have likewise offered their rooms for free to those in need, at least for the off-season period.

Conclusion

After we read this paper, Indeed, for action to be taken in such a crisis, multilateral institutions, such as the United Nations, require both the support of regional organizations and, particularly, the P5 players in order to garner legitimacy and issue strong resolutions.8 While the LAS has issued numerous statements regarding the crisis and attempted to broker peace agreements, generally speaking, the language of the R2P doctrine has

not played a major role. Instead, the political stalemate in the region—with Iran and Russia promoting the norm of non-intervention and, on the opposition side, countries including Saudi Arabia and Qatar providing training and arms to the rebels—illustrates the inherent difficulty of promoting and enforcing the R2P doctrine. In this sense, the conflict can be thought of as a microcosm of a broader international dispute.

All of this means that regional efforts to provide any meaningful intervention are nearly impossible without a major change in the current status quo, something that is not currently on the horizon. Furthermore, the overall stability of the MENA region has been negatively affected by the Syrian civil war. Lebanon, for example, has seen infighting between supporters of Assad and supporters of the rebels, with Hezbollah playing an active role in assisting the Assad government with its campaign. Israel has bombed targets inside of Syria, and the relationship between Syria and Turkey has been severely strained, with several incidents occurring along the border region. A same thing must be do in Crimean, I'm sure if same action do in Crimean, the situation will be better and many people will live comfortable each other.

Recommendation

Complex and volatile regional dynamics have hence played a critical role in the response or, more accurately. the lack thereof—to the civil war in Syria. It is difficult to see a viable compromise that will lead the country, and subsequently the region, out of the current state of affairs. Without total victory on the side of either

Assad or the rebels, it does not appear that both sides and their allies are willing to back down from this long and drawn-out conflict. Chemical weapons inspections have proven to be merely a lull in the larger conflict. The push-and-pull relationship between the regional supporters of Assad, such as Iran and Lebanon, and the regional supporters of the rebels (most of the LAS members) will continue to dominate these attempts to move forward with a political solution.

Open dialogue at the UNSC must be continued, and both sides must be willing to compromise on some of the key demands of the combatants if a cease fire or comprehensive peace agreement is ever to be created and adopted in practice. Syria has become a state in name only, with territorial divisions delineating positions of strength. The rise of al Qaida may force the hand of the western countries to cease their flow of arms to the rebel forces until they can provide a more discriminating means to separate the two elements. More broadly, we ask what effect the situation in Syria will have on the R2P doctrine.

Its lack of teeth in Libya demonstrated its weaknesses; R2P as a doctrine of intervention will only be implemented in very specific situations wherein the strategic benefits to the interveners outweigh the costs of intervention. On the other hand, when the political fallout caused by intervention is too much for the great powers to handle, R2P's coercive elements are much less likely to play a significant and viable role in determining their strategic actions. This is to suggest that greater emphasis must be placed on the preventive components

of the doctrine where costs and risk can be anticipated in advance of large scale conflict.

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Conflict Resolution: A Case Study The Separatist Movement in The Southern Border Provinces of Thailand

Lutfee Abdulmani
Arriyati Layod
International Relations Department
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
peace_talk@hotmail.com

Abstract

This paper tried to discuss about conflict resolution in the case of southern Thailand which are Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat, known as an escalating and brutal conflict and long history of insurgency, the crisis has been conducted primarily on the basis of Malay ethnic nationalism with religion and politics as an additional factors. The violence has already had important political consequences in the failure of Prime Minister Thaksin's government. The government tries to solve the problem and lunched a strategy based on increased public participation, economic development, apologizing for the past misdeeds of the security services, ending the blacklisting of Muslim and opens a dialogue with insurgents, but the violence remains. In this research, the writer use an extensive of relevant published materials such as books, journals, reports, newsletters, official website and other sources o a wide variety of topics related with the subject of the topic.

Keywords: Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat. Conflict resolution. Malay ethnic

Introduction

In this world's history, there have been many stories about separatism, such as the Soviet Union (which after its collapse in 1985 split into 15 states), Pakistan (in 1971 into Bangladesh and The Islamic Republic of Pakistan), Czechoslovakia (into Czech Republic and Slovakia), Indonesia with East Timor, the Philippine with Mindanao and Thailand with its Pattani movement. Separatism emerged for several reasons; among other are different ideology, disappointment, provocation and rejection. What was so interesting in the case of separatism were the dynamics of the conflict and politics circles. The case of southern Thailand, where in three provinces collectively known as Pattani an escalating and brutal conflict has claimed over 2000 lives since 2004. The violence has already had important political consequences in the failure of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra's government

As is so often the case, the origins and motives of the Pattani insurgency defy any simple explanation. Political, social and economic tensions some linked with the Thaksin government's drive for economic liberalization are certainly present, as witnessed by the fact that officials, monks and teachers as well as government security forces have been among the targets of attack. The violence in Pattani also seems to reflect a resurgence of long-standing separatist sentiments and a rejection of the centralized Thai state, which motivated earlier conflict in the same region, particularly from the 1960s to the 1980s. However, on this occasion there is also clear evidence of the influence of Islamist groups

and perhaps of the same type of jihadist ideologies as have motivated the choice of terrorist tactics and indiscriminate violence in other, better-known ongoing conflicts. Another parallel with the cases of Afghanistan and Iraq, among others, is that the approaches chosen by the official authorities have not always been well judged to contain the violence. The Thaksin government's espousal of many tenets of the US-led 'global war on terrorism' may have helped to destabilize conditions in the Patani region in the first place, and the increasing use of local militia against the rebels seen in recent months is hardly likely to soothe inflamed religious feelings (Seagped, 2007).

The southern Thai province of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat has become a hot-spot for insurgency against the Thai security forces. It was a combination of religious – sentiment (primordial) conflict and politics – interest (constructivist) conflict (Surwandono, 2007). This has become very obvious since January 2004 when killings against security personnel and civilians have become a daily affair. The people have become victims of the insurgency including both Thai Buddhist and some Thai Muslims. This includes school teachers, government servants, farmers and Buddhist monks. Despite various attempts by various people to bring about a peaceful solution to the problem, there has been no sign to put a stop to the killings. In fact, the situations in the three provinces have been happening for a long time. In addition, the situations in the three provinces have also affected the lifestyles of people there. Due to their lifestyle has changed because of the continuing situation. So people in that area are scared to get out

from their homes after 6 pm which means that they should be in their homes before 6 pm otherwise they may not guarantee that they will be safe.

However to overcome the problems, and for peacekeeping, the Thai government would have to develop a clear policy on this very sticky issue of negotiating with the separatists. Neighboring countries, namely Malaysia and Indonesia, as well as the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), and other potential facilitators/mediators, could potentially be given a role in the peace process. Essentially, Thailand would have to give these countries, as well as other potential mediators, the mandate to mediate or at least facilitate.

Theoritical Framework

To analyze the mechanism or device, this paper will apply the theory of Secession. There are four broad categories: economic, cultural, political, and other facilitating factors.

The Economics of Secession

Separatist regions are usually believed to be different from the rest of the country in terms of wealth, physical or human capital, or natural resources endowment. Discriminatory economic policies from the central state vis-à-vis its regions may also affect the costs and benefits of allegiance or exit. If it has its own resources, however, it is more likely to be aggressive about autonomy. Bookman (1992:46) also argues that low "trade dependency" between a region and the center improves the chances of regional viability and increases the bargaining power of the region.

Cultural Determinants

Cultural pluralism within a country will increase the number of secessionist claims. And the size of the ethnic group may matter for separatism. This is consistent with Gorenburg's (2001) theory that the density of social ties within a region matters in shaping its separatist outlook, as this would be at least in part a function of ethnic homogeneity.

Political of succession

Fearon and Laitin (1999) suggest that the weakening of the state will lower the costs of secession, increasing the probability that secessionist movements will occur in failed states. Political transitions often make states vulnerable and can create climates that foster separatist movements (Laitin 2001). Saideman (1998) notes, for example, that periods of democratization and economic transition lead to intensified ethnic identities and security dilemmas which ultimately "drive" secessionism. Gail Lapidus (1998:11) also suggests that glasnost and democratization under Gorbachev "brought issues of identity to the forefront" in the Soviet Union. Gurr and Pitsch (2003:238), however, suggest that transition regimes that share features of democracy and autocracy may be better able than pure democracies to "contain violent ethnopolitical conflict." And the decentralization can reduce separatism as groups satisfy themselves of autonomy.

The factors that caused the separatist movement and violence

Separatist violence in southern Thailand centers on the activities of the Malay Muslim population in the

provinces of Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat, which historically constituted part of the former Kingdom of Pattani. Since January 2004, a Malay-Muslim–based insurgency has engulfed the three southernmost provinces in Thailand. More than 4,500 people have been killed and over 9,000 wounded, making it the most lethal conflict in Southeast Asia. Now in its 8th year, the insurgency has settled into a low-level stalemate. Violence is down significantly from its mid-2007 peak, but it has been steadily climbing since 2008. On average, 32 people are being killed and 58 wounded every month. Any government of Thailand still cannot solve the situation in the 3 provinces of southern Thailand or fail in solving problem. This is because the situation happens every day and the violence is increasing. Why the situation is still the same and what is the role of the Thai government actually? Maybe the government never takes serious action in solving problem or they are irrespective of solution. Sometimes the best solutions might be to migrate the military in 3 provinces and let the leader of each province govern their own province which refers to an Islamic solution.

The demand of Haji Sulong (the government at that time does not accept)

The seven demands, which essentially were a request to re-establish an autonomous region for the Muslim South, were: (1) The appointment of a person with full powers to govern the four provinces of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun. This person must have the power to fire, suspend or replace all local civil servants. This person must be a native of one of the four provinces

and must be elected by the inhabitants of the four provinces. (2) 80 per cent of all civil servants in the four provinces must be Muslim. (3) The Malay language must be an official language alongside the Thai language. (4) The teaching in primary schools must be done in Malay. (5) Muslim laws must be recognized and implemented under the aegis of an Islamic court, separated from the civil court where the *qadhi* (Muslim judge) is seating as an assistant. (6) All taxes and incomes collected in the four provinces must be used locally. (7) The establishment of a Muslim affairs bureau with full powers to manage Muslims affairs under the authority of the governor mentioned in the first point.

For additional information, Haji Sulong and some of his compatriots were arrested by the Songkam government and jailed for three and a half years. Haji Sulong was released in 1952, but disappeared under mysterious circumstances in 1954. The popular belief related by histories of Haji Sulong, and a rallying point for Malay Muslim grievances, is that Haji Sulong was drowned by Thai police.

Obstacles to peace

There remain important obstacles to opening a productive dialogue with the Pattani insurgents and thus to negotiating a durable peace. One of these is the structure of the insurgency. While the Thai authorities have, to date, rejected the idea of third party mediation in the conflict, it may be that only an independent outside agent can draw the diverse range of insurgent groups together so that they can enter a political process. Another issue of particular significance is the role of the Thai military. The Thai security services and their

actions in the region remain one of the main sources of grievance. It may therefore be difficult, at least initially, to persuade the insurgents to negotiate directly with the army. Moreover, in order to address such grievances, any durable peace will probably require considerable reform of the Thai security services and independent investigations of their role in human rights violations and into allegations of corruption and complicity with criminality in the border region. As the National Reconciliation Commission report makes clear, peace will only be achievable in the long term through the creation of a Thai nation that accepts ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity and takes action to overcome discrimination.

The governance of Thailand's Muslim community also needs to be reconsidered. With the interpretation of Islam being contested in the country, Thailand lacks a credible and institutionalized religious authority that can command wide support in the South. The institution of the *chularajamontri* lacks broad based legitimacy among the Malay Muslims, putting it in a weak position to resist the radicalization being promoted by Salafist groups. Attempts by the Thai authorities to counter radicalization by promoting the idea of a model 'moderate' Muslim citizen are failing because, in the words of one observer, 'no one wants to be seen as a "Muslim Uncle Tom"'. The government may simply have to accept that finding representatives of the Islamic community who have genuine local support and legitimacy will involve working with Islamists whose views do not reflect traditional notions in Bangkok about what makes a moderate and loyal Muslim. Given the

inherent difficulties in launching a peace process in southern Thailand and the even greater challenge of reaching agreement on the changes and compromises that are likely to be required from all sides if a permanent solution is to be found, third-party negotiation still seems to have a far greater chance of success than the current military-led initiatives. The experience of the Aceh peace agreement, at least in terms of the involvement of outside negotiators—the Crisis Management Initiative led by former Finnish president Martti Ahtisaari with the subsequent engagement of the European Union and members of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to carry out the tasks of the Aceh Monitoring Mission—points to one possible approach. It is to be hoped that the Thai Government will come to accept that it needs to open the door to international mediation (Melvin, 2009) .

Socio-economic, religion and cultural conditions
The provinces of south Thailand are primarily rural with only about 12 percent living in urban areas. Most Malays are agriculturists, growing rice, fruit, vegetable and rubber. Although rice is the staple food, the local economy is not based on wet-rice agriculture. The southern provinces depend on rubber and fruit orchards and fishing. When the world price for rubber and tin declined in the 1970s, some Pattani Malays went to work in Malaysia and even to the Middle East. Most Pattani Muslims are self- employed either as farmers or fishermen and some work as laborers. They also work in rice field in Malaysia, during the harvesting seasons. Many also depend on sea fishing. Unfortunately, both

farming and fishing are seasonal types of occupations. In addition, the fishing industry has been threatened by large-scale fishing businesses that have developed recently. The southern portion of Thailand is also rich in minerals, such as tin, gold, wolfram, manganese, and natural gas. Yet, the economy in this region is struggling and poor in comparison to the rest of the country. As a result the Pattani lead a below or average kind of life. Refer to National Statistical Office of Thailand, the income per month (THB) of people of Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat it's about 4,183 Bath, 5,700 Bath, and 3,251 Bath, but in other part of Thailand such as Bangkok 11,829 Bath, Phuket 10,837 Bath, and Nothaburi 11,952 Bath etc.

Discrimination, intimidation and injustices

The Malay politician was also distrusted since once they are in the parliamentary seat or provincial, they would be in the end, absorbed into the main stream Thai society of *Ekkalak Thai* (Thai identitiy), acting and behaving as though they never known their areas and neighbors before. This may also be true as of a saying in the Malay proverb "Lupa daratan". The Paatani's are a nation without total representation in the social, economy, education and political mobilization process. It is therefore no doubt that Islam and ethnic identity was seen to be the due cause to many of the marginalization, injustices and mistreatment acted upon the people of Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat or the Southerners.

The ban on the usage of Bahasa Melayu or Bahasa Pattani also known as Yawee or Yawi in schools, in offices and government agencies, still struck an

obstruction to the good faith for the Malays. For example the spelling of names, place and identification must adhere to the Thai words, and vocabulary. Haji Ahmad bin Isamail would be spelt Hayee Mat Samae, Adbul Rahman Yusof would then sound Abdun Lohman Yusoh and corruption of place was evidently clear. The Narathiwat was Thai corruption of the Malay province of Menara, Channak was Chenak, Satun, Setul, Tanyong Mah, Tanjong Emas and Yala formerly Jala. This and many others attested to the insensitiveness of the Thai to the Malay identity and local culture.

The southern Thai province of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat have become hot-spot for insurgency against the Thai security forces. It was a combination of religious – sentiment (primordial) conflict and politics – interest (constructivist) conflict. This has become very obvious since January 2004 when killings against security personnel and civilians have become a daily affair. The people have become victim of the insurgency including both Thai Buddhist and some Thai Muslims. This includes school teachers, government servants, farmers and Buddhist monks. Despite various attempts by various people to bring about a peaceful solution to the problem, there has been no sign to stop the killings. As is so often the case, the origins and motives of the Pattani insurgency defy any simple explanation. Political, social and economic tensions some linked with the Thaksin government's drive for economic liberalization are certainly present, as witnessed by the fact that officials, monks and teachers as well as government security forces have been among the targets of attack. The violence in Pattani also seems to reflect a

resurgence of long-standing separatist sentiments and a rejection of the centralized Thai state, which motivated earlier conflict in the same region, particularly from the 1960s to the 1980s.

As the seven demands of Haji Sulong in 1947, on behalf of the Malay-Muslim population of the South to a commission sent by Bangkok to investigate the complains of Malay Muslim about the abuses of power by local government officials.7 The petition made clear that its intention was not to violate the Siamese constitution but to create better conditions of living for the Malay Muslims. But unfortunately after his demands he was drowned by Thai police. Because he was the enemy of the state, the government assumed Haji Sulong a threatto national security.

There are many firebrands in the southern border provinces but there are only two that still have power which are PULO (Pattani United Liberation Organization), and BRN (National Revolutionary Front). Those have a broader target list and are more violent in their attacks than their predecessors. Their aim is to destabilize the state security apparatus and split southern villagers from the government trust. The reaction of the state to the resurgence of violence was to careen away from proven methods of settling resurgence in Pattani. Instead of responding with an increase in security cooperation and attempting to settle the root of the conflict the Thaksin Shinawatra government responded by disbanding CPM-34 and the SBPAC and moving paramilitary rangers into the south. The Thaksin government's espousal of many tenets of the US-led 'global war on terrorism' may have helped to destabilize

conditions in the Pattani region in the first place, and the increasing use of local militia against the rebels seen in recent months is hardly likely to soothe inflamed religious feelings. On July 19th 2005 the government imposed The Executive decree on public administration in emergency situations (or Emergency Decree). This law was written in order to replace martial law, the Emergency Decree, actually very similar to the martial law in terms of content. The main difference was that it did not carry the same stigma as the martial law in the eyes of the international community. The following of two major incidents – the Krue Se mosque massacre in April 2004 and the Tak Bai massacre in October 2004, these two major incidents have been guilty of sin of Thaksin that people still find hard to erase from their memory. Thaksin was the root of all evils in the South. The new Prime Minister Surayud struck a new tone, apologizing for past misdeeds of the security services, ending the blacklisting of Muslims, and opening a dialogue with insurgents. Grievances over language, education and justice for past abuses linger. The sound is good but after his statement he did nothing to achieve peace, a lot of talk but no action. The Pattani insurgency is getting better, Abhsit pledged to reclaim the policy on the Southern insurgency from the hands of the military, by allowing the SBPAC to operate independently from ISOC. He used the old ambiguous cold war expression "Politics leading the military" to label his policy. Abhisit could not fully implement his pledges because his fragile government badly needed the support of the military in light of the Red and Yellow shirt's political challenges. As with previous governments, Abhisit's administration

has never had an official policy of negotiating with Southern insurgents. But there have been, at least since 2005, unofficial contacts between representatives of the Thai State and leaders of some militant organizations, as for instance, the talks mediated by former Malaysian Prime minister Mahathir Mohammad on Langkawi Island. The negotiations are the best way to reach a goal without violence in Southern Thailand, there are many groups considered as separatists, so the government needs to negotiate with all groups, not just focus on particular groups.

Conclusion

Currently the situation in Southern Thailand, shows that the government is starting to repair some of the damage done by the previous government especially in the period of Thaksin, the government is trying to help the victims of the Tak-Bai and Kre-se insurgency. On the other hand the government is attempting to solve the problems but it seems the situation is getting worse and returning to the starting point that Thai state should solve by heart, not by money (budget).

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CHILD SOLDIERS PHENOMENON IN MYANMAR

Tsalsa Hanuziaty NH and Rizqi Sandra Zenita
Email: tsalsa.hapsari@gmail.com
Master of International Relations
Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta

Abstract

The use of children as soldiers in armed conflict is one of the practices of concern in the world. The use of under age children as soldiers have long since discovered on the battlefield throughout history. Children drawn into battle is an inevitable phenomenon of militarization of society or socioeconomic factors. The phenomenon is also a result of pressures to maintain or increase the number of fighters and support personnel in the armed forces. Approximately 300,000 children are believed to be fighters in a few tens of conflict in the world such as in Burundi, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Liberia and Myanmar. Nearly half a million additional children serving troops when not at war. 40% of the armed groups in the world have under age children in their ranks.

Military Burma / Myanmar is one of the most recognizable in the use of children as soldiers and armed forces. Myanmar is a country which has a history of colonial occupation. Since getting independence on January 4, 1948, Myanmar has never deserted the conflict, political upheaval and successive military coups. The problems that exist in Myanmar made the conflict is a frequent phenomenon and common in Myanmar. Inter-ethnic conflicts, inter-group and inter-group of the separatist opposition to the military government of Myanmar. Myanmar's military government has been involved in an armed conflict with more than 35 armed groups for the various levels of the economy since it gained independence from Britain in 1948.

Keywords: Child Soldiers, Armed Conflict.

 Background

Myanmar or Burma is a country that have 50.5 million of population, and 18 million of them under 18 years old.(Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2008) In Myanmar consists of many ethnicities, at least 8 ethnic; Shan, Karen, Rakhine, Chinese, Mon, Indian, other ethnic and dominated by the Burma ethnic.(Images Asia, 1997) Myanmar is a rich country in natural resources such as, gems, minerals, timber, fish, wildlife, and has fertile soil. However, for several decades, economic problems, corruption, and civil conflict have reduced prosperity and Myanmar became one of the poorest countries in the world.

Historical problem between ethnic groups in Myanmar was reinforced by different 60 years of British colonial rule. During the British rule runs, the UK has been divide and rule policy, set one group against another. This problem has escalated to armed conflict at the time after Burma won independence from Britain in 1948 and independence agreement does not adequately accomodate the nationalist aspirations of many ethnic minority groups. Myanmar has a history of domestic conflicts are complex and protracted. issues of the conflict, among others: (Silvestein, 1999). 1). Inhibition of the transfer of power from the military to the elected leader. 2). ethnic conflict and separatism. 3). Problems constitutional weakness because of their toxicity and limits the definition of the kind of country that exacerbate separatist conflict. 4). Problems behind the economy and development. 5). Problems of social and educational systems. 6). The problem of opium

production and drug trafficking, especially in border areas.

In addition, here is a recent problem that fuel conflict are socioeconomic problems. Since 2011, the president Thein Sein is committed to reducing poverty and improving health care, education, and rural development aimed at reducing poverty. However, the differences and economic inequality, health care and education were quite large persists between urban and rural areas. Access to high schools for children in rural areas only 24% obtain a presentation, much different from that obtaining access to education in the city a percentage of 61%. Education and health sector receives a very low percentage compared to the total budget of the government in military spending.(Child Soldiers International, 2013)

The problems that lead to conflict between the military government and non-state groups is the emergence of concerns among governments that economic growth may not lead to adequate investment in infrastructure development. Problem between the central government and the local rural population be increased in some regions due to increased government also interest in the extraction of natural resources in these areas to obtain welfare. The problems that exist and the state government system make conflicts become a natural thing happening in Myanmar. These conflicts typically occur between Myanmar armed forces and armed groups of non-state large part occurred in areas in Myanmar bordering Bangladesh, India, China, Laos and Thailand in the region where the majority of Myanmar's ethnic minorities live.

1. Parties in conflict

a. Military Junta (Tatmadaw)

Military junta formed after a military coup in 1962 after Ne Win overthrew the government of U Nu. The military junta or Tatmadaw Kyi is literally translated as "armed soldiers". In English Tatmadaw Kyi means "Army of Burma." In addition to the Tatmadaw Kyi are Tatmadaw Lay term for the air force and navy for the Tatmadaw Ye. Since the beginning of the Tatmadaw goal is to consolidate and protect the sovereignty of the Union of Myanmar. The main focus on the counterinsurgency efforts against armed ethnic groups who seek greater autonomy or democratic rights.(Child Soldiers International, 2013)

b. NSAGs (Non-State Armed Groups)

NSAGs or armed groups is a non-state party to a conflict with the military junta to keep its territory. The groups were formed from each wilyah in Myanmar. In general, the region has some of the armed groups. Their function is to maintain and demanding greater autonomy.

c. (BGF) Border Guard Forces

In April 2009, the Myanmar government announced plans to change the armed groups that have signed up to the ceasefire agreement and other militia into the border guard force. BGF strength is basically a combination of forces from the Tatmadaw Kyi and support troops from other groups and are under the command of Tatmadaw Kyi. Meeting in an effort to incorporate and encourage the transformation of non-state groups into BGF produce limited results, only a few groups are agreed. However, there are many groups that refuse to tansformasi be BGF on the grounds that the

proposal does not provide an opportunity for political dialogue for non-state groups.

BGF is intended to serve as Tatmadaw Kyi, under the command of the Tatmadaw Kyi, though in a different uniform with the Tatmadaw Kyi. Despite being under the command of Tatmadaw Kyi, not all batlyon BGF receive support, especially in the support material of the Tatmadaw Kyi, some believed to be receiving supplies from Myanmar's military weaponry, and some are believed to stand independently. BGF are deployed in direct combat operations, securing the economic interests of the government and maintain the development of state projects.

The deployment of child soldiers in conflict areas are also observed by Child Soldiers International are in the eastern border areas Myawaaddy attack on the border town by an armed group of ethnic Karen on November 7, 2010. Distribution of child soldiers in the front line of the battle conducted by the Tatmadaw Kyi, for child soldiers are 79 tasks in situations of hostility. Children placed forefront and use to carry weapons, detonating land mines, and worked as porters to carry supplies to fight. Child soldiers in situations of hostility entered in active combat and cause serious injury and even death to them, and information obtained by Child Soldiers International that later the bodies of the child soldiers dumped in the river.(Child Soldiers International, 2013)

Theoretical Framework

The Paris Commitments, Principles and guidelines on children associated with armed forces or armed groups, UNICEF, (2007):

> *A child associated with an armed force or armed group refers to any person below 18 years of age who is, or who has been, recruited or used by an armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to children, boys and girls, used as fighters, cooks, porters, spies or for sexual purposes. It does not only refer to a child who is taking, or has taken, a direct part in hostilities*.(Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2011)

Since 2000, the participation of child soldiers has been reported in most armed conflicts and in almost every region of the world. Although there are no exact figures, and numbers continually change, tens of thousands of children under the age of 18 continue to serve in government forces or armed opposition groups. Some of those involved in armed conflict are under 10 years old. Both girls and boys are used in armed conflict and play a wide variety of roles. These can involve frontline duties including as fighters but they may also be used in other roles such as porters, couriers, spies, guards, suicide bombers or human shields, or to perform domestic duties such as cooking and cleaning. Girls and boys may also be used for sexual purposes by armed forces or groups.

Many children that participate in armed conflict

are unlawfully recruited, either by force or at an age below that which is permitted in national law or international standards. Although international standards do not prohibit the voluntary recruitment of 16 and 17 year olds by armed forces, it is contrary to best practice.(Child Soldiers International)

The data used is literature study (library research), which is a technique of secondary data collection of books, scientific publications (papers and journals), documents, magazines, newspapers, and other sources from the internet. Where data are adapted to have relevance to the problems examined by the authors.

The use of children as soldiers in armed conflict is one of the practices of concern in the world. While there is some debate as various cultural standards of maturity, almost 80% of the conflicts involving child soldiers, including combatants are still under the age of 15 years, with some 7 or 8 years old.(Kaplan, 2005)Children drawn into battle is an inevitable phenomenon of militarization of society or because of socioeconomic factors. The phenomenon is also a result of pressures to maintain or increase the number of fighters and support personnel in the armed forces. The recruitment of children is not only by the Tatmadaw / military junta, but also carried out by groups of armed non-state.

Table3.2
List Group Recruiters of Child Soldiers

State	Party to Conflict	Type of group	Reported Child Recruitment Practice	Comitment
All state	Myanmar Armed Forces/Tatmadaw	Government	Reported Recruitment	National laws, not signed optional protocol
Chin	CAN	Armed Opposition Group	No reported recruitment	None
Kachin	KIA	Armed Opposition Group	Reported Voluntary Recruitment	None
	Rebellion resistance Force	Paramilitary group	Reported forced Recruitment	None
Kayin (Karen)	DKBA	Casefire group	Reported Recruitment	None
	KNU/KNLA	Armed Opposition Group	Reported Recruitment	Deed of Comitment
	KNU/KNLA peace council	Casefire group	Reported Recruitment	None
Kayah (Karenni)	KNPPA/KA	Armed Opposition Group	No recently reported recruitment	Deed of Comitment

State	Party to Conflict	Type of group	Reported Child Recruitment Practice	Comitment
	KNPLF	Casefire group	Reported Recruitment	None
Mon	MNLA	Casefire group	Reported Recruitment	None
Shan	Kachin Defence Army	Casefire group	Reported Recruitment	None
	Myanmar national Democratic Alliance	Casefire group	No information available	None
	SNPLA	Casefire group	No verifiable recruitment	None
	SSA-S	Armed Opposition group	Reported Recruitment	A minimum age for recruitment is 18
	UWSA	Casefire group	Reported Recruitment	None

Source: Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict. No More Denial: Children Affected by Armed Conflict in Myanmar (2009)

1. Child Soldiers in Conflicts in Myanmar

Human rights violations are taking place is a direct result of the pioneering efforts of SPDC Tatmadaw to cling to power and to enforce them, especially in different ethnic areas where civil war take place. Human rights violations such as arbitrary arrests, recruitment of child soldiers, torture, forced labor, rape, execution, and forced relocation routine usually occur in rural areas or areas which are mostly inconspicuous..

In Myanmar, the boy has become a major commodity. Moral decline and the army of volunteers who are willing to be a shortage of troops has created a high demand as the demand for new employees. The boy is a key target in the recruitment and forced to become soldiers in the national army. Child soldiers are also present in many non-state armed groups.

2. Reasons Participate of Children Armed Forces

a. As the Opportunities for Income

Childrenvoluntarilyjointhepresumptionwillearnusuallybecauseeconomic factors. Usually they come from poor families, or the head of their family had died so there was no longer someone who sustain their families. So they hold apart can help their families to survive, they will also get convenient facilities at battalion although they had to falsify their age when registering.

b. Strength and Pride

Children are considered as "if they become civilians, they are just ordinary people, but if they were soldiers, they are the power". these children become soldiers to be considered strong in order not to be

underestimated and much appreciated, gained more power than ever before so it is no longer regulated but set, no longer tortured but torture whomever they want without thinking about how hard life being a soldier. In addition children who are willing to join the soldiers assume that use army uniforms is pride. Also there are children who come from military families who want their children to continue the military tradition.

c. To Secure their Family and the Environment

Many human rights violations committed by the Tatmadaw. Many of the children who join the military because their parents have been tortured and beaten by groups of military personnel. They also found that people in villages they were beaten by these groups.

3. System Recruitment of Child Soldiers

Military recruitment of children is largely a byproduct of the pressure to recruitment targets where adults are not willing to volunteer. Forced recruitment is regularly used, especially in targeting children, which is easier to be deceived. Children were recruited mostly in poor children and the uneducated and prone to false threats of legal action, discuss the persuasive and the promise of wages.

a. System Sweepstakes / Lottery

A system whereby the names of the child and the name drawn lottery must go to be taken and sent to join the soldiers. Municipalities have been split into several areas of her city. Every city should be able to provide people who are willing to be recruited. Each area has been divided requested by the city government to be able to provide those to be recruited. In fact, each family was

asked to provide one person to be recruited. Children who have prepared, can not refuse to be sent to join the soldiers.

b. System Purchase of Recruiters (Civil Broker)

Unrelenting pressure to meet recruitment quotas have put boys at risk of experiencing constant forced recruitment. Central battalions could offer money when recruiting new people to become soldiers, even soldiers are willing to buy from a broker civilian and police. In 2005, prices for new members ranging from 25,000 to 50,000 kyatt to represent a new person. In searching for potential people that could be sold to the broker usually recruited civilian guard around the railway station, bus, market, other public places. Then the children of teenage boys promised to be given money, clothes, status, employment and free education or the child is threatened with arrest because without possession of an identity card and military service offering as alternative. Sometimes these children experienced the opposite, they are intimidated, threatened and beaten if they need to "volunteer" to be recruited into the army.(Human Right Watch, 2007)

Recruiters usually tactics that require children to show their identity cards even though the civilian brokers usually already know that these children do not have it. Then recruiters offering choices to the children, for those who do not have identity cards, choose to join the army or face penalties. Age children were systematically falsified or wrongly recorded in the initial hiring process.

c. Age Verification Procedure

The recruitment center Tatmadaw Kyi, the official documentation required proof of age at recruitment. However, some of the recruiting officers and civilian brokers falsified documents children before bringing them to the recruiting center. Age verification documents are also easily forged at local copy shops, in which sheets of a birth certificate, a list of family and school registration forms are available at the store. In this act of forgery, child always recorded over the age of 18.

4. Role and Tasks of Child Soldiers

Duties of children in general is to learn and play, but in Myanmar children who joined the soldiers took a lot of different roles from the role of children in general in this world. The duties of the child soldiers are from preparing and serving food for their senior up for battle on the front line meetings with opponents. Duties and daily activities that kids do include:(Images Asia, 1997)

a. Collecting, preparing, cooking and serving food.

b. Perform tasks such as cleaning hard enough shelter, and become heavier labor

such as digging trenches and building barracks.

c. Doing office work, such as receiving and sending information.

d. Take a trip routine patrol.

e. Act as messengers and guards.

f. Working as a medical officer.

g. Fought on the front lines of the conflict.

h. Planting and detonating landmines.

i. Capturing people in the village for porter duty and other forced labor.

j. Maintain and oversee defense.

k. Act as spies, informants and surveillance.

There are also certain specific tasks deemed suitable for child soldiers. For example, be used for intelligence because they tend to be less visible than adults. Because of their size, they can hide more easily, and they have the appearance of a more innocent than the adults.

Likewise, child soldiers are sometimes used to plant mines, or take the enemy on the battlefield weapons because they are able to maneuver more easily. Sometimes also the only child soldiers are expected to follow all orders of their senior officers, of all the good soldier warrior young and old.

5. Situation of Child Soldiers Suffered and Impacts

Child soldiers often suffer physical abuse at the hands of their own seniors. The young soldier was beaten by their seniors when they could not keep because of their body size and experience, injury, pain, or weakness that often result from inadequate food. Beatings meted considered as a substitute for a reprimand, or as punishment for failure to perform the task.

Children newly recruited later trained in training camps were very poor. The training consists of basic physical training and instruction of use of weapons. In the training there is no political or educational learning orientation. Another condition that is often experienced by child soldiers are poor medical care system makes

children sick or injured to be addressed are slow and have a negative impact on their performance which led to the beating of them as a warning. There was also a lack of supply of nutritious food and adequate clothing.

The majority of child soldiers are treated badly and even tortured by senior officers. The doctrinal child soldiers have to obey the orders of their superiors without having the opportunity to ask questions. They have been programmed to solve the problem by using firearms. Became unbelievably hard to imagine and even more difficult to cope with the psychological result of the experience they get. And many of them are experiencing a very bad physical risk because they have lived for months in front line areas of conflict and in difficult conditions, where basic needs are often inadequate.

Conclusion

Child soldiers in armed conflict is one of the practices of concern in the world. Children as soldiers have long since discovered on the battle field throughout history. The phenomenon is also a result of pressure to maintain or increase the number of fighters and support personnel in the armed forces.

Military Burma/Myanmar is one of the most recognizable in the use of children as soldiers and the armed forces. Myanmar's military government has been involved in an armed conflict with more than 35 armed groups. The suspense between military government and nongovernmental armed groups or opotition groups because socioeconomic problems that exist in the country, and in the conflict they use children as soldiers. The children use as the armed forces, the front row, set a

trap, serving in the battalion. The condition of child soldiers is so tragic because they receive heavy training and violence by their seniors at the training ground is not feasible and they not getting enough for nutritious food.

Recommendations

This recommendation is a recommendation by International Child Soldiers as one of the International Organization Non-Governmental (INGO) specifically in advocacy for child soldiers. Recommendations to the Myanmar government is Ratify and implement international standards that would strengthen Myanmar‟s commitment to eradicating the recruitment and use of child solders: the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict; the ILO Minimum Age Convention 138 and ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention 182; the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions; and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court

Myanmar Government collaborate with the UN country task force for reporting and monitoring, including by providing unhindered access to recruitment centres, military camps, training centres, and other sites where children may be present, with a view to systematically screening all Tatmadaw Kyi units and BGF battalions to ensure the identification and release of children; Ensure that legal barriers to the criminal prosecution of members of the armed forces for serious violations of human rights or international humanitarian law, including the recruitment and use of child soldiers, are lifted; Regularly make public information on the

number of investigations and prosecutions and of disciplinary actions taken and the outcome of these proceedings.(Child Soldiers International, 2013)

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SOCIOLOGY AND COMMUNICATION

The Islamic States of Iraq and Al-sham International Supports: Worldwide degradation of Humanity Through Media Propaganda

Arlita Widyastuti
Lecturer Assistant
International Program of International Relations
University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
arlitawidyastuti@rocketmail.com

Abstract

One of the current concerns inside the catastrophe caused by Islamic State of Iraq and Al-sham (ISIS) is the rising of the foreign fighters as well as worldwide supporters who dedicate themselves to support ISIS'sinsurgency. It is basically generated by ISIS through the world-wide publication to join or support their fight. It uses sophisticated virtual world mainly social-media promotion in order to influence people that its insurgency in Iraq is justifiable and must be done for the sake of world betterment based on their ideology, Wahhabism. The proliferation of ISIS propaganda in order to increase people supports around the world is indeed the global threat of humanity, as ISIS successful to make people believe and feel heroic to do insurgency that cruelly killing a lot of innocent civil society and produce massive destruction. It successful to brain washes people to forget their humanity toward their fellow human. Its action in social-media arena has

brought the conflict into the phase of information warfare.

This paper will analyze the nature of Islamic State of Iraq and Al-sham (ISIS) ideology which contents the value of inhumanity. Primary analysis will discuss about the process in which ISIS proliferated its ideology and influences various group of people around the world, as justification to prove that ISIS creates worldly degradation of humanity value. In order to analyze those two big questions this paper uses the classical theory of constructivism which related specifically in the case of digital identity warfare. Method being used in this paper are the qualitative method by gathering information from secondary resources mostly internet base analysis and content analysis.

Keywords: ISIS, Social-Media Propaganda, Information Warfare, Humanity, Constructivism

Introduction

In the nuance of Iraq catastrophic conditions caused by ongoing Islamic State of Iraq and Al-sham (ISIS) there is one increasing international concern related to the increasing number of ISIS's foreign fighters, foreign aid and also worldwide support. Based on the statistic acquired by The Washington Post which originated from ICSR report, there are approximately more than 20.000 ISIS's foreign fighters spread both in Iraq and part of Syria (Thorp G & Sharma, 2015[)].

Fifth of the total foreign fighter of ISIS surprisingly originated from western Europe and there are also flow of foreign fighters who come from Bangladesh, Chile, Ivory Coast, Japan, Malaysia, Maldives, New Zealand, Philippines, Senegal, Singapore and Trinidad and Tobago. The Brookings Institute also adds some fact together with its report concerning ISIS population in Twitter. The report stated that between September and December 2014 there are 46.000 accounts related to ISIS supporters, even thou not all are active account (Walker, 2015). It also estimated accurately that there are at least 30,000 accounts that positively labeled as ISIS's supporters account (Berger & Morgan, 2015).

In increasing their sources of support, ISIS uses the sophisticated online-media publication. It actively uses some social media services such as Twitter, Facebook and Youtube to proliferate their propaganda. Inside its publication, it always tries to glorify their ideology, which basically brings the spirit of world-purification based on the extremely-orthodox Islam perspective, Wahabbism. Through social media, it able

to attract some population in the world to support their insurgency as well as seeing what they do in Iraq as well as Syria is the right things to do.

This paper will analyze how the ISIS communication and publication activity becomes the source of worldwide degradation of humanity. This paper firstly will prove that the ideology embed in ISIS's terror, contains the value of inhumanity. Secondly, this paper will analyze how ISIS's uses its ideology as an instrument of propaganda in the social-media publications. Thirdly, this paper will prove that the use of ISIS's Ideology as propaganda instrument in social-media, success to increase ISIS's world wide support and that able to happens because of its succeed to degrade humanity value of people. This paper than will close with conclusion as well as recommendation. In order to reach the attempt on several analyses that already mentioned before this paper will mainly used the constructivism theory which concern in the ISIS's use of its ideology in its media publication and promotion. The uses of constructivism in this paper will supported by the use of content analysis which will helpful to show how the content of ISIS's publications contain the sense of propaganda.

Theory to Begin With: Constructivism Theory

One of the theory which enable this paper to draw the analysis and conclusion regarding the Islamic States of Iraq ad Al-Sham's virtual world publication as source of degradation in humanity is the theory of constructivism. The constructivism theory is well-known as a tool in order to analyze behavior of certain actors.

The constructivism theory established after the cold war era which mainly focused on the importance of normative and material structures in the importance of the identity in shaping the political behaviour (Reus Smith, 2005: 188-212).This paper will not analyze the reason behind ISIS behaviour in publishing their propaganda through social-media in virtual world, instead this paper will use constructivism in order to prove that ISIS through its publication tries to shape people perspective toward its insurgency in Iraq and Syria by using its identity.

As in the contemporary era, when the communication and information technologies develops rapidly, the study of behaviour of certain actor in international arena is not limited to the real world, but it than exist in the virtual world through the invention of Internet. The world has come to the era of the digital. Compared to the other theory of international relations, constructivism is one of the theories that provide tools to analyze the behaviour of certain actors in this digital era. It is because constructivism embodied the empirical openness to the new possibilities in the development of international relationship.

Adapting constructivism in the case of problems created based on the virtual-world publication and information, it is believe that the act of creating the information or publication are basically highly related to the identities embodied in the body of certain actors. The act of creating information based on certain perspective able to create the "information warfare" in the virtual

world, and that information warfare basically is the identities warfare. The information which already created has certain goals in order to reshape the ideational and normative aspects of certain people to believe in that information or come into actions that the information tries to promote. This virtual-world able to distance people from the exact reality related to the information. It is able create the opaque boundaries between reality and imaginary. Those opaque boundaries are able to shape the perspective and behaviour toward certain phenomenon.

This paper than will use the interpretation of constructivism theory in virtual-world to analyze the ISIS's media publication in relation to the degradation of humanity. It will proof that the ISIS's publication brings the spirit of constructivism, which highly pushed by identities background. It also believes that ISIS media publication attempt to reshape people perspectives to be positive toward what ISIS does in its insurgencies. That reshaping of people perspective will be proof as the degradation of humanity value.

Research Methodologies

The method being used in this paper is by the library research with the help of the printed materials such as book, news paper, journal and report. It also helped by the electronic media such as the television news, and online media retrieved from the internet. Therefore all the data collected for this analysis are the secondary data. The data being analyze using the theory that already explained before. Despite the data collected in this paper is the secondary data, the data come from

the reliable sources therefore this paper is the trustworthy research.

ISIS's and Inhumanity Value of Its Ideology

In order to draw a conclusion that the ISIS social-media strategy in virtual world is degrading the value of humanity of people, it highly obligated to see that the ISIS itself act and behave based on the value of inhumanity. In order to proof the value of inhumanity which brought by ISIS, as the basis this paper need to find that value in ISIS's ideology. Analyzing its ideology using the theory of constructivism, it can be started from seeing their form of behavior and actions in its insurgency. As constructivism believes that the behavior of certain actors basically the reflection or a result of the value, norms and identity inherited inside the actors.

In order to understand the origin of the ISIS's ideology we can start from understanding the form of ISIS's action to achieve their grand goal. The main objective of ISIS is to establish Islamic caliphate which is fundamentally based on Sunni Islam. As it changed its name on 29th June 2014 to be Islamic States without any regional limitation (the new name no longer has "the Iraq and al-Sham" as its limitation), ISIS starts to target wide ranges areas across the globe which according to them there are many practice that according to Islam are forbidden and area which the suppression toward Sunni Muslims happen, resulting the label of global jihadist embodied in their identity.

The global jihadist movements basically occur because of their concern toward the decline of Muslim civilization in contrast to the rise of Western civilization.

The global jihadist movements think that the decline happen because of the Muslim worlds (mainly the Middle East and regions that majority society of it are Muslim) no longer follow the path of Islam by not implementing total Islamic law as the basic constitution of the countries (Al-Tamimi, 2013: 19-44).

Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) has that characteristic. It specifically believes that the Islamic countries which do not adapt the Sunni Islamic foundation are sinful countries that need to be purified. As it is strongly believe in the Sunni fundamental ideas, the main targets of ISIS, which can be clearly seen from its current effort to attack Iraq and Syria, are the Shiite based country. Its action also cover brutal massacre of Shiite Muslim, non-Muslim and even Sunni Muslim who against them. ISIS captured Shiite Muslims in Iraq and also several foreign citizens mainly originated from western countries such as United States of America and its ally as their hostages.

The brutal actions of ISIS are involving the brutal massacre toward any entities that they believed as not part of Sunni Islam and posses' threat toward Sunni Islam has similarity with the Wahhabism practices. Therefore ISIS ideology basically strongly related to the idea of Wahhabism. Wahhabism is the ideology that promote theological reform in Islam, its goals are to influence and force people (da'wa) to restore the meaning of *tawhid* (the belief toward one and only Allah) and abolish and purify the Islamic traditions that according to them are an act of *shirk* (belief and worship other than Allah), *kufr* (unbelief to Allah), *ridda*

(apostasy) and *bida'* (Innovation) such as visiting tombs and shrines (Moussalli, 2009).

ISIS forms of operation today reflect the Wahhabism. ISIS circulated the images of Wahhabi textbook in schools it controls, in video uploaded by the group shows the Wahhabi text attached on the sides of an official missionary van (Kirkpatrick, 2014). The brutal massacre done by ISIS in the past also done by Wahhabi as he wrote"Those who would not conform to this view should be killed, their wives and daughters violated, and their possessions confiscated". Wahhabism basically brought the spirit of theological reform in Islam. Particularly it openly declared war against Shi'ism, Sufism and Greek Philosophy.

From the characteristic of Wahhabism it is clearly seen that there is value of inhumanity inherited inside that ideology. The part of the Islamic ideas in restoration of caliphate is basically not containing the spirit of inhumanity, the inhumanity value inherited in the strategy that Wahhabism followers do in order to achieve that. It justify indiscriminate killing to any entities which not following their path as Sunni Muslim. Moreover, in doing those kind of massacre, the ISIS in this case as the followers of Wahhabism, publish their cruelty visually in social-media as the form of proud and effort to create threat to people. When certain activity of certain group intentionally violated the human right of people to life, to have security and far from threat, it can be considered as the act of inhumanity.

Worldwide Degradation of Inhumanity Through ISIS Social-Media Propaganda

The previous explanation already proof that Islamic State of Iraq and Al-sham ideology inherits the value of inhumanity as it produces fear by killing, threatening and torturing any entity who come to fight against it and have different believe with it. That condition in fact worsen due to the condition of the current era which supported by the invention of virtual-world through the discovery of internet. Virtual-world provide all society with what so called as social-media services, in which people from all over the world can meet virtually and communicate virtually without any geographical boundaries. Those services provide people with media to express all the things that they want to share.

As the terrorist group which is based on traditional orthodox Sunni ideology, Wahhabism, the ISIS is not that traditional in relation to its activity in virtual world. Beside well-known because of its insurgency, ISIS also considered as terrorist and insurgent group that uses social-media as their tools of propaganda as good as their ability in using weapon to do the combat in Iraq and Syria.In June 2014 ISIS started to publish some videos which tended to create positive image for it. The video called of "Mujatweet" and mainly show depicts that ISIS is organization which support the charity actions, has a lot of citizen who loves it (Anti Defamation League, 2014). It also shows some video which show children who play with ISIS jihadist, the Syrian chef who explain that life under ISIS is

become far better than before. ISIS also uses the video for its recruitment strategy.

The other video that highly related to their goals as Sunni extremist and also Wahhabism follower is that the video which the content depicts the ISIS's description of Islamic States. That video called as "Khairrah Ummah" which shows ISIS believes in what the best *Ummah* is. It send the message about how society behave in accordance with their religious such kind or reminders of Friday Praying, as well as for the shop owner forbidden to display women manikin. The video also shows the member of ISIS slaughter what they believe as sorcerer- to show its exact fight against what they believe as evil and those actions is based on the Islamic Law.

There are video of the United States of America journalist, James Foley being beheaded posted on 19th August 2014 (Charter, 2014). On 3rd October 2014, ISIS uploaded video showing the beheading of British aid worker Alan Henning (Vinograd & Helses, 2014). The other foreign victims of ISIS's beheading action are David Haines (early 2013), Steven Sotloff (beheaded on September 2nd) and Herve Goudel captured in September while hiking in Djurjura National Park (Lavender, 2014). All of those videos are noted as ISIS's threat toward United States of America and its ally and show that ISIS main targets are not only Iraq and al-Sham but also covering western countries that they believe as the enemies of Islam.

In 2014 it launched application for android which free to be downloaded in Play Store, called as the The Dawn of Glad Tidings (Berger, 2014). The Dawn of

Glad Tidings main function is to maximize ISIS's twitter update. Once some people download the application, the server will asked them to link their twitter account to the application. Once it is successfully liked, the person behind the application (usually called as admin) which comes from ISIS formal member will be able to tweet, upload picture or even use the hashtag strategy to any registered twitter account in the application.

In the twitter world, the other famous strategy of ISIS is the hashtag strategy. Usually hashtag being used by the twitter user to promote some trend, and twitter automatically will accumulated that post and categorized it as trending topics, in state's level and world's level. One of the famous ISIS hashtag propaganda is "#AllEyesOnISIS". That hashtag usually put in the end of tweets which send the message from ISIS fans such as the picture of waving ISIS's flag, prayers for victory and also quotes from Qur'an (Wise, 2014). We can see clearly from some tweets such as:

> "Baghdadi's Lions will dominate the world with that black flag, the one reads There is no God but Allah #AllEyesOnISISpic.twitter.com/QU4T674oQ7
>
> — ©ابنة الشيخ البغدادي (@MujaahidaHafy) June 20, 2014"

> "Syrians enjoy shopping in the Thursday market in Al Raqqa city. Thats how safe it is under ISIS. #AllEyesOnISISpic.twitter.com/KQcPzakUH8
>
> — قائد مهول #بـاقـية (@alwahsh1983) June 19, 2014"

"Today is a day we support the Islamic State by raising 1 billion supporters. Use this hashtag #AllEyesOnISIS and pray for all our Mujahideen

© ابنة الشيخ البغدادي (@MujaahidaHafy) June 20, 2014"

Above tweets example are small example which show supports toward ISIS, in summary the spirit of ISIS social-media propaganda contain some basic ideas which originally come from its Ideology. First the ISIS publication strongly promote the culture of Hijrah, which mean invitation to join with battle by directly fly to Iraq and Syria to perform Jihad (Mc Fate & Gambir, 2014). Secondly it also influence people to declare Bay'at, which mean the people encourage to stay in where they are but created organization which affiliate and support ISIS. Third main content is ask its supporters to conduct what so called as Lone-Wolf Attack, which mean ISIS encourage its follower to conduct attack toward ISIS opponents wherever they are.

In respond to that tweets the counter hashtag tweets appear which mainly consist of those who anti-ISIS supporters. They usually come up with the "#NO2ISIS" hashtag after their anti-ISIS message. Some of example of that tweets are "No to terrorism, no to sectarianism, no to barbarity, no to backwardness, no to beheadings, no to murder. **#NO2ISIS**", "Sorry what kind of Islam do you follow? This violence and oppression does NOT belong to the religion of Mohammad nor Islam **#NO2ISIS**", and "If you try killing our bros and sisters, whether they are Shia or Sunni, we will fight back! **#NO2ISIS#AllEyesOnISIS**".

Those phenomena basically what constructivism believe as the "information warfare" which is highly can be translated as "identity warfare", The battle between "#AllEyesOnISIS" and "#NO2ISIS" shows two battle between two major identity which are Identity of ISIS and the Identity from anti-ISIS which consist of those people who believe that the ISIS doing the crime against humanity. Unfortunately even though the social-media strategy done by ISIS gets its virtual-world opponents too, ISIS social-media strategy proof able to increase its supports in reality and that amplify ISIS ability to fight in the battleground in Iraq and Syria.

In fact the number of ISIS foreign fighter reached 20,000 which originated from 90 different countries, from that number 3,400 fighter estimated come from western and surprisingly 150 of them are United State of America citizen (Crawford & Koran, 2015). The high number also updated by United Kingdom government that 600 until 2,000 fighters estimated originated from United Kingdom.From Asia itself, government of Indonesia has stated that approximately 60 citizen of Indonesia joined with the fight, Malaysia stated that more than 100 of its citizen join with ISIS and there are approximately 200 Filipinos' become active supporters of ISIS (Koplowitz, 2015).

Those above facts is exact proof that people from all over the world get to know ISIS, and influenced to join with ISIS in reality. This paper believe based on the constructivism ground that the ISIS social-media strategy success to reach the people from many parts of the world. All the publication already mentioned above are the publication which strongly create imaginary

image related to ISIS, through the social-media some people see that what ISIS doing in Iraq and Syria are good and for betterment.

That phenomenon is what constructivism believes as the effort to construct the perception of the people. The communication and information technology, in this case is the material aspect, and in the hand of ISIS that material aspect utilize as a tools of propaganda which spread their promotion of the organization. The use of social-media in the hand of ISIS take advantage of geographical boundaries, as people will not able to see the exact reality in Iraq and Syria, so it create the visualization of their condition in Iraq and Syria attractive for the average user of social-media. It is mean that the people will not fairly see the harsh of the battlefield.

In the case of ISIS social-media propaganda, it able to create sophisticated publication about what they do and what principle they follow and from previous analysis of this paper, the values of ISIS's principles or ideology have strong inhuman aspects. With its the social-media campaign, ISIS able to influenced people to see that the inhuman activity it has done are the obligations of every Muslim in the world and part of Jihad therefore in the end when the people decided to fight alongside with ISIS they will be guaranteed a place in heaven. The fact about the number of ISIS foreign supporters is a reflection about how much influence that the ISIS has achieved so far. It is means that ISIS succeed to shape people perspective that doing inhumanity action in certain conditions is a right things to do, it is also mean that ISIS succeeded to do the

degradation of humanity value through its social-media propaganda.

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis it is clearly that the Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham social-media activity is its tools to do propaganda related to its identity. This propaganda mainly used by ISIS in order to recruit and gather support in many kind of form such as foreign fighter, invitation to create Bay 'at and also worldwide supporters. The using of social-media by ISIS basically tries to achieve that by reshaping people perspective over what they do in Iraq and Syria.

It tries to spread the idea that their identity which based on Wahhabism and its brutal insurgency is the right things to do. It takes advantage of the distance so it can create false reality so the some people will fall into their influence. That false reality basically transforms the inhumanity value of their actions into something that needed to be done for the betterment of people in the world and betterment for Islam and an invitation to make people join with this action in order to perform Jihad and get guarantee of heaven in the here-after world. The spread of inhuman value of ISIS and its success to scout people, who come from all over the world, is the exact threat to humanity. It is a proof that the ISIS activity and strategy in social-media has physical impact as real as their physical attacks.

Recommendations

- **Create Counterpropaganda Campaign In Social-Media**

Islamic State of Iraq and Al-sham considered as professional on creating virtual-media campaign through video or visual and narrative materials. Some of their videos are high quality video with heroic back sound and editing, therefore create some effect such kind of action game for the audience. They also good and playing a narrative content in their tweets or posters. All of those publications have modernity touch. For any entities which want to counter their propaganda campaign, they need to create high quality campaign through any possible channel in the social-media sphere. They need to create high quality and sophisticated campaign to as well as targeting the same audience with ISIS (Heather & Keagle, 2014).

- **Anti-ISIS Social-Media Application**

As ISIS as the terrorist group able to multiply their publication through the use of android application, Indonesia or the other state have high possibility to take that strategy and use it as the counter strategy. The creation of the application called as The Dawn of The Tidings which can be downloaded freely in application store of android able to post 90.000 tweets per-day, that coverage will intensify people exposure toward ISIS propaganda. Therefore the use of same application will be useful in order to spread the message that contains the prevention of wrong understanding from the society.

- **Early-stages Socialization**

Many of the ISIS foreign supporters and fighter are those who still in the young age. Since ISIS through its social-media spread the false understanding about their insurgency and shape people to believe in what they do, the governments of certain country need to do direct socialization for the young generation through educational institution. Government can do the training as well as school event that concern to educate the children and teenagers about the harsh of terrorism activity and the wrong perspective toward the interpretation fighting in the name of Islam. It needs to be done as the long-term agenda not only short term, as infiltration of culture and understanding need long-term process to be effective.

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FREEDOM OF SPEECH AS DEMOCRATIC MEDIA

Annisa Setya Hutami, S.I.Kom
Universitas Gadjah Mada
setyahutami@yahoo.com

Abstract

We look from phenomenon how public opinion can uphold by media. James Curran says if democratic process assumes that individual citizens have capacity to hold elected official accountable. It means that media gives space for public to share opinion or information so that increase beneficial. Campaign will more dynamic when there are many participants but there is problem when no boundaries as security inside public. All of public can share without norm although there is textual law that arranged it, but it is not fully-functioned. Democracy means freedom of public to speak up especially in media. It is form of democratic system. Role of media will appear as public tool that functioned to educate. Education for political science that direct person to go in their side. Not only to educate but also to increase participation in politic. Politic communication as the key to do persuasive action such as citizen journalism and activism.

Media looks the tools to compare which is the antagonist and protagonist media especially in election session. It creates participations that based by imitation without comparison and deep investigation. Now, media not just stand with ones way but two ways. There is interactive era when public involved in the systems. But, it causes overlapping when different perception

combined in one media. On this paper, I will share about freedom of speech as democratic media in political election moment, from their opinion feedback until their action.

Keywords: Freedom of speech, democratic media, public, political participation

Introduction

Media has role for education and entertainment. It is based by the condition of subject. People will use media as their interest. How they can get information from news or program on media. Not only get information but they feel satisfaction from media. In this era, people is free to choose media. Moreover, they are not limited to get access from media. So, all people quantity of media user is increasing rapidly. Prof Nunung Prajarto (2006: 371) says one of the major problems in providing an assessment of the mass media is not good or bad in the media, but rather on good and bad positions by assessors. This leads to the question of which people judge the mass media which includes neutrality, as well as the interests of simplification. This gave rise to problems of advanced positioning when appraisers also controls the media or being able to influence the media. Even worse when the other mass media agrees that assessment without doing cross-check or at least seek a balance.

Neutrality is hard to do because some media has different perception when talking about an issue. Talking about objectivity, we cannot do it because we

have different perception. From the market of the point to search beneficial. It is become the problem of the press democracy. The reality means press democracy over the aims of Indonesian press. Luhmann (2000: 104-105) said that the involvement of the mass media is indispensable when the point at issue is widespread dissemination and the possibility of anonymous and thus unpredictable uptake. The market would then be the environment, internal to the economic system, of economic organizations and interactions; public opinion would be the environment, internal to the political system of political or organizations and interactions.

Similar with Luhmann, James Curran in his introduction explains the design of the American news media system is based on two assumptions. If the media are to be free from government, they have to be organized as a market, not a state, system; and if they are to serve fully democracy, they should be staffed by professionals seeking to be accurate, impartial and informative. According that statement so author summarized the system in America divide how they organized. So, how about media system in Indonesia, it is a market or a state.

The implementation of democracy in Indonesia is far from the accuracy, impartiality and half of information. Some of them show the content which follow general media. They still looking market system when some of them share blur information to get advantages for some aspects such as political interest and economical interest. It is because government cannot

handle the freedom of press. So, it cannot be called by authoritarian press. Media plays the market to create public voice. They take sample from public speech but not represent all of the public. Luhmann paradigm tends to describe media boundary making inside the public. From freedom of speech, public can share their opinion to the media. But it depends with media character.

President election that hold several month ago represent that media has freedom to share their ideology. It proves that media has role as participant inside the political system. From that point, we can suggest that we are on the over democracy press. The problem in media democracy because of media imitation. Media absorbs information from public who agree with their statement. Then, they make that public opinion become a source of public perspective.

James Curran (2011) interpreted that celebrating the winning of media freedom and public linked to the democratization of the political system-is beginning to be modified in response to radical criticism. This status quo presents the media in Indonesia which inclined report radical blow up their politic rival news such as share negative behavior until their failure.Media sharing to the public in the 2014 presidential election increase the participation of public. Some of media uphold the public opinion to support their statement for their candidate. But the weakness of this democracy is they like compete to get more public voice.

Theoretical Framework

The author use public sphere as a theoretical framework. It is because the concept of the public sphere is useful one for thinking about how modern liberal democratic societies function. It attempts to describe the way in which million of citizens reach consensus about the running of their society. (Alan McKee, 2005: 6). From that characteristic, public sphere will open the knowledge to interpret how sphere of public. Private space of public and media are the ways to generalize people have right. But author will explain this theoretical to analyzed political communication that engaged the public. From year to year, the system and the form of public sphere move to adapt with society and government environment.

Hubermas (1989) from Kellner (1990:11) analyzed the transformation of the public sphere under the pressure of a rising system of mass media. It is related in state and bourgeois society. Mass media as a potential space for political debate, opposition and struggle. Media function on political election can make opposition public and affirmative public. To compare that group depend the media as an actor. Image that created by media makes judgment for society participant. The sphere looks from quantity of the content.

Freedom of Speech

Freedom of speech means democracy on media. People can speak and media can speak to share their perception or paradigm. According Prof. Dr. Hamid Darmadi, M.Pd (2004: 432), democracy refers to the concept of country life or society where adult citizens participate in government through its representative selected government encourages and guarantees freedom of speech, religion, thought, association, enforce the rule of law, the majority government that respects the rights of minorities; and society giving each an equal chance.

When we talk about similar chance for speak, we look Franklin Delano Rosevelt (about human right. There are four right that people have such as freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from fear and freedom from want. They are symbolized aims and hope in fighting. As a human, people always integrate with the speech. We want to speak up so that our aspiration heard by public or government. The aim is to change the system and make the welfare for society. As a develop country, we are still on the developing country which hope the transformation.

Voltaire in Hallowell (1958:72) explains that freedom consist in being independent from everything but law. It concludes that freedom can be categorized from every form of social control except law. Freedom of speech in media should obey the rules of the law. As a system, media must have law and ethic code. But the law still implemented old system. Indonesia rule about press still use law number 40 of 1997. It discuss freedom

of press as freedom of citizen. The second verse of the national press that is not subject to censorship, banning or prohibition of broadcasting.

Media as A Tool for Participation in Politic

Media have contribution for political interest. It is for increase participation of public. As a tool for political element, media influences people paradigm and perspective to direct public. They create content which tend to persuade than give real information. Contents that produced have been filtered by some system and political paradigm. Looking status quo in Indonesia, some stakeholder involved in political actor. According Balkin (2004:1) free speech value include interactivity, mass participation, and the ability to modify and transform culture. Media has culture that can be separated from other media. It is defined by affiliation from media ideology.

Balkin (2004:3) said freedom of speech allows ordinary people to participate freely in the spread of ideas and in the creation of meanings that, in turn, help constitute them as persons. Media gives chance for people to share their opinion and make conclusion from some cases in political issues. Political reality in Indonesia seems go to the media. The campaign not only use oration but use news that inform their activity. Political communication spread on the media which make some information about their positive point more than negative point. And they use propaganda to create good image. So, information directed to make rival

image became a bad image with share bad attitude or perception from scientist.

There are two ways that media do to increase participation. First, political campaigns are in the form of political advertising and specific program. Program that contain candidate strength and leadership experience. Second, they held a poll with the aims to increase the level of public representation for that candidate. The relationship between media freedom and political knowledge or political participation should therefore parallel the relationship between media freedom and voter turnout. If low media freedom is meaningfully associated with political ignorance and low political participation, we should find lower voter turnout where the media is less free and vice versa. (Leeson, 2008:165)

Mc Quail (2011: 165) said that electronic media provides the tools for providing political information and ideas that are distinguished, almost unlimited access in theory to all the sounds and lots of feedback and negotiations between leaders and followers. Media helps people to give them choice with comparison analysis. The target of media is a active viewer because they are thought to more influenced easily. It is because they have trust media as a tool to give education so all information from media considered a fact.

Media Interactive

Meyer (2002: 119) said when expectation met, the new public sphere will encourage each and every citizen to take part in discussions meant to educate

public opinion and guide public choice. Advances in technology do indeed offer participants in the internet's political communications forums almost unlimited opportunities for flexible, self-determined interaction, free from the traditional boundaries of social class and physical space. It is form of media interactive have the big potential to integrate the public.

Two ways communication represents how media can hear public opinion. These are about aspiration and expression about political issues. Media like political education agent to share their ideas to their candidates. From that cases, there are leader which rule the information. So, the democratic media in Indonesia near with freedom of speech but there is ruler inside them. Mass media as a culture industry that systematically indoctrinates individuals with the ideological value and ways of life of established society (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972 from Kellner 1990: 10-11). Nowadays, mass media conceptualized as a interactive media.

Before interactive media era, people were difficult to give feedback for media. Moreover, media just an information giving that do passive action for the movement of society. It was because there were press brandling that decided by government on authoritarian press era. Explaining the cases from presidential election, people face the new interactive media system when people can free to speak to support their candidate. But it looks influence the dependency with media and ignore the other media. Interactive side that media use not only from mass media but from social media.

Journalism will find its future when its find its audience and that audience will be many hued, sexually diverse and composed mostly of workers. (brougham from James Curran (2011: 112). Diversity will present the media democratic because public come from several categories.

Conclusion

Conclusion from this paper is simple that democratic media must be renovated by the movement of public sphere system. Freedom of speech as the basic of human nature should be uphold by the right way. We cannot blame the media when they support one's candidate. But we must learn how to literate the public and change media to inform more about political education than political sensation. Leeson (2008: 160) find a large, positive, and highly significant association between media freedom and political knowledge. Where the media is less free, citizens are less politically knowledgeable. The participation of public increase rapidly. But there is problem when mass media direct public to follow their paradigm and affiliation. It is the reason why democratic media in Indonesia over free and the boundaries that just a boundary.

The press industry cannot separated by the role of stakeholder. But, it still use by management so that their press industry do not stagnant and persisted show their existence (Suroso, 2001:180). The affiliation to one candidate rise image for that media as politic media. If they cannot cope with this condition, they will lose publics especially who support different candidate.

European Commission (2012:5) discuss the right to freedom of expression has always rested upon public platforms of communication to give them effect. This means that media aims to give effect of public. When they can reach some public so they are success to inform the news. But it is not forget the role of public. Media as a tool try to be public inside the public.

Recommendations

Author recommended public sphere as a public opportunity to speak up can be implemented by the aims for the education. The cases from the presidential election prove that media just look from stakeholder interest. To change the system, we should give socialization about political communication in the school and family. So, public can participate to change the media without lose the political content of media.

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Television Broadcasting Media Gatekeeper and "Public Toilet" Content

Damar Sari Wulan

Universitas Gadjah Mada

damar.sari15@gmail.com

+62 822 259 80 290

Abstract

Looking at broadcasting media content today, live broadcasting of celebrities wedding to celebrities childbirth, imply the act of abusing public frequency. The writer focus on the increasing number of low quality media content, or using Niklas Luhman's term, 'Public Toilet'. Numbers of broadcasting ethics and regulation are ignored and violated since it's lost its power as norm for media. Moreover, the function of mass media as social control influences audience's behaviour so that media supposed to manage its content before dissemination process to audiences. Therefore, a good content management is mandatory for any media. The role of gatekeeper on this content management is to consider and to filter content. In the practice, media role is to uphold ethics during the whole process of content gatekeeping. This paper will discuss factors that cause the emergence of 'Public Toilet' content, also aim to analyze ethics and regulation violation within the contents.

Keywords: Media Regulations, Media Ethics, Public Frequency, Communication and Society, Content Management, Public Toilet, Independent Regulatory Body

Introduction

Recently, several famous private media broadcasting televisions (TV) broadcasted celebrity's wedding, Raffi Ahmad and Nagita Slavina, two days in a row for more than 14 hours a day. This is considered very derogating to public as the owner of frequency. Derogating because these media 14 hours a day only broadcasted series of celebrity's wedding. By broadcasting celebrity Raffi Ahmad and Nagita's wedding, television station was considered abusing its power in managing public frequency. That wounded public's right to gain benefit from the management of frequencies. (MetroTVnews.com)

Two months after Trans TV's Raffi-Gigi wedding show, the labor process moment from celebrity Ashanty was also broadcasted live for 4 hours at RCTI. According to Law No. 32 of 2002 on Broadcasting, Article 1 Paragraph 10 says that the national broadcasting system and the order of the national broadcasting governed based on law for achieving the principles, objectives, functions and direction of national broadcasting to accomplish the national idea, as outlined in the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, while Article 2 affirms broadcasting organized by Pancasila and 1945 Constitution with the principle of benefit, fair, and equitable, rule of law, security, diversity, partnership, ethics, independence, freedom and responsibility – KPI (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission) Commissioner, 2013.

The presence of low-quality content is becoming more and more frequent in Indonesia. Niklas Luhman (1996) called this 'Public Toilet' content where content

of 'Products and opinions' generated by media often does not have news value, does not provide any benefit to the community. Private television media can do whatever they desire to raise television ratings in order to profit as much as possible. Private television media has began to ignore a number of regulations, even lose its ethical in conducting various activities. In fact, it has been clear in Law No. 32 Year 2002 on Broadcasting Chapter 5 of the broadcasting code of conduct that media should have ethics, attention to moral values, religion, laws and regulations, and other norms accepted by the public. Given status that actually media only borrows frequency from society, media better keeps functioned properly and protect the community.

Nurudin (2007) said, one of the elements of mass communication is as "gatekeeper". Since media has duty to influence information, since one of the elements of media is information, so it can be called the "gatekeeper". According to Nurudin, the gatekeeper is given permission to spread information. Gatekeeper can delete messages, modify and add something to the message that will be spread, as well as stop information to enter and not to open the gate for the distribution of information. All mass media channels have gatekeepers to monitor or filter information that will be broadcasted to public. Everyone involved affects the information called gatekeeper, reporter, editor or producer. Each TV station puts the gatekeeper in its policies. In fact, in the case of Indonesia's "Public Toilets", the gatekeeper's role is highly questionable. The presence of low quality content in the existence of gate keeping process is

problematic. The attention of ethics inside gate keeping process is also less.

Responding the cases of live and long run Public Toilet content, Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) as an Independent Regulatory Body already gave warning to two TV stations, namely Trans TV and RCTI. However, KPI warning seemed not making any sense. KPI has given warning to Trans TV that a number of violations were done. During the live wedding broadcast titled "Janji Suci Raffi and Nagita" which aired on Trans TV for a very long duration on 16-17 October 2014, according to KPI, it was not utilized for public interest. Broadcasting time is not providing benefit to public as the sole owner of frequency. This, too, has violated the Broadcasting Code of Conduct of the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission in 2013 of Article 11 Paragraph 1 As well as the Program Standard Indonesian Broadcasting Commission of 2012 Article 11 Paragraph 1 (KPI.go.id) which says the protection of public interests. Still, like there was no sense, RCTI broadcasted laboring process of celebrity Ashanty. Private area becomes public consumption. Where is the privacy? Then, why KPI is very late to warn "Public Toilet" content show?

The broadcasting phenomenon of several contents that is derogating indicates problems in some points. First, media began to lose direction and function as a true media. Broadcasting as a mass communication activity, functioned as medium of information, education, healthy entertainment, control and social unifier. Media is now much more oriented towards the pursuit of high rating. Advertisers only desire to

advertise on high rated programs, regardless their ethical aspects. Weak government regulation and regulatory actions who seems not bold enough, making the media keep on repeating the violations, in accordance with the gate keeping dysfunction of gatekeeper itself. Violation toward public frequency can negatively affect public, remember that it is a duty for media to become a tool for social control.

In Indonesia, television is the main source of public information and extremely popular in society. Television becomes very important in life. According to Neilsen survey, majority of Indonesian watch television regularly. Despite of the presence of the internet, television remains people's first choice and continues to survive. We can see that from the frequency of watching television people can do in a day. Susanto (1980) in Unde (2014) said, television as a source of information is highly trusted by the public (90%), while the trust to other media is not that high. Terms "seeing is believing" apparently is true in the context of television's audience, considering its big size certainly plays role in the management and distribution of information.

Indonesia has a number of broadcasting regulations as foundation or guidance for broadcast media, namely Law No. 32 of 2002, the Press Law, P3-SPS KPI, Code of Ethics of Journalism, KIP Act, and so forth. With the presence of these laws, the rights of society should be protected as the owner of frequency, and KPI plays as information supervisor of broadcasting activity. The published content must not contain disturbance of privacy and ethics violation in all aspect of broadcasting, environment, society, and culture.

**Figure 1. Thinking Framework on Trigger
of the Presence of "*Public Toilet*"**

Advertiser Seeks for High Rated Media
Media Pursue for Rating
Gatekeeper Disfunction
Regulation and Indonesia Broadcasting Commission are considered as weak
Public Toilet Content

Unfortunately, the regulations of heavy ethics violations which were then enforced by the regulator, in the matter of fact ended up only until warning level. If the regulator should wait three times a letter of reprimand filed and withdrawn, in that period, can we imagine how many people had already became victim of unethical broadcasts? Let's say, in one year, Trans 7 got 25 sanctions from KPI and the most complaint came from public (4,936) (KPI.go.id) and there were several shows where the broadcasting license were revoked. Although there were already many official warning from KPI, but it feels like there is no deterrent effect. Even the

controversial program "Empat Mata" which its broadcasting license revoked, later changed by another name "Bukan Empat Mata".

The television broadcasting media should run its function essentially. Media content management should also really well managed. Although there is always a nature for commercial and rating orientation, they better present real creative ideas to get a high rating, of course by obeying the guidelines and ethical conduct. Gatekeeper as the filter of low-benefit content or 'Public Toilet' content should also consider ethical aspect. Here, the media acts as filter for information through broadcasted content, given the mass media very massive audience.

Gate keeper Dysfunction

Based on the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 40 Year 99 about Press Article 3, it is stated that the mass media have several functions, as a medium of information, education, entertainment, surveillance or social control. With the live show "Ashanty's laboring process" and the celebrity wedding show which was broadcasted live for 2 days in a long run certainly shown the dysfunction of media. According to Wright (1985), the communication dysfunction is caused by the uncensored world's news, therefore it can become a threat to society. While Unde (2014) says that, if media function is below expectation and alter from what's first expected, then it is called as dysfunctional. Media with its function for information and education seemed begin

to shift to the display of certain contents with hidden functions (latent function) which then will bring negative impact into public's life.

The functions of media are like two opposite sides, first we can see the positive side, but also the negative side. Lazard and Merton in the Littlejohn (1996) stated that mass media can cause the destruction of the moral values and ethnic cultural norms in society. The long duration show of 'Public Toilet' content makes media cannot function properly. Public rights to receive ethical and good information, or news and other contents that should have been presented, unfortunately have to be cut because of some reality shows. For example during program "Janji Suci" Nagita Slavina and Raffi Ahmad in Trans TV, public seemed have no option but watched it. Since it was on 'prime time' hour at 8:00 to 22:00 pm for two days, it ranged almost all television's audiences from kids to adults. Like there is no other show, audience should only accept to watch.

"If you do not like it, you can switch the channel", celebrity Anang in the birth of his child's live show said at the press conference. It is not as simple as "switching channel" but the misuse of public frequencies by the media is questionable. Of course, public will always be the victim of such low quality content. Is that an entertainment functions? If that so, then the entertainment function in such an extremely long duration is biased.

In terms of media content management, Nurudin (2007) stated, there are several elements, one of it is the

gatekeeper. All mass media channels have gatekeepers, they can delete messages, modify and add information to be distributed, and they can also stop it. While the gatekeeper function are: 1. To broadcast information, 2. To restrict information by editing before it is spread, 3. To expand the quantity of information by adding facts or other views, 4. To interpret information (Bittner, 1996)

Each media gate keeper carries out various functions depend on the policy where he works. It brings various effects depend on his own activity, one of which is the distortion of information. There are two distortions of information (Nurudin, 2007), namely systematic distortion and random distortion. Take a look at the situation in Indonesia. The live broadcast of low quality content shows that distortion of information by gatekeeper activity, namely systematic distortion, was occurred. Systematic distortion is a deliberate distortion so that the audience follows the construction of the information created by the mass media. There is a covert function from the sender of message. Unconsciously, society's mind was built to follow media's trends. Celebrity privacy and low quality content are aired regularly, so slow but sure it becomes interesting and should be followed by public.

Gatekeeping process conducted by Indonesia's gatekeeper, in fact, is no longer becoming major concern, especially for Trans and RCTI. If Public Toilet content show appears, usually the gatekeeper is problematic.

Figure 2. Gatekeeping process by gatekeeper.
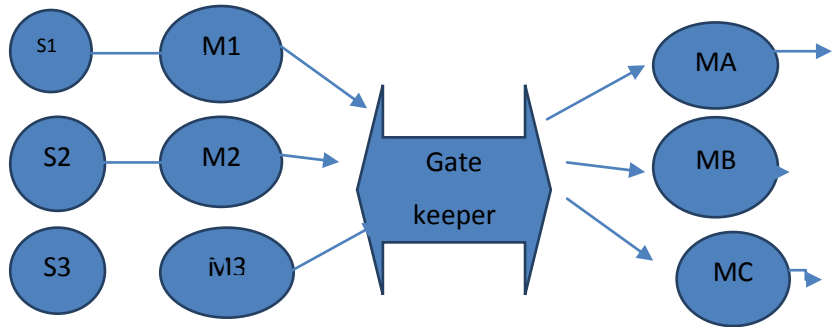
Source : Josep A. Devito (1997) in Nurudin (2007)

From the picture above, the messages (M1, M2, M3) received by filters information from different sources (S1, S2, S3). Then, information's filter function is to select messages to be communicated, and then selectively delivers message (MA, MB, MC) to different receivers (R1, R2, R3). The messages received by the message filter information (M1, M2, M3) are not the same with messages sent by information's filter (MA, MB, MC). This is sent to the different recipients. Here, the target for the program becomes clear. During gatekeeping process, one should pay attention to values and ethics in broadcasting activity and the community. In order there will be no more of low quality content, gatekeeper should take a major role. Guidelines Act and Regulations becomes the benchmark of gatekeeper activity during gate keeping process.

Rating, Advertiser, and Content

Unconsciously, the very fast development and speed in communication technology affects dissemination of information or idea. This also means the huge effect for nation's life. Broadcasting media served as a disseminator of information, heritage cultural values, to educate, to entertain, and also as social control, so it should be able to convey the message, therefore people obtain information that is clear, complete, honest, ethical, moral, and objective. Freedom of information is increasingly demanded by the public, as the process of development of various Law ranging from 1945 Constitution in the preamble, up to the amendment of article 28 of the 1945 Constitution states "freedom of association and assembly of expression either spoken or written is defined by law". Indonesian television is required to increase a healthy behavior toward society, fair, honest and responsible news (Unde, 2014). Therefore, in the era where it is quite easy to get information, we must pay attention to the aspects and media content that will be shown to the society. Indonesian television evolved through several phases, up to now, the era of freedom of information. But media must be very careful about what kind of content that should be delivered and what shouldn't, the good and the bad information. Media should filter information as effective as possible so the audience is not negatively affected.

But today, during the euphoria of reform era, the freedom is exaggerated by the people not only in

informal sector like street vendors and public employees but also in the formal sector, such as Representatives, NGOs and mass media institutions. Freedom colors all shapes of media without any control from authorities, like the memory of new order era long time ago. However, now appears lower quality programs, such as live show of celebrity marriage and childbirth, using the public frequency regardless the ethics and awareness that public should be protected as the sole owner of frequency.

In 21st century, television is like a "sweetheart" of all the people, young to old, women and men, wherever they are. The words "television is a window of the world" is somehow true since its ability to bring many events in various parts of the world to everyone regardless one's class. Television in Indonesia is highly demanded and frequently used, compared with other media such as newspapers, radio, and even internet. Commercial private television stations in Indonesia plays important role. Especially, television is widely popular and high rated. Private broadcast media as commercial broadcast media depends largely on advertising revenue. These media then compete with each other to get high rating, so that advertisers interested in advertising on the television. Automatically, the highest rated television program will absolutely invite many advertisers, which would bring extra income. The Broadcasting Act has mentioned that commercial private television takes advantage from the advertisement.

TV audience in Indonesia also continues to grow. Based on the economic status in 10 cities, 29% of TV viewers include Category AB and the majority of TV viewers in the category C (approximately 51%). The level of class CDE watch TV in prime time is very high, while the AC class slightly higher at certain times of the other (day-part). Most of the Indonesian television viewers are women, compared to men with the comparison 55:45. The number of television viewers can usually be counted, among others, based on the rating. Based on Roy Morgan Single Source (October 2006-September 2007), TV reaches 99.33% of the Indonesian population. RCTI is a television with the widest range.

Theoretically, the greater the number of television viewers, the more ads can get into the TV. Though expensive, TV becomes the promising media to advertise. Television are now likely to follow advertisers, in other words, private television who wants to reap the benefits, providing space for advertisers to advertise their products with hidden function. Bogart (1995) in Morissan (2013) stated the influence of advertising on media content. Advertisers determine the content of the media when they became sponsor of program, while the existence of media competition shows the life and death of media. Media organizations that are most likely affected by advertisers are the media that rely only on advertising revenue.

As an example, in live show of laboring process "Anakku buah hatiku, Anang & Ashanty" the author tries to map the segment of that live broadcast. Overall,

the program without advertising is only last for 1:58:35 hours, but if added with advertisements, it went into 4:00:00 hours. In addition, in some segments, there were clear products advertisements presented, the direct role played by the actor who will give birth. Namely pregnant women milk products "Prenagen". Then, there is a healthcare company providing services for the storage of umbilical cord after the birth, so that the discussion seemed to be directed to that part first by using doctors and several artists to bring issues that arise. After that, representatives of the company presented and interviewed about their products. After the child is born, Ashanty directly was also given gifts by "Telon Lang" (oil products Kayuputih Caplang) by first explaining the product's information. Public Toilet content is very low in education aspect. Educational information by interviewing several doctors, who presented it, seems only as an alibi in order not to look too profit-oriented. But unfortunately, it is very clear to know that the show was only for money and advertising spaces to advertiser, regardless the ethical aspects and the rights of public as frequency owners.

Segment I	Description
Before entering surgery room, taking to the surgery room.	Ashanti and family were guided by the host on the way to surgery room.
Studio background inside the hospital.	Short documentation the marriage of Anang-Ashanty which was also live on RCTI. Host explained about the

	couple's love story.
In front of surgery room.	The ambiance in front of surgery room was broadcasted live.
Segment II Studio	Interview between celebrity and doctor.
Hospital's room	Scene of Anang prepared milk for Ashanti continued with advertised Prenagen milk product. Ashanti tailored the details of product.
Segment III Studio	Interview with friends who visited
Studio	Interview with advertiser from baby's umbilical cord storage and its price
Surgery Room	Anang kissed his new baby addition and directly interviewed live in the studio.
Segment IV	Video of Ashanty who shopped for baby equipments
RS	Parcel from Telon Lang oil and advertising from Caplang
Studio	Interview from Ashanty's doctors

Segment V Kamar RS	Interviewing Ashanty's family about their feeling after her baby was born
Segment VI RS	Press conference about the birth of Anang & Ashanty new daughter

Observation of researcher in the live show
program "Anakku Buah Hatiku"

Based on the content presented in this show, it was clear that KPI gave warning through Decree 2932 / K / KPI / 12/14 on December 15, 2015 on Exclusive Reality Show Ashanty's Process of Laboring titled: "Anakku Buah Hati Anang & Ashanty" broadcasted December 14, 2014 starting at 13:14 pm. The program showed Ashanty's process of laboring for approximately four (4) hours. KPI assessed that the show had not been utilized for the public interest. The program was broadcasted in such duration of time that considered not fair and did not provide benefit to the public as frequency owners. This violation is classified as a violation of the protection against public interest. KPI decided that the content has violated the Broadcasting Code of Conduct of the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission in 2012 Article 11 paragraph (1) and the Standard Program of Indonesian Broadcasting Commission in 2012 Article 11 paragraph (1). Criticism and objection from society toward the quality of the

show and its content were likely ignored by the TV station.

The role of media expected to bring the public more constructive changes (functional) unfortunately experiences challenge, that is the emergence of concern that media will be source of information about a crime, chaos (chaos), and immorality (dysfunctional). It seems like freedom in television goes beyond control. Appeared that media has tendency to follow people's preference since it is seen as a promising market for more money (Unde, 2014).

From the perspective of Actor, Game theory, assumes that humans are basically greedy because it was born in such economic sphere in which utility maximization is everything. Here, actors can be referred to the broadcast media who seeks to optimize profits by any means. One of the means is by providing space for advertiser to advertise at the expense of public rights. In this case, media is a greedy actor and thinking rationally. Individuals' rational behavior determines the choice of strategy aim to maximize profits or to achieve equilibrium point.

In this case, RCTI becomes actor who thinks rationally and is assumed to maximize the existing utilities. In addition, since it won the highest rating in 2008, it also tried to produce a variety of programs to make the same achievement. However, because that kind of activity, social norms in society is seems to be neglected. No matter how much it will affect the public,

TV does not obey regulations and ethics in broadcasting media.

According to the authors, this is one of the strongest factors pushing the content of public toilets in the world of Indonesian television. Greediness nature of the actor makes them ignore ethics, regulations and the rules of broadcasting. All they think about is profit.

In addition, the era of openness and freedom of information encourages the growth of media industry. The growth of mass media such as television industry in Indonesia is characterized by three things as follows: the first, business management in the field of mass media is no longer carried out idealism foundation, but turn out to be managed by a professional management system using advanced technology products that lead to commercialization. Second, the growing number of national businessman invests in mass media business. Third, the existing mass media is in very diverse forms and then lead to a specialization (Unde, 2014).

Mass media is a means of disseminating messages and information to the public, where the realm of the information distribution from mass media includes a very wide ranged audience. In general, one of mass media strength is influencing the attitudes and behavior of people/public. Media is effective in building awareness of the citizens about certain issues. It has central role in filtering information and shaping public opinion (Lindsey (1994) in Rashid (2014)). Media has a great influence in bringing information to its public.

The Role of Independent Regulatory Body

The next factor that caused the appearance of public toiletcontent is the insignificance of the independent regulatory body in Indonesia which is KPI. Although KPI is intended to be independent, in reality, it is still under the guidance of Ministry of Communication and Information. KPI is the cornerstone of broadcasting supervision.

Anything that is broadcasted by media will become a public consumption in which the media should always cover both sides. Furthermore, media hold an important part in distributing information, entertainment, and education as well as in social control. Therefore, it is imperative for a country to have a supervisory board who will give guidance towards the content, activity, regulation and also the ownership of a media. Regulation is very important in order to protect the right of Indonesian people to get clear information and take benefit from the existence of media. In Indonesia, those regulation have been issued and the Independent Regulatory body is called KPI.

Broadcasting Act Article 8 Point 1 describes the role of KPI as a broadcasting regulatory body which have the following duties and responsibilities: to ensure that the people are able to reach proper and factual information; to develop healthy business environment among the broadcasting institution and the related infrastructure; to maintain the structure of national information distribution which are fair, indiscriminate and balance and also to contain, research and imposing

the complaints, rebuttals, critics and appreciation towards the broadcasting institution; and to make a planning on the development of human resources which will ensure the professionalism of the broadcasting. KPI took an important part in supervising information and public rights.

Broadcasting has an immense impact on the civilization. Broadcasting shape the people behavior, construct and event distort the culture. Based on the pervasive presence theory, the impact of broadcasting has been greatly felt by the people. Since its presence was relatively subtle without any clear sign, its impact was unavoidable even for the adults (Rahayu, 2014). Therefore, people need a protection against the negative impact of the media. KPI as an independent body supervises the broadcasting activity in Indonesia.

The role of KPI in law enforcement against the public toilet content seems to be ineffective. KPI are unable to show its authority and only capable in ensuing a warning. KPI is unable to impose a punitive sanction which will make the broadcasting media stop publishing such kind of content. The unavailing regulation and the nugatory role of the regulatory body have made the public toilet content keep appearing in public television. On RCTI and Trans TV, the publication of private content which against the ethical code are happening not only once and even after KPI's warning, they still broadcast it using different name and brand but with the similar content.

Riyanto, the Chief of Central KPI (2010 – 2013), stated that if the regulation can be committed then it will have a good impact on people's quality of life. KPI must

be really played its roles as a supervisory board which also acts as a vanguard of nation morality. KPI acknowledges its inability to be completely independent which they really should. Furthermore, there is another institution in national level that has a similar task with KPI. Because of that, KPI have an ethical committee which makes sure that KPI have a moral integrity in doing their job. The following aspects are regulated on P3/SPS: (1) interethnic, religious and intercultural value; (2) decent norm and value;(3) ethics of professionalism; (4) public interest; (5) public services; (6) privacy; (7) protection towards the minors and specific group of the community; (8) the principals of journalism; (9) advertising; (10) live broadcasting; (11) sexual, violence and mythical content; (12) national and regional election related content; and (13) sanction and the enforcing party.

Broadcasting is also capable to empower the economic growth of a nation. Yet, the broadcasting industry must be founded on business ethic. There must be coherence between the state regulation and the market regulation which will be based on the diversity of ownership and the diversity of content. Secondly, regarding with the technological and digital implementation, KPI should push the development of broadcast industry towards a healthy competition. This can be done by preventing monopoly and also supporting regional and local broadcasting. Therefore, it is imperative for the government to rectify the regulation in order to make it more progressive and comprehensive. According to Riyanto, the supremacy in frequency can be achieved if the axiological aspects of broadcasting

have been achieved. The axiological aspects are (1) to uphold the Pancasila and 1945 Constitution (2) to uphold the humanity and to respect others right and freedom (3) to uphold the unity of the people; (4) to uphold the supremacy of the people; (5) to uphold the value of justice which mean the ability to adjust the interest of the few with the interest of the many. Riyanto believe that those five aspects must be achieved in order to make a better broadcasting in Indonesia.

Conclusion

The phenomena of illicit content publishing on television imply the existence of some problems; first of all of the broadcasting companies seem to be unaware of its original function. They should broadcast or distribute information, education, and healthy entertainment, also act as a social control and bonding media. Nowadays, the media companies are more inclined toward the rating system. The advertisers also relatively didn't care about the quality of the program but only care about rating without concerning about the ethical aspects in the content.

The phenomenon of certain violated contents showed that there are problems in some aspects. Firstly, in the media itself, losing direction and functions as the real media, that is as media for information, education, healthy entertainment, control and social bonding. Nowadays, media is more oriented for high rating. The advertiser only put the advertisement in high rated program regardless ethical aspect in it. Government is considered weak and permissive, so media does the violation back in forth. Last but not least, the

dysfunction of gatekeeper in gate keeping process. Public frequency that is derogated will bring negative impact to society since one of its principal functions is social control.

Recommendations

This content of paper can be a literature for another research and social sciences students especially for those that learning about media and public relation.

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The Public Diplomacy of International Communications

Risky Novialdi and Rahadin Arguby
Magister Political Science and International Relations
Post-Graduate Programm
Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta
richer.ricky@yahoo.com

Abstract:

One of the systemic device of international relations is diplomacy activity diplomacy shows an increase in a significant role along with getting a issues in international affairs. Diplomacy itself is the practice of communication and negotiation between representatives of various countries and diplomacy is the implementation of foreign policy. As for international communication is the implementation of a communication technology revolution. So it can be concluded that public diplomacy and international communications has the dimentions of international political communication (international political communication), international relations (international relations) and intercultural relationships (inter cultural relations).

Key word: *Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, International Communication*

Introduction

One of diplomacy that develops is public diplomacy, according to nancy snow 2009. While roy (1995: 149) see that public diplomacy is the form of diplomacy will be on the belief that emphasizes the world public opinion. By focusing in common opinion on an issue, then attention and opinions can become a key action and policy. The focus of diplomacy is more toward aspect politic, low more aspect. From here can be concluded that public diplomacy is a form that emphasizes diplomacy to the image of a state in the eyes of the community of a country. This diplomacy see that soft power of a country can form of public opinion the community in such a way to ease the among nation negotiation and cooperation agreement so that happened.

Public diplomacy emphasis on the way public how to communicate with other countries. The culprit, in addition to professional diplomat, can also individual and private individuals or institutions. The purpose of public diplomacy is to sell on the other countries that sort of interesting things from state and the players. Among other infrastructures, cultural activities, exchange student, the screening, theatrical performances and forth. Public diplomacy can be said to be similar duty International relations community. (Pudjomartono, 2008)**.**

As is the case the function of public relations, public diplomacy processes of communication is aimed at building a positive image of against an overview of life and the political dynamics of a country. A positive picture is very important to the world to advance cooperation between interstate, as to create the belief that

a nation has the potential to develop cooperation in political in all aspects, economic, culture, and education. This mission in turn will bring about an effect welfare to the community (Widodo & Trimananda, 2009).

In addition the definition of public diplomacy more detail again presented hansen: as follows Public diplomacy deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private group and interests in one country with those in another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as between diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the processes of intercultural communication.

Along with his journey, public diplomacy of course have to be achieved the goals , one of them is that the international community having a good view on a country. It can be review through civil society aspects. Having good perception about a country , that in terms of aspects of civil society. Other purposes of implementation is public diplomacy: (1) To reduce or resolve the conflict through the understanding of communication and mutual understanding and fostering the banner of the relationship between international actor. (2) Decrease in tension , anger , fear , and wrong perception. (3) Add experience of interacting. (3) Affect the pattern of thought and action the government by describe the root problems , feeling , needs , and explore choices diplomacy without prejudice , andn (4) Giving

us platform for the implementation of a more formal as well as design negotiations government policy.

First Track Diplomacy and Second Track Diplomacy

While of course in the first track diplomacy and the second track diplomacy have a difference. These differences one is to focus on quick results, while the second track started the rally in the process of dialogue that long, without any interest to obtain the results quickly. The second track diplomacy regarded as a complementary.

The existence of first track diplomacy and by the second track diplomacy is a process for mutual benefit within the to create peace in the management of conflict. Both are two rounds of that mutually complete each other as well as having the character and general responsibilities of being in conflict. Each track having the effectiveness and having the same method not interdependent replaced each other. Traditional diplomacy (first track in diplomacy) style the government is now develops into public diplomacy or it can also called informal diplomacy (second track diplomacy), that is what it looked like could be with cultural diplomacy (cultural diplomacy mission) through art. The issue of public diplomacy was expressed because the government, for him to walk alone, were no longer able to effectively conveying meanings diplomacy in the situation and the issue of issues that increasing complex.

The main reason of the involvement of the public is based on the assumption that is simple enough that is the government may not always answer the challenges in

the issues of diplomacy which is now increasingly complex especially a distinctive nature inherent of the government is very rigid (rigid). By increasing the activity of public diplomacy, the government expects that diplomatic efforts will be run more effectively and give the impact of more extensive and large on the international community. In addition, the government must hope that the involvement of the public can open the way for negotiations by deputy -government representative at once can enter and provide a different perspective in looking at problems. The definition of public diplomacy is extremely diverse. Public diplomacy is efforts to reach the national interest defined as a country through understanding, informing, and influencing foreign audiences.

With other words, If the process developed through the traditional diplomacy government to government relations manager, and public diplomacy was more focused on the government to people or even to people relations manager people. The goal is to the international community have good perception about a country, as the basis for social relations and the achievement of broader interests. More specifically, department affairs United States said: public diplomacy seeks to promote the national interest and the national security of the United States through understanding, informing, and influencing foreign publics and broadening dialogue between American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad. Public diplomacy also known as the term the second track diplomacy generally defined as an effort to diplomatic efforts done by elements of non the government in no

official (unofficial). Should be noted that the second track diplomacy not acting as a substitute first track diplomacy.

In other words, efforts to the efforts made in the second track diplomacy must be launched the way for negotiations and approval in order first track diplomacy with an encouraging manner diplomat to make use of important information obtained investors the second track diplomacy. In other words, of total diplomacy with public diplomacy involving (multi track diplomacy) is needed in order to achieve success in running political mission of foreign public diplomacy (second track diplomacy) involves various actors with their field each. Public diplomacy between another is done by the business or professional. Public diplomacy efforts to become an alternative to diplomacy work more effective and give the impact of more extensive and large on the international community. Public involvement of this could open the way for negotiation do vice government representative. Once can provide input and different perspectives in looking at problems.

Public diplomacy be of importance in creating an image of the nation to play an active role create peace in the world, and knitting international brotherhood. Actors, track I is the official said the government. The multinationals, elites, opposition leaders and track II is not from the official said NGO, the head of local and regional grassroot groups. Method, Track I is positive and negative incentives, mediation, the political and economic and tract II is discussion two directions, workshop education grassroots reconciliation. Finally The Area of Conflict, Tract I will be present in all but

more emphasis on a peacemaking and peacekeeping official when actor decided to stop hostilities, peace possible and the step to negotiate in agreement. And tract II is present in all the arena but more role in conflict prevention and peace building when actor local and regional detect the presence of a sign of danger associated with violence and quickly can support technique of personal reconciliation between the opposite party.

Public diplomacy requires the ability to communicate because related to a change in the community, mutual understanding within view foreign policy matters. In this age of information, public opinion could effectively influence government action. Characteristic of this world is such information management need to problems solving of foreign and domestic. Therefore public diplomacy including improve the quality communication activities namely in collecting, process and distribute information in the service of the states. Lasswel defining communication wit: who says what-in which channel-to whom-and with what effect. The components of a communication consist of: (1) Communicator (who), (2) The message (what), (3) Channel (what through channel), (4) Communicant (to whom) and (5) Effect (how the effects).

There are three criteria that distinguish international communication with other form of communication: such as the type of issues, supranational the message, a communicator different nationality and networks used in the nature of international. With the criteria, international communication can be defined also a communication that mediates the interaction and space

scope is held in cross country and among different persons nation and having the reach of the delivery of a message across borders of a territory of a country. The Function of International Communication Among Others are: Which is interwoven internasioanl relations between two states or more as well as ties in various fields between the different community groups the national. Help a purpose international relations by improving international cooperation as well as avoid a conflict or misunderstanding both between the government and the government and across its inhabitants. And is a technique for support the implementation of foreign policy for each countries to fight for the attainment interest in other countries.

What is communicated? First explain the position of our country in particular international issue discussed in the international conference. Second ddiscuss and understand the position of other countries of international issue being certain considerate and of common interest. Third ccommunications required approach, in order to make lobby, and negotiations. Fourth is follow up bilateral talks (formal and informal ambassador between or among the head of delegation) and the last to report on international conference followed , and all diplomacy activity that has been done

The Perspective of International Communication

International communication can be studied and in terms of three perspective: diplomatic journalistic, and propaganda. We only talk about diplomatic perspective course. In diplomatic Perspective ccustomarily conducted in interpersonal or small clusters (small

group) through diplomatic Network; direct communication among high officers of state to cooperate or resolve the conflict, maintain bilateral relations or multilateral, strengthen the position of or improve the country international reputation in the middle of promiscuity.

Done at the press conference, a political meeting, international forums at the the united nations or regional forum, or even diplomatic at a meeting as dinner) (state of the union) Diplomatic in perspective, international communication is the activity communication by the government or the state with the government or state to another through diplomatic channels. Diplomatic track more often taken through direct communication between high officials of the state. Or special envoy appointed .

The use of Public Diplomacy by The Government in Responding to Human Rights Violations Issues

Public diplomacy is one very important factor in the success of the first track diplomacy conducted by government representatives. The increasing role of non-State actors in the 1990s, such as the mass media and international NGOs, causing the State is no longer the main actor to achieve national goals. So that public diplomacy is needed to resolve problems involving state to state or country with no state (people or organizations), such as human rights cases.

Globalization and technological revolution is happening today has direct consequences on the practice of diplomacy. The technological revolution that marked the birth of the 21st century has fundamentally changed the world order. In the field of diplomacy, technology

has made the role of diplomat became less significant as compared to the previous period. Transportation and information technology led to a time and place lost its relevance to traditional diplomacy must be abandoned. Public diplomacy has been growing rapidly, especially in the last two decades. Its development was triggered by the fact that the efforts undertaken by the government in the first track diplomacy is deemed to have failed to resolve conflicts between countries, also the State with society. The failure of the first track diplomacy has developed ideas to improve public diplomacy as an alternative way to resolve the problems.

This is in accordance with the words of diplomacy expert Harold Nicholson: "the development of communication technology led to the role and function of an ambassador wane and diplomats dropped its status as an elite administrative personnel." Information technology impact for example on publication course of negotiations and diplomatic policy of products that can be easily accessible to the public. Technology also result in reduced independence act professional diplomats due to the possibility of direct negotiations between the foreign ministers among the heads of government / heads of State. Therefore, it is necessary to another breakthrough to complement the activities of the first track diplomacy by involving more people through public diplomacy activities.

Public Diplomacy is not means to replace, but complement efforts undertaken by the government in traditional diplomacy. Ideally, public diplomacy should pave the way for future negotiations between the government, providing input through important

information and give a different perspective on an issue. Ideally, both the government and the public fully utilize the expertise, experience, and existing resources and work together to influence the government bargaining power significantly. Especially, because the actors in the first track diplomacy has the characteristics of power-based activity and interaction stiff, so it needs to be balanced with efforts more flexible.

Especially considering the activities and influence of non-governmental actors have grown in number and types, ranging from economic interest groups to natural resources, environmental, humanitarian, criminal, and other global government interests. This copy actors interact with their counterparts in influence, advise and implement foreign policy. Public diplomacy aims to foster a positive public opinion in other countries through interaction with interest groups. Therefore, public diplomacy requires intercultural communication because it is associated with a change in public attitudes, mutual understanding in view of the problems of foreign policy. In the information age, public opinion can effectively influence government action.

Characteristics of the world such as this, requires to unify information management issues domestically and abroad. Openness is currently not possible confidentiality and exclusivity of information in addition to the rapid movement of information through a global network of governments, companies, and NGOs. Regarding the change of the amendment, Barry Fulton explains that countries which previously related through the foreign ministries of each as well as through trade activity, currently more do relationships between

individuals. The individual contacts made through the technology of fiber optic, satellite, wireless, all of which are part of a complex network centralized and unattended.

Then the public diplomacy including optimize international communications activities, namely collecting, processing, and disseminating information in the interest of the State. As said by the former US secretary of state, George Shulz: "raw materials diplomacy is information: how to acquire, analyze, and place it in the system." Diplomacy then also be nation group of business, education, agriculture, environment and other agencies related to foreign issues. The role of the international mass media increasingly significant in information technology and thus require changes in the practice of diplomacy. Openness also raises awareness to higher raw standard to assign to the appointment ambassador and political career. A diplomat be charged to improve its ability to manage information technology. Therefore, the traditional diplomacy in the instrument-military instruments are no longer sufficient to resolve political issues and security. Public diplomacy is absolutely necessary, including performance resolved Human Rights issues.

Public Diplomacy And Human Rights Issues

Concern for human rights has been increasing awareness wear diplomacy to defend human rights. The international community's concern because many countries are involved in serious human rights violations when maintain her power, to crush the rebellion, and overcome civil war.

In these circumstances, the international community believe that intervention is justified if it aims to save humanity or defending human rights. Although in some ways contrary to international intervention with the principle of sovereignty, but the international community agreed that the main attention human rights and universal humanity that is not limited by formal boundary line of a State. Many states have failed to defend themselves in case of human rights. The use of diplomacy is wrong to make this happen. So that the diplomats have difficulty to explain and convince the international community about the seriousness of their resolve this case, as happened in Indonesia on human rights cases in Aceh and in East Timor.

The government does not use the role of NGOs and INGOs in supporting their efforts. The government is still using traditional diplomacy relying only diplomats. While through public diplomacy, success is also supported by the participation of the NGOs and INGOs. Such as international media and international rights groups.The role of NGOs has increased after 1990, when some NGOs specializing in the field of human rights such as Amnesty and Human Rights Watch international have voting rights at the UN. Therefore, the government should be more open to the NGO and

INGO, so that will help them in addressing human rights issues that may have been done.

In the case of human rights in Aceh and East Timor, the Indonesian government is very defensive and even the government views NGOs and IGOs with suspicion, so that NGO and IGO reports discrediting the government of Indonesia and finally lowered Indonesia Citra.in international.

Conclusion

So in this paper my conclusion are the government should stress diplomacy on the establishment of a favorable international public opinion the government of Indonesia. Second, the government should improve relations with NGOs and INGOs as a source of information. Third, the government should conduct humanitarian cooperation with agencies international, so they do not preach things bad about the government. And the last as part of public diplomacy, the government is not merely to respond to issues that arise, but also to "sell" the positive issues that favorable image of the government.

Facing the Challenges of Media Convergence Issue

Zafirah Quroatun 'Uyun, S.I.Kom
Universitas Gadjah Mada
zafirah_sukadakwah@yahoo.co.id
085733414055

Abstract

Convergence not only change the way the presentation of a broadcast, but also affect communicating life. In general, in the case of Indonesia, the convergence of media departed from the base model of the print newspaper in collaboration with the online version. This is the authentic traces of media convergence in Indonesia. In a later development, print media collaboration with online media, and then transmitted to the medium of radio and television included in the lineup convergence. In fact, another model that departs from a print and online magazine also appeared. it's also make radical change in media and communication studies, media industry and society in general. Interdisciplinary studies among communication science and media with various studies and sciences maybe become indispensable to solve new problems that emerge as a result of technological advances and ever-changing life style. This paper will describe the challenges of media convergence and the attitude to be taken in the deal.

Keywords: Media Convergence, Technology, Media and Communication Studies, Industry

Introduction

The presence of media convergence cannot be separated from the needs of an increasingly fast information that could not be met by one type (single platform) media. So we need a new form that can accumulate several types of media in a media container (multiplatform). The era of interactive communication through the internet becoming the first milestone of a massive digital revolution in all fields. Here, the convergence of media that change the relationship between technology, industry, market, and lifestyle. Patterns of production and consumption patterns are change, and its use impact on the level of economic, political, social, and culture. Not undeniable, it also affects the field of communication studies, especially studies on media convergence is relatively fresh in Indonesia.

Convergence of media is a merger or integration of the existing media to be used and directed into a destination point. The term convergence widely used since the 1990s. The word is commonly used in the development of digital technology, the integration of text, numbers, images, video, and sound (Briggs and Burke, 2000: 326). Terry Flew in An Introduction to New Media mentions the convergence of media is the result of a slice of three elements namely new media communication networks, information technology and media content. Along with the development of ICT (information and communication technology) over the past decade brought a new trend in the industrialized world the presence of a variety of communication media

that incorporates new communication technologies and traditional technologies of mass communication.

Both practically and theoretically, this phenomenon raises several important consequences. In the practical sphere, media convergence not only enrich the information presented, but also gives the option to the public to sort and select information according to their tastes and needs. Media convergence also provides a new radical opportunities in the handling, supplying, distributing and processing of all forms of information whether it is visual, audio, data and etc. (Preston: 2001). In theoretical side, media convergence may shift some framework of methodologies, traditions, approaches and also paradigm.

Theoretical framework

The discourse of media convergence has been undergoing a fundamental paradigm shift since the end of 20th century. More and more media companies in the world, such as the Washington post and media general, have merged local newspaper, television stations, online news operation and sometimes radio stations to disseminate news via multiple media platforms. In Indonesia, more media companies have done multiplatform reporting on their primary platform, such as newspaper or TV, and on their online news site. There are Jawa Pos which their online news site called JNN (Jawa Pos National Network), Republika with Republika Online, Seputar Indonesia with Sindo News.com, etc. Dominic Gates (2002) pointed out 'convergence with broadcast and online media is the shape of things to come for newspaper'.

The trend remains controversial. Critics complain that cross-ownership of both a television station and a newspaper in the same market is a threat to democracy because it limits the number of voices (Anderson, 2002; Blethen,2002; Foster,2002; O'Connor,2002; Tompkins and Stencel,2002). Increasing concentration of ownership means access to a narrower range of facts and opinion. In the other words, it is about who is most benefiting from media convergence. Then, public in general must get the benefit as a citizen, not only as a customer but also as a producer, distributor, and consumer that protected (Thompkin and Kravetz,2002).

According to Robert Haiman that underline convergence is the enemy of quality journalism' (Anderson,2002), Tampa bay says otherwise about this challenge. He believed that with this level of media convergence, journalists have, by and large, increase their ability and work very hard to come to grips with make sure public response and citizen involvement to be a professional and credible. Along with infrastructure changes and the attempt to create synergy among the various media outlets, a new breed of journalist-digital or multimedia journalists is expected (Abraham,2001). As media jobs become more demanding, some news practitioners are beginning to team up to complete projects.

The emergence of the Internet and the convergence of media makes communication became one of the most important key in social change. From the Arab Spring, the global financial crisis to the problem of copyright ownership. However, the problem re-appears paradoxical. On the one hand this is good news, because

a study of communication becomes a source of vitality and creativity. The other side shows that the field of study is not yet strong enough to integrate and useful in terms of diversity. (Livingstone,2011). Meanwhile, the limitations of applying paradigms across time and cultural boundaries are illuminated with an examination of the few studies that have attempted to tackle the issue of human flesh search. Although human flesh shown search has touched on a range of concepts and theories, the fact that it borders on sets of dichotomies, for example, the empowerment but also mob behavior, public interest but also individual privacy, social justice but also cyber-bullying, has made it difficult for a researcher to "fit it into" any given theoretical framework (Wang,2011). Even more, the concepts of "western" and "non-western" still feel the division even media convergence exist as a unifier. As all cultures are now infused with a certain extent of "foreign" elements over process of modernization (Murdock,2011).

Analysis
Implication in Communication Disciplinary

For several decades, the study of communication and media stop at the data level, rarely touching up methodology, theory or paradigm. In fact, paradigm basically reflect the needs, values, aspirations and world views of the historical, cultural, social, and cultural contexts that maintain it. With scientific reasons, half of them have claimed that there search they are doing (Eurocentric) are universal and does not realize that the real problem is in how the root of the problem and the solution. Whereas, in communication science, small

things can turn into something bigger or even change something that was great to be small escalation.

For communication, media convergence becomes a paradox. On the one hand he was expanding the field of communication studies, especially relating to the media and audiences. but on the other hand, the study of media convergence is considered only a paradigm shift, it is not new, but only as a continuity of the old media (Mitchelstein and Boczkowski: 2010). Some research suggests that the lack of widespread use of the Internet in Asia, Africa and some Latin American newspapers do not affect their consumption and in contrast to what happens in newspaper circulation in North America and Europe which would decrease (The World Association of Newspaper and News Publishers: 2010).

However, several other studies have shown that the state of demographic and regional factors still an important key persistence of conventional media, so it cannot be said that the study of media convergence can be applied equally to any particular country or region. Since both the study of communication and media studies both born in the West and introduced for the purpose of the 'lead' of science who was born in other regions. (Georgette Wang: 2011). Media convergence implications on the changing paradigm previously relied on an academic level (administrative research) and the lack of theory and analysis from outside the western world, is rich in issues of media convergence. The role of communication scientists from the Asia region became inevitable (Alatas, 2006; Chen, 2006).

The curriculum of education certainly affected also by the media convergence. The world's first

education we know about the use of technology and information (ICTs), become more sensitive and take advantage of almost every opportunity of ICT-based learning model. The search engine used in helping students resolve a problem also becomes uniform. Most of them must use search engines from Google, for example, the multiple sources of knowledge becomes one with the use of the multiplatform. Sources of knowledge from television, radio, newspapers and even can be enjoyed in a container that allows access faster, easier and practical. The growing convergence of media in education, forcing some universities adapt to the development of science communication according to the demands of the times and the market. Some collages which not have this department, open study program / department of communication sciences. Research also began to be directed at the type of multiplatform and media convergence's issue.

Media Workers in the Era Of Convergence

Media convergence makes audiences have more choices of media with more diverse content as well (Grant and Wilkinson, 2009). Not only related to the production and consumption, media convergence is also a marker of changes in the various elements of communication: media, culture, audience, technology, and industry. In his book, Understanding Media Convergence: The State of the Field, Grant and Wilkinson explains that media convergence includes five major dimensions; technology convergence, multimedia content, ownership, collaboration, and coordination (Grant and Wilkinson, 2009: 3-15).

However, Grant and Wilkinson (2009) stated that the five dimensions cannot be regarded as static and exclusive, because the core of real convergence is a change. Collaboration emphasis on cooperation by the media that are in the possession or different platforms. Ways that do, for example, sharing content, (in the case of Media Indonesia and Metro TV that had decided to make sharing on the level of news room. Cooperation promotion (cross-promotion), or coordination intermediates (Grant and Wilkinson, 2009). In terms of operational media convergence, media workers must be multitasking as a result of the news coverage contained in various types of media so that more efficient.

Media convergence implications for changes in the structure of the mass media industry are likely to lead to cross ownership or cooperative ownership (Straubhaar and La Rose, 2006). The shift is caused by the structure of industrial production demands that must be distributed multimedia content in a variety of media platforms, both print media, broadcast, or online. Convergence of media ownership plays an important role in determining consolidation among players in the media industry because of the economic scale of production-oriented, which means that product suffer from convergence media products could potentially be mass production (Grant and Wilkinson, 2009).

Indonesian business, for example, which has applied convergence since 2009, convergence models built multiplatform, multichannel, and multimedia. They convergence print media, radio, outdoor, and online, as well as mobile application as well. After going through a gradual process, since June 2012, various media

platforms in MNC Group (parent company of Sindo) are united under the umbrella Sindo Media consisting of Sindo tv, Sindo Radio, Koran Sindo, Sindo Weekly, and Sindonews.com.

Meanwhile, at the level of production of information involving media workers, causing convergence of media workers must be extra creative in processing the information they get if they want to continue to exist in the world media. They must be willing to share product information obtained not only for one platform, even more than two platforms of the same pay. An appreciation of the hard work of media workers seem less attention in this era of media convergence.

Deadlines and demands for more creative work, while the payment they receive is the same make media content becomes shallow, suffer from de contextualization, even experienced homogenization of information in various media today. When talking about the hardware in the media industry, with the convergence of media-driven production process machines (hardware) become easier, cheaper and faster to land jobs and creativity for media workers to be reduced. Protection against media workers also have not been realized in the presence of media convergence. In fact, developments in technology and information more quickly grind times. This is evident in the regulations relating to media workers. Regulations relating to the media, especially for media workers too far lagged behind advances in technology and information. How the legal protection for media workers in the era of media convergence has not been adequately represent their

voice. It is considered reasonable seeing the position of media workers be generalized to the position of the audience as consumers and given a very minimal portion does not even exist in decisions and legislation relating to ICT.

Facing Media Convergence

In the face of media convergence, researchers need a more sensitive attitude about the use of research standards or criteria, grouping, comparison and sorting(Hall: 1992). Science communication and the media may be understood not just the field of social study. Communications research allows the depth and breadth of research on what is examined, including tools/ machines technology. Talking about communication is very important to ensure aspect of what is being discussed because communication is a discipline that encompasses everything (not just limited to humans, can animals, even other communication devices), focusing mainly between the word and not a word, people and not person.

In the social sciences, our frame of references is required to form a strong research. In achieving strong research and accurate it is, the separation while field studies to focus on one point is needed. Sometimes, researchers need a little knowledge about discussing politics in the press, a little psychology in addressing the humanitarian and so forth so that no grouping 'conservative' to the field of study of politics and history, the mention of 'activists' to that jump into the field, even the liberal accusation to the field of economics and social studies. Finally, Interdisciplinary between communication sciences and media studies with various

other scholarly become indispensable to solve new problems that emerge as a result of technological advances and ever-changing lifestyle (Craig: 2011).

Conclusion

In closing, let me return to my core themes and to some very limited thoughts on what might be done. Media convergence issue is more important to know. Because they are the gateway to broader research, deep and rich, especially for the study of communication. Open minded, change the old patterns, and dare to answer the challenges are more clearly key dimensions of global change. Enriching literature studies is the way to improve this article.

My main theme has been the heterogeneity of challenges on communication research and facing the challenge of media convergence issue like the legal protect of audience and media worker. I have argued this is not a bad thing, it is even good but still an effort and stay a challenge if they not realization. It's also needed create ways for young researches to connect to each other across schools, line of work, methodological, and topics of inquiry. This could take the form of fellowships, workshops, conferences, but the key is lateral connections. Start research about local patterns at every institution and make them more prominent than 'strange' pattern. Make an active pursuit of interdisciplinary connections around key social issues. Make sure about collecting data in the field, because this article lack of data for them.

My suggestions are much smaller than my analysis and then the need. But the field of media

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convergence, proof that everything can more easily if we can conscious and responsible in its use, as well as the effects can be minimized to stage make systematic research and useful for the audience.

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SOCIAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Failure of Peace Negotiation Process between Government of Thailand And Revolution National Front (Brn) In Southern Thailand Conflict (Patani)

Naeem Hayipiyawong
Aidaris Budiah

Graduate Students of International Relations
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
Naim.150934@gmail.com

Abstract

The failure of peace negotiation process between government of Thailand and Revolution National Front (BRN) in southern Thailand which are Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat. The negotiation process has been remaining in a deadlock stage among both parties in case of southern Thailand conflict. The implementation of Kuala Lumpur peace negotiation process signed in Kuala Lumpur between representative National Security Council (NSC) and BRN has not solved the southern Thailand conflict that happened since long time ago. The BRN aimed to be separated from Thailand to be Patani state, but Thailand is one country cannot be divided. It made peace negotiation process between Thai government and BRN failed.

The paper tries to analyze two factors which are the influence of the failure of peace negotiation process between Thai government and BRN in Jaya Deva Uyangoda perspective, who explains about difficulties of negotiation process in separatist conflict which tends

to be failed in achieving agreement. Its influences are first, the Maximalist of insurgent of separatist; second, the inflexibility of state in responding to separatist group. In this research, extensive of relevant published materials such as books, journals, reports, newsletters, official website and other are used sources a wide variety of references in related topics to conduct the analysis.

Introduction

The southern Thailand conflict (Patani) has been a longstanding conflict. The conflict has been between government and separatism group. In the world, there have been many conflict stories about independent and separatism, such as countries in Southeast Asia like Malaysia had its independence from Britain, Indonesia had struggled to get its independence from Netherland, Cambodia had its independence from French, Philippine had its independence from United State and so on. Although those countries got their independences to colonial countries but domestic conflict; such as Indonesia with Aceh, Philippine with Mindanao and Thailand with separatism group are still exist, these conflicts especially happen related to ethnics, cultures, religions, borders, politics circled and groups of interest.

Every day, there are increase of sub national conflict which happen whereby many reasons and many ideologies which established many groups to against the government. Sometimes the government called that

group as "terrorist", a party which has difference ideologies with state; perhaps they used several ways to oppose government as bombing the police station, military office, government service and so on. Currently, terrorism are changing to be more dangerous such as choosing the place with many tourists to be bombed which indirectly means the aim of bomb is to destroy the economic and national security.

The meaning of "Patani" is the territory in part of the kingdom of Langkasuka now has been the part of Thailand. There are three provinces Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, and four district of Songkhla. The conflict happened between Thai government and separatist movement has been rooted since long time ago and the separatist group has caused by several reasons. The causes of the conflict were a different nation (imagined notions of an earlier Patani nation), a different religion (Islam rather than Buddhism) different ideology, and ethnic conflict.

Revolution National Front "*Barisan Revolusi Nasional*" (BRN) is a separatist movement in Patani or Southern Thailand. Originally founded on March 13, 1963 by Haji Abdul Karim Hassan, by 1984 the group was divided into three main factions; BRN Congress, led by Rosa Burako, is the military wing or which sought to stay the course of armed struggle and the most active of the three groups, continuing to conduct military operations, BRN Coordinate is a political wing and consisted of leaders and members who agreed that there was a need to consolidate its ranks, particularly given the gradual erosion of support for the struggle. In hindsight, the strategy of BRN-Coordinate to rebuild through

mobilization of pemuda (youths), BRN Ulama is focused on political and religious activities and was previously led by Haiji Abdul Kaerim until his death.

Secret negotiation between Thai government and separatist leader happened amid a wave of insurgency in 2005. Langkawi peace dialogue, when the Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra dispatched top military security intelligence chief and the head of the Nation Security Council (NSC) of Thailand to Langkawi Malaysia for dialogue allowing Thai official to meet some of separatist groups. After Langkawi talk, some negotiations and peace dialogues resurfaced again such as the Geneva process initiated, during the Surayud administration and Bogor talk initiated, during the proxy-Thaksin administration of Saman Sundaravey are discussed. The following administration of Abhisit Vejjajiwat tried to revive some of the initiatives put forth had failed. For Yingluck Shinawatra administration the first negotiation revealed to republic are Kuala Lumpur talk between the Thai government represented by National Security Council (NSC) and the National Revolution Front (BRN) signed "a general consensus document on a peace negotiation process".

The beginning of the Kuala Lumpur Peace Process is a little different. Whatever controversies that aroused at the beginning, it was open with prior official acknowledgement by the then Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra. After 10 years of violence that signifies the apparent effort for political solution ensues when, on February 28th, 2013, the Government of Thailand represented by the National Security Council (NSC) and the most powerful resistance movement group or

separatist group represented by the National Revolutionary Front (BRN), signed a general consensus document on Peace Dialogue Process. It came into existence with the active support of the Malaysian government, which took the function as a facilitator. The signed General Consensus on Peace Dialogue Process first document in which the Thai government and the separatist movement explicitly declare that they are prepared to explore the possibilities of a political solution to the conflict. For this purpose, the Thai government has acknowledged the BRN as "one of the stakeholders" for this process and provided their representatives with a safety guarantee while the BRN agreed that this should happen "under the framework of the Thai constitution". In addition, both parties agreed on having Malaysia as a facilitator.(Don Pathan, 2014: 24)

Two issues were raised for discussion at the meeting: the next stage for the peace talk process and de-escalation of violence in the restive region. On the first issue, it was agreed by both sides that there would be at most 15 delegates for each party and Malaysia would be the facilitator. On the second issue, both sides said they wanted to see peace in the region with the BRN demanding the government to ensure justice for all while the government had asked the BRN to instruct the separatists to scale down their violent incidents. The issue will be discussed again at the next meeting scheduled on April 29th in Kuala Lumpur.

The Thai government representation was the Secretary General of National Security Council Lt. Gen. Paradon Pattanatabut as lead negotiator. Working alongside Paradon would be the secretary general of

SBPAC, Police Colonel Thawee Sodsong; both Paradon and Thawee have a close working relationship with the ruling Pheu Thai Party and member of the negotiation team such as special advisor to the office of permanent secretary for defense Gen Samret Srirai, chief of Special Branch Police Lt Gen Sarithcahi Anekwiang, a representative of the Internal Security Operations Command Maj Gen Nakrop Boonbuathong, Narathiwat governor Apinan Suetanuwong, director of Deep south Watch Centre SrisompopChitpiromsrim and Army Region 4 chief of staff maj Gen CharinAmornkaew.

The separatist group representative, headed by Hassan Tayyib of the BRN, along with two representatives from the BRN foreign affairs division, one other senior BRN figure, one representative of BRN, another from the BRN youth wing (*Pemuda*), and Lukman Bin Lima from one of the PULO factions.

The Delegation demands of the Revolution National Front (BRN) in the Peace negotiations process at Kuala Lumpur with the Government of Thailand on April 29th, 2013 are: 1). This peace negotiation is between representatives of the Patani warriors, who are led by the Revolution National Front (BRN), and the Thai Royal Government.2). The Revolution National Front (BRN) agrees that the Malaysian Royal Government may act as a facilitator and mediator and be directly involved in this negotiation.3). This negotiation process must be witnessed by representatives of the ASEAN Countries, Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), and NGOs which approved by both the BRN and the Thai Royal Government. 4). The Thai

Government must acknowledge the rights and sovereignty of the MelayuPatani nation for the Patani land.5). The Revolution National Front (BRN)demands that the Thai Royal Government liberate all detained Patani liberation warriors, without conditions.

In the explanation attached to the Five Points Proposal, the BRN clarified each point on the grounds of the political system of the nation-state, in which minorities have certain rights and equality with the majority as citizen of the country, and of history in which both Bangkok and Patani have endured a long relationship. The key issue, which has to do with the histories of the two sides, is independence and free citizenship of the Muslim-Malay Patani people. By asking for the recognition of Patani's sovereignty, the Muslim separatists demonstrated their steadfast call for the re-interpretation of Siam's annexation of Patani in 1902. This point will be the most difficult fact for both Thai government and the Thai people to accept. But the representatives of the BRN also said that Siam (meaning the Thai government) does not need to accept whatever they propose. They are asking to simply listen and demonstrate the Thai government's position and understand the issues. If both sides, at least, could agree to live together in peace despite their disagreement that might be the new positive sign of the coming of peace in the Southern Thailand.

The second peace talk on April 29th, 2013 the both parties discussed about demand of BRN and the agreement to the Ramadan peace initiative On 28th February 2013, Thai government through its NSC agreed to initiate a peace dialogue process with BRN, the major

separatist group active in southern Thailand. The talk facilitated by Malaysia, initially showed few concrete accomplishments prior to the announcement of a ceasefire during a 40-days period covering the holy month of Ramadan. The agreement covered the provinces of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat as well as bordering districts in Songkla and would be in place from July 10th - August 18th, 2013.

The 40-days ceasefire agreed between NSC and BRN separatist movement did not succeed in putting an end to violence in the southern Thailand. Yet, there are notable achievements as the 2013 Ramadan saw the lowest number of insurgency related deaths since the outbreak of violence in 2004. The ceasefire was an initial success with very few violent incidents during July, but later broke down as both parties seem to withdraw from the agreement leading to an escalation in violence during August. The implication is that the peace dialogue and ceasefire have partial success. In the wake of the troubled Ramadan initiative, BRN became increasingly adamant that the Thai government needed to demonstrate their sincerity by signing up to the five demands, even calling for these points to be ratified by the Thai parliament as a basis for continuing negotiations. Such a call illustrated the extent to which BRN was willing to overplay its hand since parliamentary endorsement at such an early stage was not at all realistic.

The Thai government rejected demands by the BRN in their second round of talks, but both sides agreed to hold another meeting on June 13th. National Security Council secretary general Lt-General Paradorn

Pattanatabut, who headed the Thai government in the dialogue with BRN, said that the demands raised by the group's liaison officer Hassan Tayyibwere turned down by the authorities. Paradorn, after the meeting that lasted almost seven hours, said the Thai authorities would not agree whether to consider the demands by the BRN. The Peace dialogue between NSC and the BRN broke down during Ramadan. The failure of the Thai government to respond more promptly and positively increased the pressures on Hassan Tayyib, who referred to himself in a short YouTube video posted on 1st December 2013 as a 'former' BRN delegate which was widely construed as suggesting he had stepped down.(Don Pathan, 2014: 74)

Theoretical Framework

The southern Thailand conflict, between the government of Thailand and Revolution National Front (BRN), under Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra administration, attempted to bring the idea of peace process to solve the conflict. As the first stage a negotiation process was made between both actors producing "general consensus on peace negotiation process" in Kuala Lumpur (KL) in 2013. A negotiation could take part even thought a war could happened after the negotiation process.

Based on Uyangoda's study on the analysis of separatist conflict, the difficulty of negotiation process in the case of ethnic and separatism conflict is to get an agreement. Further, Uyangoda mentions four variables that become the factor why the negotiation process tend to fail in the case of separatism issues.

Maximalist in insurgents

The idea of negotiation process to both parties by conducting a negotiation would not be separated from the idea of the both parties to implement it. International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (1968) in Uyangoda states:

> Negotiation is a form of interaction through which parties try to arrange a new combination of more contemporary definitions, negotiation is viewed as more than 'a form of interaction' among parties. Rather, it is a process. (Uyangoda Jayadeva, 2000: 26)

When both parties have the willingness to conduct a negotiation, they have to give the opportunity toward the allies to demand or open the interaction between both parties. This is to know the main problem actually which can be discussed deeply to find the way to solve those issues. The important thing is how the conflicting parties can understand deeply their demand. This is because the first stage in the negotiation process would be conducted to arrange their agreement for the next step.

> Negotiation can be broadly defined as a face-to-face discussion for the purpose of reaching an agreement on a situation that is perceived as a problem or conflict. According Fisher and William Ury: a fact of life, Negotiation

is a basic means of getting what you want from others. It is back-and-forth communication designed to reach agreement when you and the other side have some interest that are shared and others that are opposed. So the person involved in the negotiation process must have a mandate and the power to enter into agreement.

(Bergh Fundation, 2000:26)

In the case of separatism conflict in Yingluck Shinawatra administration, the implementation of peace negotiation process between Thai government and BRN had deadlock. Therefore, the negotiation failed or it did not to get agreement. According to the Maximalist of insurgent, factor was being the main problem that influenced the negotiation process. The maximalist in insurgent in internal conflict means the high demand from conflicting parties to present their interest on other parties. Uyangoda said: **"**Revolution or identity-based armed conflicts often have a tendency to generate maximalist goals When an insurgent movement or separatism has set a maximalist goal for example, the capturing of state power, or establishing a separate state – there is usually reluctance on the part of that movement to revise its goal to accept something less than the original, final objective".

The separatism issues become the difficult conflict where demands are impossible to be fulfilled or accepted. The difficulties in this issue are very big and the basic issues are trying to maximalist of goal. Thus, the protracted conflict can happen when the both parties do not accept those demands or there is no agreement made.

The idealist motivation was dominant also in the separatism conflict related to their issues which is the motivation to defend their homeland such as in the demand of Revolution National Front (BRN). This organization call for right to Malay-Muslim Patani in southern Thailand and the movement its cause as self-

determination, a struggle to liberate Patani from Thai rule and the establishment of an independent Islamic state.

Its demands of BRN as the separatist group, in 1960,Ustaz Haji Abdul Karim Hassan established BRN in response to Thai government. The maximal goal of BRN was to be a fully insurgent in rejecting to be part of Thailand under Thai constitution. The objective of BRN had two distinct phases: first is bring about the complete secession of Southern Muslim provinces which are the three provinces Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, and four district of Songkhla to reconstruct Patani as a sovereign state completely independent from Thailand; second is incorporate this polity for all of Southern Muslim provinces to be Malay-Muslim Patani as one nation governed by a single leader and united one common flag of Patani country.

In case of KL negotiation process following the demand of BRN, section 4 about issue of the Sovereignty and self-determination of Patani homeland is a clear case of point. In fact, result of KL negotiation process failed because there was different framework between both parties. It could be seen from their framework in conducting negotiation process.

The BRN had different framework can see section 4 of BRN demands as follower "the Thai government should recognize the existence and the sovereignty of Malay-Muslim Patani nation in Patani homeland because of the following justification: first is the roots of conflict in Patani is due to the occupation and confiscation of right of Malay-Muslim Patani nation,

second is issues of human right and self-determination, third is issue of political right, economic justice, education, social and cultural identity." BRN show to Thai state for BRN is a liberation organization which represent and defends of the right and interest for Malay-Muslim Patani nation (Bangsa Patani). Those are used by both parties to discuss in conducting negotiation.

BRN has always stood for independence for the historical Malay-Muslim Patani homeland of Thailand's three southern provinces of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and the Malay-speaking districts in Songkhla province. So the fact that they have announced they would be willing to talk peace with the Thais if the process was coherent is a big change for the movement, although it is still not clear if they are willing to settle for anything less than independence.

The government of Thailand defined the Thailand as nations of ethnic and cultural diversity under govern by Thai government using Thai constitution. Besides, the Thai government sees Malay-Muslim Patani and territory in Southern Muslim provinces is as one part of Thailand.

Basically, all types or government system should be based on the Thai constitution, and could not against the constitutions as the supreme law of Thailand. Thai government offers the decentralization. But the goal of separatist in the peace process is be to separated (independence state) from the Kingdom of Thailand. This is the one of many facts that the peace process has failed.

From the description above, it is implied that the separatists tended to maximalist their goals because separatism conflict is an idealistic conflict make to Thai government acknowledges some issues on the sovereignty and self-determination of Malay-Muslim Patani nation. It is difficult for Thai government to each agreement, while the reason of self-determination of BRN was only to achieve political independence from Thailand. It seem that insurgent movement protracted the conflict because independence idea was a good solution conflict but difficult to achieve. Uyangoda said; "there is usually reluctance on the part of that movement to revise its goal and accept something less than the original final objective. Such conflicts are also propelled by idealist motivations".

The failure of the negotiation happened when government of Thailand strictly rejected any kind of separatism demand which jeopardized the sovereignty of the state.

The inflexibility of state

In the separatist conflict or in the response to insurgent movement, the government used the military action and assumed it a good idea in handling any internal conflict. The government assumed that the separatist conflict was just the law and order problem which could be anticipated by military offensive. Uyangoda said: "state often view insurgent challenges as law and order problem that should be resolved by the use of military force" (Uyangoda Jayadeva, 2000:27)

Martial law in Southern Thailand conflict

Three special security laws underpin counter-insurgency in the Deep South. The 1914 Martial Law Act, the 2005 Executive Decree on Government Administration in States of Emergency (or emergency decree) and the 2008 Internal Security Act (ISA) are in force in all or parts of the conflict zone. Security officials insist they are necessary and help contain the violence. Local and international human rights organizations maintain they grant excessive power to officials, foster impunity and perpetuate a sense of injustice that in turns helps to drive the conflict. They have called for their repeal or revision. This in special law has been adopted in conflict areas in order to control the situation of conflict, sometime the people in area called "wicked law" that's why this law military can do could do anything without investigation. In contrary, the government thought this law would be useful overcome and reduce the violence.

Martial law, the first impose law in 2004, stated that the military was allowed to use military forces and to detain a suspect in seven day without warrant of arrest. In 2005, emergency decree, imposed by executive order it was allowed up 30 days detention without charge in other places than prison. The military forces have used this law in order to hold a suspect without being charge 37 day. The suspect has been a victim to abuse and pressured to confess by this law.

In the case of Southern Thailand conflict:

1. The inflexibility of Thai government in using military force to solve conflict failed because military could do anything to hold a suspect under martial law See in Article 15 of Martial law, in case the military authorities have suspected any one that they might be the rebel or who break the rules and regulations or break the order of military authorities, the military authorities have right to detain that person for investigation. That the laws have failed to bring insurgents to justice.

2. Following demand of section 5 in KL negotiation process "Barisan Revolusi Nasional Melayu Patani (BRN) demand that the Thai Government should liberate all detained Patani fighter, without conditions". The Thai government rejects the demand of BRN because Thai government used Thai authority that should by military force to hold Patani fighter.

3. In peace talk, the BRN representatives had recalled the past sufferings and painful experiences caused by Thai government used military option to solve the Patani fighter. A few traumatic incidents were cited namely the my serious missing of their spiritual leader Haji Sulong who was believed to be kidnapped and murdered over five decades ago, the Krue Se and Tak Bai incidents in 2004; those incident are used to oppose government.

4. BRN leaders agreed in the latest peace talks with the Thai security delegation in the Kuala Lumpur meeting to stop attack and violence in the South during the holy month of Ramadan peace initiative. The BRN announcement on YouTube, however, said they would stop the attack on the condition that Thai government soldiers, army rangers and police must be withdrawn from the three southernmost provinces of Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat including five districts of Songkhla province during Ramadan. But the Thai government disagreed with the condition that military must be withdrawn from area, which to made negotiation to be failed.

Conclusion

In fact, the peace tended to fail because of two factors as Uyangoda tried to explain such as issue of maximalist goal and inflexibility of state. Uyangoda emphasized more on the actor of conflict that determined the success or failure in negotiation and many factors are related to each other depending on agreement of both parties. The first factor is maximalist of goal the insurgence or identity issues based on armed conflict which have tendency to generate the ultimate goal. When an insurgent movement has set an ultimate goal like establishing a separate state to made Islamic state or become independent to be new state. It was seenin the issue of Southern Thailand Conflict in the late 1960s; that the BRN has presented itself as a movement working for the independence of the Malays' historical homeland in the three southernmost provinces of Thailand and the four Malay-speaking districts in Songkhla. Secondly is the inflexibility of state, the state involved in internal conflict can also be inflexible regarding a settlement process. Uyangoda explained that state uses insurgent challenge as law and order problem that should be resolved by the use of military force.

The inflexibility was seen when several agreement were broken by internal conflict such as war, skirmish and also the domination of military group in Thai government when responding to separatism conflict. Following are other reasons have been cited for the failure of the talks: lack of mutual trust, there was no framework of the talks that both sides must follow, the BRN was forced to enter the peace talk's process by Malaysia and the Thai government was not ready for the

talks as they lack a clear cut framework and strategy for talks.

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The Failure of Responsibility to Protect in Libya

Ahmad Burhan Hakim and Restu Purnomo
Magister of International Relations Science
Faculty of Social and Political Science
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Abstract

This paper aims to explain about the failure of responsibility to protect which addopted in Libya. Responsibility to protect is the latest principles which occours in 2005 in the world summits as the tools of the international community to have humanitarian intervention such as military intervention in the one state which categorized as the failed state in maintaining human right such as ethnic cleanshing, genoside and mass killing. Responsibility to protect can be used by the apporval of security council United Nations. Unfortunatly, this principles is broke up in Libya case. In Libya there are not such kind of ethnic cleanshing, genoside and mass killing but UN issued the resolution for NATO to had military interventions as one principle of responsibility to protect. Of course this actions contravene the principle of Responsibility to protect. We see that, this actions as the failure of the implementations of responsibility to protect because there was many political and economic will which disigned by western state (USA and EU). In doing this research, we use an extensive of relevant publised materials such as books, journals, reports, newsletters, official websites and others sources of a wide variety of topic related with the subject of topic.

Keywords : *Responsibility to Protect, Humanitarian Interventions, NATO, UN, Libya*

Introduction

UN approved NATO to strike Kadhafi in Libya, it was the big tragedy in newest decade about intervention. In the name of human right and humanitarian interventions, everything can doing by design of peace percpective. Authors thing that tragedy it must be discussed again, Libya didn't do ethnic cleasing, mass killing and genoside to their people. Libya olny have domestic politics problem and we said is not business of NATO and alliance. It was to be the domestic problem and authorized by the Libya government (under Khadafi). Authors suggest it have many interest factor to like economic and political wiling.

Authors belief Libya is one of victime by concept responsibility to protect and the name of humanitarian interventions. Libya under Khadafi didn't do the factors that make responsibility to protecs happened. Libya was laboratory by NATO, EU and UN to prove the R2P. Authors think it was big mistake and wrong direction in the name of R2P. Libya under Khadafi and after have different situation, Libya to be unconditional and unpowerfull state. The UN and NATO have responsibility by their done, because R2P design to make condition and situation be better, it was not made situation more badder.

Theoretical Framework

Humanitarian Interventions

It is increasingly apparent that the greatest challenge to the notion of internastional society comes the new found proclivity on the part of major power as well as international and regional organizatios to intervene in the domestic affairs of juridically sovereign states for ontensibly humanitarian purpose. in addition to bifurcating international society into civilized and uncivilized zones, the concept of humanitarian intervention raises a number of additional questions.

A major problem emerges from the fact that new interventionary logic 'presupposes the existence of meaningful international community in whose name may be carry out (Mohamed Ayoob, 2002:85). Ayood has opinion that humanitarian intervention need to do for some state which the chaos situation. UN as the internastional organization have tools to strike humanitarian interventions with several condition. Security Council have failed to use their authority for make better condition in chaos country like Rwanda and Kosovo. Humatarian intervention must bulid and make better situation than, but it was not just for mass killing, genoside and ethnic cleansing, it have recocnation about disaster, air accident and anothers.

Indeed, it is much harder to find someone who completely supports nonintervention nowadays. The lack of action in Rwanda (or, more accurately,lack of effective action) and the subsequent genocide has had a massive impact on the theory and practice of intervention. Even those who are deeply suspicious of

armed humanitarian intervention and deeply sceptical about its prospects of success may still admit that it might, in theory, be justified when a humanitarian crisis is sufficiently serious. (James Pattison, 2010:43) Building on the Just War principle of 'right authority', it is often claimed that humanitarian intervention must be authorized by the appropriate body, by which most mean the UN Security Council. As discussed in Chapter 1, in their endorsement of the responsibility to protect, states at the 2005 World Summit asserted that any robust action should be undertaken through the Security Council (UN, 2005: 30). In Rwanda case there are not states have responsibility to taken it, authors suggest there are not interest by big country to like United States to have respon and responsibility.

Responsibility to Protect

R2P's next milestone came in 2009, when UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon released the report "Implementing the Responsibility to Protect," outlining three principles, or "pillars," of R2P.3 The first pillar describes the new approach in relation to sovereignty, highlighting that states have the primary responsibility to protect their own civilians against mass atrocities crimes. Pillar two asserts that the international community is committed to providing assistance to states to build their capacities to prevent such mass atrocities, and that "prevention is a key ingredient for a successful strategy for the responsibility to protect." The third pillar says that in cases where a state is unable to provide protection for its citizens, the international community has the responsibility to respond "collectively in a timely and

decisive manner… to provide such protection."4 The UN General Assembly adopted a resolution (A/RES/63/308), taking note of the report and subsequent debate within the UNGA (Alex Stark, 2007:4).

International commission on inetervention and state sovereignty (ICISS) report is premised on the motion that when states are unwilling on unrable to protect their citizens from grave harm, the principle of non-interference 'yield' to the responsibility to protect. The concept of R2P was intended as way of escaping the logic of sovereignty versus human right by focusing not on what interventers are entitle to do (a right of intervention) but on in what is necessary to protect people in dire need and responsibilities of various actors to provide such protection (Alex. J. Bellamy, 2008: 427).

The R2P seeks to bring an end to gross and systematic violations of human rights. It proposes the authorization of 'action taken against a state or its leaders, without its or their consent, for purposes which are claimed to be humanitarian or protective'. The R2P embraces three specific responsibilities: the responsibility to prevent, the responsibility to react and the responsibility to rebuild. It is said that'[p]revention is the single most important dimension of the responsibility to protect (Eve Massingham, 2009:807).

Thomas Weiss traces the evolution of the R2P concept since its inception in 2001. Weiss notes that although R2P is often described as an "emerging" norm, it has already played a decisive role in shaping international debates about human rights violations and humanitarian response. He points to a tension and challenge that lies at the heart of conceptualizing and

operationalizing R2P. On the one hand it must not be defined too broadly, as "broadening perspectives has opened the floodgates to an overflow of appeals to address too many problems." Yet on the other hand, it must not be defined too narrowly, as R2P "is not only about the use of military force (Alex Stark :2007:5). Alex J. Bellami explain there are three concept of R2P :Responsibility to Prevent, Responsibility to React and Responsibility to Rebuild. First, Responsibility to Prevent, Responsibility is the prevention of deadly conflict is one of the fundamental goals of UN. Indeed , the whole endeavor of UN peacekeeping grew out oh the secretary general's belief tht the primary contribution that world organization could make to international peace and security was in the prevention and resolution of armed conflict. Then ICISS called for the UN Security Council to play a leading role and identified four keys dimensions of root cause prevention : Political (relating good governance, human right, confidence –building), Economic (realting to proverty, inequality and economic ooportunity), Legal (relating to the rule of law and accountability) and Military (realating to disarmament, reintegration and sectoral reform) (Alex J. Bellami, 2008 : 427).

Second, Responsibility to React as one of specific question of humanitarian intervention, what the ICISS called. Two crusial aspirations informed the commission's approach. First, it wanted to avoid future situation like Kosovo, when the UN security council was paralyzed vy division. Second, it wanted to avoid future disaster like Rwanda, when the world stood aside of genoside unfolded (Alex J. Bellami, 2008 : 427). Third,

the label   Responsibility to Rebuild is something of misnomer because the aim after an episode of genoside, mass killing, or ethnic cleansing is not to 'rebuild' a society by returning it to pre-war state but to transform it into something new. After all, the pre-war society contained within it the seeds of mass killing destruction. The ICISS argued that potential interventers should have a strategic plan about how they intend to transform societies (Alex J. Bellami, 2008: 432). States which have interest in interventions such as R2P must reinterpred all condition before do, because if the states made decision to intervens so theya must have considerate three aspec about responsibility to protect. It's the main of condition and consideration behave.

Authors use explanatory design in this paper. It mean uses there are many teoty such as humanitarian intervention and, human right and responsibility to protect to explain the case (Libya). Unit analyzes is states and international organization, states analyzed is Libya, Europe union, united states of America,. Thoses states are includeding in ou discussion about intervention in libya. International organization such as NATO and UN are reperesentative of international community which approve the R2P in Libya and they were actors. The authors use desk library research to get data by books, journal, magazines and so on as representative secondary data. Desk library research is used because it was the possible metode to get data .author belief that metode has representative and objective details.

This part will become the analyisis point in this paper, as already mention before the case of Libya is

become unique in the contamporary humanitarian intervention. The doctrin of Responsibility to protect is became the discorse and have a good development in guarantee the human right in term of sttoping the genoside. But what happened in the Libya case become the other discorces in addopting the doctrin, in one hand of NATO and the Westren states claimed that those become the succes of international coalition in kept the human right in Libya but in the other hand many people and scoholars see that it become the failure of the Responsibility to protect doctrin because it less then western interest.

In analysing the failure of responsibility to protect in Libya the writers compared the condition in Libya before the intervention and after the intervention then the next will become the part when we analyzed the failure of Responsibility to Protect in Libya case by using the three indicators which are Responsibility to Prevent,react and rebuild as the basic foundation of Responsibility to Protect.

Libya Under Khaddafi

Moamar Khadaffi is become the president of Libya since 1969 after they lead the revolution to widraw King Idris. Since that he created a system of government called the "Jamahiriya," Arabic for "state of the masses." In theory, the system is run by people's committees, with Khaddafi as the title "leader and guide of the Revolution."Libyan leader Moammar Khaddafi as running the political system which combines socialism with religion made through direct democracy. Khaddafi further remove the monarchy and the constitution and proclaimed the new Libyan Arab Republic with the

motto of freedom, socialism, and union. In ruling the domestic politics Ghadffi use the idea of totalitarian which means that every single person have to agree with him and if there is abuses of law he will punist or even kill the person that was the idea of dictator atcually.

During period of the 1980s to the 1990s, Gaddafi openly supported international terrorism retrogressive Libyan foreign relations with other countries. Libya even fund the supply of weapons and training of the Palestinian fighters, to cause the United States President Ronald Reagan withdrew its diplomatic representation of Tripoli in 1981.

In term of economy there was a big succes of Moamar Khadaffi,althought he rule the states in totalitarian way but then Libya become the prosperus states in Africa. Fact that Libya have the biggest GDP in Africa can not be denied. Then many subsides that made by Ghadaffi to support the society even every single person will have the subsidies in many sectors. For over 40 years, Khaddafi promoted economic democracy and used the nationalized oil wealth to sustain progressive social welfare programs for all Libyans. Under Khaddafi's rule, Libyans enjoyed not only free health-care and free education, but also free electricity and interest-free loans.

Libya after Interventions

Moamaar Khaddafi widraw from his position after the intervention of NATO coalitions in 2011. The operation of *Oldessy Down* declared by NATO as the following of United Nations Resolutions number 1973 which addopting the no flying zone in Libya. Since that the military interventions is did by the Nato coalitions in

Libya Libya have many problem that faced both by the governement and the society. Libya is now a failed state and its economy is in shambles. As the government's control slips through their fingers and into to the militia fighters' hands, oil production has all but stopped.

There are other idicators which can show how failed Libya is after the interventions in political arena nowdays The militans variously local, tribal, regional, Islamist or criminal, that have plagued Libya since NATO's intervention, have recently lined up into two warring factions. Libya now have several governments, both with their own Prime Minister, parliament and army.On one hand, in the West of the country, Islamist-allied militias took over control of the capital Tripoli and other cities and set up their own government, chasing away a parliament that was elected over the summer. On the other hand, in the East of the Country, the "legitimate" government dominated by anti-Islamist politicians, exiled 1,200 kilometers away in Tobruk, no longer governs anything. (Garikai Cengu:2015)

The other is in security aspect in the border arena, the fall of Khaddafi's administration has created all of the country's worst-case scenarios: Western embassies have all left, the South of the country has become a haven for terrorists, and the Northern coast a center of migrant trafficking. Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia have all closed their borders with Libya. This all occurs amidst a backdrop of widespread rape, assassinations and torture that complete the picture of a state that is failed to the bone.(Gaikari Cengu b:2015)

Thats what happend in Libya after the NATO interventions is likely from the prosperus state jump into

worse state, the political, economic and security come to the worst situation. The GDP is fall down, there is conflict of interest in political arena, many criminal and terrorism happend it likely what happend with Libya under King Idris era but still better.

Failure of R2P in Libya

The condition of Libya after and before the interventions is become the questions about the Responsibility to protect doctrin. The aims of this doctrin is to save the human, to guarantee the human right in term of have the better society but what happen in Libya was irony. The condition of Libya society after the interventions was worsed then when they were led by MoamarKhadafi. So it become the irony because the aims of Responsibility to protect is to save the human right make the society more better than before**.** So from those reason the questions will be how far the United Nations addopt the principle of Responsibility to protect ? is they addopt the principles of Responsibility to prevent, react and rebuid ?

The first is about the responsibility to prevent, since the revolution started the United Nations, western state and some arabic states did not help the resolutions conflict or at least become the mediator of the parties which include in the conflict. Even they are becoming the provocator by made some wrong informations toward the governement of Khaddafi which made the legitimacy of Khaddafi down. Then about the United Nations it self there are no such kind of ststement of the general secertary or even they did not sending the peace keeping army in those states so it become the other

questions about the role of United Nations in this conflict.

Second is about responsibility to react, thos principles is the one which applied in Libya under Khaddafi. United Nations sent NATO to face the Khaddafi governmenet. But the questions is that are they already legitimate to give the military interventions in Libya. The simple things is about one of the requirement of to react in the principles of Responsibility to Protect which is just cause which is about genoside. Genoside in the conventions Jenewa discribe as the mass killing for about 8000 killed person., but what happend in Libya is not one of categorized of Genoside if we reffer to Geneva conventions even the victim of Libya conflict not more then 1000 person according to Human Right Watch. So from this example atcually the Responsibility to React is not passed the requeirement.

The third is about responsibility to rebuild, in this principles the United Nations is doing nothing. This become the part when Libya face the worse thing. After the collaps of Ghadaffi many sector which broke in libya. As already explained before Libya turned into failed states. But what did by United Nations is noting, the infrastructure in Libya is broke many people did not have home, the farming is broke and many others. The oil nowday also controlled by the western states and for Nato they only helping in security in term of millitary not change the social economy of the society. So by this the Responsibility to rebuild is nothing in Libya.

So from those analysis actually the responsibility to protect is premature to applied in Libya. Not only because the military interventions did not passed the

requeirment to to have humanitarian intervention but also if they are legitimate they did not applied the principles of responsibility to protect especially the responsibility to prevent and responsibility to rebuild.

Conclusion

Responsibility to protect is the new doctrin in international politicts especially in humanitarian interventions in guarantee the human right. By this doctrin united nations or the international coalitions have legitimate to intervene the other state which categorized as the failed states especially in term of human right. If the states failed in maintaining the human security then the United Nations have legitimate to intervene the states.The first conflict which become the trial of this doctin is Libya conflict when Nato send the troops to Libya in facing the government of Moamar Khaddafi. Libya is the richest state in Africa. Under the governemnet of Ghadaffi Libya become the prosperous states but the dictator style which apllied by Khaddafi made the society make the revolutions.

In solving the problem then United Nations use the doctrin of Responsibility to protect to have the humanitarian interventions in Libya the aims is to sttoping the violence of Moamar Khaddafi and guarantee the right of people and make the society of Libya in better life. Those aims become irony after the fall of Khaddafi Libya become the failed states. So it make the doctrin become failed because Libya not in better condition. The principles of resopnsibility to protect which are responsibility to prevent, react and rebuild is

did not apllied. So we conclude that this is kind of failure of the responsibility to protect in Libya.

Recommendation

Responssibility to protect is new doctrin in the development of humanitarian interventions. Atcually this doctrins is good in maintaining the human right and guarantee the human right from the criminal action of leadership, but this doctrin also have tobe examined when the united nations want to used. What happend in libya can not happend in the other state. United nations must does all the requeirment of the principles of Responsibility to protect. Then mybe this doctrin can used not only for conflicting situation but also the serious discrimination such as in Rohingnya in Myanmar and others**.**

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Humanitarian Intervention in Syria

Ibnu Zulian and Seno Anggoro
Master in International Relations
Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta

Abstract

Prolonged conflict in syria already too long of a domino effect caused by the Arab Spring in 2011. Many of the leaders of the Middle East countries are falling due to the insistence of the people in their respective countries, but which still continues today is going on people's movement syria to overthrow the regime Bazar Al Assad continues today, this internal conflict involving the opposition and loyal followers Bazaar Al Assad. The prolonged conflict has resulted in casualties that fell both sides of the conflict as well as innocent civilians. Wave of refugees has also increased from time to time to state syria turkey by citizens, political instability in syria been too long ignored, even the United Nations has issued a policy of intervention in syria, but the implementation is not easy due to the intervention of Russia and China, veto carried out by both the State argued ineffective military intervention to resolve the conflict in syria, look at the experience of intervention in Libya military intervention by NATO actually aggravate the situation in the State of LibyaThe solution is with the media dialogue or diplomacy in order to avoid civilian casualties prolonged, then it requires the dri humanitarian intervention by peaceful means, to maintain security and casualties should be required intervention as UNIFIL in Lebanon so civilians can live peacefulness without unnecessary violence.

Keywords: Internal Conflict of Syria, Uninterrupted UN intervention, Peace keeping

Background

Developments and changes in a country can never be separated from the problem of conflict, both internal and external. One new phenomenon that has happened is that the Arab spring which occurred in 2011.The evendemosntran movement by the people in Middle Eastern countries starting from Egypt and Tunisia who had been knocked down dictatorship in thesecountries. These events increasingly entrenched until hampeir throughout the Middle East and North Africa composed of Arab countries, but of the demonstration movement nets falling heavy casualties both from the civilian demonstrators to the security forces, injured and killed has reached thousands of people.

Arab spring movement is also much that is able to overthrow dictatorial leaders, but some are not yet managed to bring down the regimes in the Arab countries. Like Syria of demosntrasi massive movement from 2011 until now still not managed to bring down the regime of Bashar Al Assad who has led the Syrian government for decades. Syria opposition party wishes to apply the principles of democracy experienced some obstacles both intervention of the government of Bashar Al Assad's regime as well as from the United Nations and the international community.

The Russian side that the memorandum Benenya as Basahar Al Assad regime supporters have filled from experience of military intervention in Libya by NATO that actually aggravate the domestic situation resulted in Muammar Gaddafi's Libya to withdraw, on the other side of Syria also have an important role for the national

interests of Russia because of its strategic location. The Russians wanted a humanitarian intervention in the form of the path of dialogue and diplomacy to resolve the conflict in Syria without having to experience the bloodshed casualties are innocent civilians.

Theoritical Framework

In the theoretical framework the writer use concept of peacekeeping, conflict resolution theory, and the theory of diplomacy. The concept of peacekeeping is limited to ensure a peace agreement in a conflict and regulate relations between countries with fixed supports autonomy and sovereignty (Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P., & Griffin, S, 2004). Another understanding of the concept of peacekeeping is the intervention of a third party as proposed by Regan (Regan, P, 2000).

Meanwhile, in a conflict resolution there are three approaches to conflict resolution, namely negotiation, mediation, and intervention. Negotiations tend to be difficult to achieve because it is vulnerable to dissent, but negotiations usually provide an alternative possibility. Mediation then becomes another option to reach a resolution, especially when the conflict has spread to other areas, so we need a third party as a mediator until a resolution is reached. While intervention is similar to mediation, but a third party has the right to intervene and take decisions. And there is also a reconciliation that is to turn conflict into peace (Whittaker, D. J, 2002).

Intervention Section of International Law

The nations of the world seek to align their views with each other. Attempts to explain to each other is marked by mutual achievement of a compromise between the various interests by the nations of the world. In other words, they are trying as far as possible to avoid friction or shifting between the power that they have. But human efforts on the one hand does not always find its way as what they want even terdasapat differences according to each party felt quite fundamental shingga never reached a rapprochement. In the end there was opposition in a high scale and ended up with conflict.

One way to do that a State has the will of other countries is to conduct interference in the internal affairs of a State (Parry and Grant, 1968), for example where a country is threatened with the problems that arise in the country, while the settlement problem is considered unacceptable and different penanganananya by the other party so that there are differences in attitudes and outlook. As a result, because the settlement is done subjectively (according to his own righteousness) is the interference and intervention so that his will be recognized and simultaneously exert influence from countries such interference. At the end of the intervention can be carried out with the obvious violence could lead to a protracted war and sacrificed a lot of cost and other disadvantages. Intervention is one form of interference in the affairs of other countries that are dictatorial, has a function as a means to resolve international disputes. One is the force of international law to know some means of solving international disputes by force, namely (Ali Sastromidjojo, 1971):

1).Restoration, 2). Reprisal, 3). Pacific Blokcade, 4). Intervention

Intervention can be considered as the interference of a state in the internal affairs of other countries by using force or threat of force, while the humanitarian intervention is defined as intervention by the international community to reduce human rights violations in a country, walaupaun such actions violate the sovereignty of a country (Bryan A. Garner, 1999). Besides Dr. Wirjono Prodjodikoro gives light intervention as follows: "In international law by no means comprehensive intervention as a form of foreign interference in the affairs of a country that is a narrow but significant interference of foreign countries are pressed by means of violence (force) or by the threat of violence, if disirability not met".

The Practice of State Intervention in International Law Perspective

Executed the state practice in the intervention can be found on the US intervention against Vietnam in 1965-1966. This intervention is done because of the request from the government of South Vietnam. At first the United States only sent military advisers but then followed by delivery bataliyon and divisions of the armed forces. This delivery is to memeberantas and oppress the NLF (National Front for Liberation of Spouth Vietnam) who are in the region of northern Vietnam.

In 1991, coalition forces the United States, Britain and France to intervene against Iraq. The Coalition welcomed the resolution of the UN security

council which condemned action 688 Iraq government against Kurds. In the resolution of the security council did not mention an armed action collectively and used gun violence. But a few months later to the three countries conduct operations in northern Iraq Safe Hands degan UN secretary general for humanitarian reasons. Perez de Cuellar mentioned that such operations may violate Iraq's sovereignty, in the absence of permission from the Iraqi government or the authorization of the security council (Michael Byers, 2005). But the UN chief also revealed the importance of action on moral and humanitarian purposes. To legalize the action koalsi finally give izinya Iraq to the United Nations to give the stolen humanitarian aid in northern Iraq.

The case can be used as examples of humanitarian intervention. As the British government that the intervention in Northern Iraq is on the real not given a mandate by the UN, but the UN beretindak in Northern Iraq based on humanitarian intervention set out in the habits of international law (Eric Adjen, 2005).The practice of humanitarian intervention that happened in Iraq is also happening in Yugoslavia and Somalia in 1992. Although, the Security Council has the legitimacy to use armed force based on chapter VII of the UN charter. But what happens is that a country or group of countries to intervene with humanitarian reasons and then the legitimacy of the Security Council resolution. To analyze the humanitarian intervention, according Dinstein must be some circumstances which constitute an exception. First, the strength of the coalition forces act upon permusushan action has been suspended by a truce. Second, the resolution of the underlying security

deean putusanya that the action is happening is a threat to international peace and security (Yoram Dinstein, 1994).

The Review of Humanitarian Intervention Under the UN Charter

The present there is no international instrument that explicitly and specifically governing humanitarian intervention. Therefore, the authors tried to conduct a review based on the UN charter. The rationale for this rule is binding on the majority of the UN charter states that exist today also regulates the use of force which is the method used in conducting humanitarian intervention.From the above discussion it can be seen that basically the United Nations Charter against the use of force in relations between member states. It is recognized by the United Nations based on the experience of two world wars that happened before that showed that the use of armed force is too dangerous to be used as a legitimate tool in relations between countries (Christoper C. Joyner, 2009). The use of violence is also only made possible by the United Nations Charter in the case of self-defense (self defense) and diotoridsasi action by the UN Security Council in article 39 of the charter of use of armed force is only allowed in the case of: 1). There is a threat to international peace, 2). There is a breach of international peace, 3). There was an of aggression.

Thus, it can be seen that the use of armed force with the goal of humanitarian intervention is not explicitly mentioned in this article. Likewise, the UN paiagam IIV whole chapter there is not one pasalpun that

explicitly related to the use of force for purposes of humanitarian intervention. The use of force for purposes of humanitarian intervention little place in the UN Charter if we look to the UN goals, namely: 1). Keeping the peace, 2). Protecting of human right, 3). To promote or encourage the principle of self determination.

One of the goals of the UN at the top is the protection of human rights, this shows there is a spirit to ensure the protection of human rights can be run with either the UN member states. Thus the use of force for purposes of humanitarian intervention, which tujan of this intervention to stop the gross human rights violations and international humanitarian law in a country, can be regarded as acceptable. However, the use of humanitarian intervention should be a last resort used to stop the humanitarian issues in question. This is based on the provisions of Article 41 of the UN Charter, which requires prior use of armed force is done must be done first peaceful efforts to resolve other problems that occur in connection with article 39 of the UN charter, before the humanitarian intervention must first be a vote by council UN security that a serious human rights violation has occurred or will occur. In addition, these abuses should be concluded by the UN Security Council there is an underlying threat to international peace (Gerald Alditya Bung). This is in accordance dengena provisions of article 39 which stipulates that the use of force in Article 42 must be based on a situation where there is a threat to international peace, a breach of international or aggression occurs.

The most important thing from an implementation of armed force, including for the

purposes of a humanitarian intervention is the authorization of the UN Security Council against the use of armed force. It has been very clearly suppressed in the chapter of the UN Charter IIV thus an act of humanitarian intervention conducted without UN authorization daridewan security can be seen as a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and is an action that is not illegal or contrary to law.

Resolution Conflict in Syria
Internal Conflict

Beginning of the Syrian conflict as the conflict in neighboring countries, such as Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, and Yemen where people called by opposition parties demanding the decrease of their leader from power. However, if in Tunisia in the end managed to resolve internal conflicts by establishing a democratic system, the leader of Libya and Egypt to step down as leader of the country, then another case with Syria.

A wave of public protest or referred to as the opposition did not shake Bashar al-Assad, the Syrian president is required to resign by the opposition, to resign from his leadership seat. Assad insisted that he would only go down when the Presidential term of office has been completed, even though almost all the Syrian people demand it to go down. Tetep Bashar adamant attitude and backed by military strength very loyal made internal conflict between the opposition and the Syrian government into a protracted and unfinished to this day. Even the Assad government used violence to try to subdue them (Holliday, J, 2013).

No doubt that the Syrian people's resistance menggeliatnya much inspired by the 'Arab Spring' that swept the country of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya in 2009 and 2011. The public demonstration began on January 26, 2011, and developed into a national uprising. The protesters demanded the resignation of President Bashar al-Assad, the overthrow of his government, and an end to nearly five decades of Ba'ath Party rule and replacing it with an Islamic system which kaffah under the shade of the Khilafah. Syrian government Syrian troops deployed to quell the uprising and some of the besieged city. According to witnesses, soldiers who refused to fire on civilians were executed by the Syrian army. The Syrian government denied reports defection, and blamed "armed gangs" to cause trouble at the end of 2011,civilians and army defectors formed fighting units, which began a campaign of rebellion against the Syrian army.

International Actors

Protests civilians over the leadership of President Bashar Al Ashad and its Military Ruler's actions did not get a positive response but instead they gained violence. But so does not necessarily make the international community, through the UN, NATO or other agencies, moved to take a fairly bold step, as happened in Yugoslavia and Libya. There are several reasons that the background for this.The First is absence of NATO in Syria no other because of the lack of agreement between key countries members of NATO. Turkey, for example of worrying if turbulent Syria will certainly impact the stability of the country which borders with Syria and the

stability of the Middle East in general. While the United States (US) safety alarming minority Christian population of not less than 10%. That is why until now NATO has never been serious talks to take measures against Syria intervention.

The second is while the United Nations, through the Security Council (UNSC) can not be issued a resolution as permanent members DKPBB voice is not the same. China and Russia vetoed the resolution in October 2011 last year. Russians prefer peaceful means to resolve the conflict in Syria and also to prevent the recurrence of military intervention, as happened in Libya. The Beijing opposed the idea of the international community to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, Syria also.

Syrian conflict is no longer the country's national conflict, but has become an international conflict. Many responses coming in response to the Syrian conflict, including from countries, international organizations, and Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) outside Syria. Similarly, Indonesia is poised to give a response to the conflict in Syria. After the Syrian conflict who do not know when it ends, and is accompanied by the increasing number of casualties among the rebels, made the US "furious" with this conflict. In addition, allegations stating that President Bashar Assad to use chemical weapons in a number of attacks committed against the rebels. This suspicion was finally makes the US to investigate the use of chemical weapons by pressing the UN to investigate the use of a chemical weapon. Having bagged some evidence to support the US to attack Syria with military force. But nothing for

the US to "settle" the case of Syria alone, the US deliberately invite allies to jointly invade Syria as they once did to Iraq.

Then Secretary General of the United Nations (UN) Ban Ki-moon accused all the parties involved in the civil war in Syria has violated international law because complicates the delivery of aid to the country. "Thousands of people are not getting medical care, including medicines they desperately need to save lives," Ban said, as quoted by the BBC, Thursday, April 24, 2014 (Tempo, 2014). The UN Security Council unanimously approved a resolution on the humanitarian crisis in Syria. Resolution No. 2139 that requires all parties, in particular the Syrian authorities, provide immediate humanitarian access is fast (Antaranews, 2014), safe and unhindered for the UN humanitarian agencies and their implementing partners, including cross conflict lines and across borders to ensure that humanitarian aid can reach the people who require by the quickest route. The resolution also demanded the cessation of all violence against civilians, including the use of aerial bombardment as barrel bombs used indiscriminately Syrian regime to target civilians. The UN also demanded that all parties to demilitarize medical facilities, schools and other civilian facilities, and calling for freedom of access to all areas for personnel, equipment, transportation and medical supplies. UN Security Council on Saturday, February 22, 2014, decided to adopt a resolution demanding both sides in a deadly conflict in Syria-backed government of President Bashar al-Assad and the rebels - gives direct

access to the rest of the country for delivery outside assistance to millions of people citizens in need.

It was the first time the 15-member UN Security Council approved a resolution on the humanitarian crisis while supporting Assad Syria, Russia and China joined other Security Council members to send a strong message to the warring parties so that the distribution of food aid, medicines, and the need other civilians caught in the conflict, not blocked. Russia and China have protected its allies in Syria, the UN Security Council during a civil war that lasted three years. Both countries have vetoed three resolutions condemning the Syrian government and threatened to impose sanctions against the Assad government. In that resolution, the Council strongly condemned the extensive violations of human rights and international humanitarian law by the Syrian government and urged all parties involved to revoke the siege of residential areas, including in Aleppo, Damascus, rural Damascus and Homs.

Humanitarian Intervention in Syria
Respobility to Protect

The case in Syria illustrates not only the failure of the state in providing protection to its inhabitants, even shows that the state (government) become perpetrators of violence against the population. In this context, the government has been responsible for a wave of crimes against humanity. As in the case of Syria, the government under the leadership of Bashar Al Assad carries out a series of attacks on civil society that led to the collapse of thousands of innocent victims. As in Syria, NATO is reluctant to take a stand for the interest

of outside human factor is more dominant than the human factor. When referring to international law, there is no any international treaty that explicitly regulates the responsibility of states or international organizations to provide protection to the civilian population who have experienced violence by the state in which the civilian population is located. Such provisions, merely the views of international legal experts (Doctrine), known since the late 19th century at that time known as the term humanitarian intervention (Fitria. 2012).

Humanitarian intervention is known today that shows a very wide range, including: *Some writers restricted it to action to free the nation Oppressed by another; Considered some its object to be put an end to crimes and slaughter; some Referred to "tyranny", others to extreme cruelty; some to religious prosecution and lastly, some confused the issue by considering as lawful intervention in case of feeble government or "misrule "leading to anarchy*(Ian Browlie, 2003). Coverage of humanitarian intervention turned out not just release the oppressed nation from another nation, but also including an end to all forms of criminality and murder, religious prosecution.

The doctrine of responsibility to protect is a form of collective responsibility of the international community. State sovereignty is not absolute but is limited by international law. The UN Charter recognizes the sovereignty, independence and equality of member states, but at the same time recognizes the existence of collective international obligation to maintain international peace and security. In addition, state sovereignty is also limited by international customs and

duties as terlingkup in international treaties dalah relations and international law. Respect and respect for Human Rights (HAM) including the right to live in it, is something that has been widely accepted. It is viewed solely the obligation of the state to enforce, but it has become a common commitment. So the international community must have the courage to provide protection to civilians.Wherever and in every country where real violations are found, even bersifa massive and systematic.

Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping operations interpreted as an attempt to create a control conflict resolution to conflict with humanitarian intervention involving a military instrument and peacekeeping usually tend to do directly not lead to a structural crime. The peacekeeping operation itself, reflect on its purpose in the era of the Cold War, should aim to prevent the escalation of conflict stemming from local conflicts and create the stability in areas of conflict itself (Richmond, Oliver P. 2004). Actually, the United Nations has a goal that can be said to be good by sending military reinforcements to prevent conflict and then extends into areas that should not be affected by the conflict, but this is often actually pose a greater friction occurs in the area of the conflict itself. This can be caused by peacekeeping operation itself might indicate the source of imperialism or the beginning of reopening the old imperialism that have occurred between the former colonial powers and local powers itself. UN in its operations, is certainly a representation of the states and countries that used to be a colonial power also represents power in the UN operation. The involvement of colonial powers in the past in peacekeeping operations in the area that was once a colony, creating the potential for friction conflict with local forces, as happened in Egypt and Cyprus. This is what can be said to make the peacekeeping operation would lead to a new conflict.

Peacekeeping operations undertaken by the United Nations also led to the orientation of the status quo in the conflict area itself. That is, in this case the

United Nations shown to reduce the violence in the conflict, but a state that the status-quo in the conflict as in the Cold War era. peacekeeping were also made to change the structure of government that fails to then embed the values of liberal democracy in conflict areas in Syria. However, it is not necessarily easy to be successful because not all countries accept the concept of liberal democracy is offered so this is certainly lead to a new conflict (Richmond, Oliver P. 2004).The risks posed by the presence of peacekeeping operations undertaken by the United Nations is likely to be not small. Conflict resolution through peacekeeping operations alone can not solve the problem because the said peacekeeping operation would lead to the negative peace because it does not resolve to the root of the problem itself. In addition, the dilemma regarding the disruption of state sovereignty was also raised, so that it is in addition to peacekeeping operations other peace meenyediakan instruments that lead to true peace becomes very important.

Conclusion

International actors should move quickly to put the interests of humanity rather than the interests of others. Such as NATO should act in accordance with the concept of Responsibility to Protect that UN and international actors ready to build peace with peacekeeping theory that the media dialogue or diplomacy to avoid civilian casualties prolonged, and therefore requires the intervention of humanity by peaceful means, to maintain security and fall civilian casualties.Attempts were made of the UN should be

appreciated that finding a solution through a political agreement in order to ensure the rights of Syrian civilians are met. Mobilizing international cooperation with various communities to find solutions to resolve the conflict in Syria as the UN, the Arab League, and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. hope the international community can achieve a voice in solving the Syrian problem. So that international law really grounded in this world.

Suggestion

This paper has perposed as find to resolution conflict in Syria, in International Relation Studies; kind of conflict of states has based theories find to resolution. Therefore, the writter has more expectation like a critics and correction.

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The Role of United Nations Towards Conflict Resolution of Rohingya: the Analysis of Human Security in Myanmar

Muhammad Dedy Yanuar
International Relations student of Muhammadiyah
University of Yogyakarta
dedyyanuar99@gmail.com

Abstract

The tension of conflict between Rohingyas and Arakanese has been raising since 2012. Numerous people of Rohingya became stateless because of the gross violation of human rights. The outrageous discrimination and repression by government of Myanmar made huge numbers of Rohingyas forcibly leaving Myanmar and become asylum seekers. Hence, it becomes international issue. ASEAN as southeast Asia Organization has been ineffective to solve the conflict because of the non-interference principle that adhered it. Therefore, the intervention of United Nations will be very determining. This paper highlights on how the role of United Nations in assisting to resolve the ethnic conflict in Myanmar particularly Rohingya by using the human security perspective. The analysis of human security will show that humanitarian assistance is totally necessary in resolving the conflict. Moreover, the role of United Nations will be totally crucial in creating the strategic resolution for this particular minor ethnic repression in Myanmar.

Keywords: Rohingya, Gross violation Human right, United Nations, Human Security and Conflict Resolution.

Introduction

The United Nations constitutes an international organization which established after the second world war in 1945 that primarily purposes to promote peace and security in order to actualize welfare and prosperity in a peaceful situation across the world. As a peacekeeper organization, United Nations has responsibility to protect right, life, and freedom for every human being. That means, it has strong authority to even interfere its member states in terms of domestic conflict and jurisdiction if it is necessary.

Myanmar is a southeast Asia nation that belongs to United Nations member states. It has mandatory obligation to commit compliance with principles in the charter of United Nations. One of its principles is to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace (United Nations, 2015) So, in order to maintain international peace and security, Myanmar ought to create its national peace first.

Nowadays, the ethnic tension between Rohingya and Arakanese conflict is increasing. The status quo in Myanmar shows that there is a striking discrimination to Rohingya ethnicity. The people of Rohingya got special policy coming from Myanmar government which is the limitation of family reproduction is two children only and

they are also not recognized as citizens and face persecution (BBC News, 2001). The government of Myanmar applied this policy because they believe that the more people of Rohingya exist the more problems appear. As result, thousand Rohingyas have been forcibly leaving Myanmar and become boat people currently. It is very terrible seeing numerous Rohingyas died in the sea. It is very inhuman phenomenon. Therefore, humanitarian assistance such as Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is totally necessary.The prolonged conflict in Myanmar has created great attention for the world to look after it. Even though there is a special regional organization in southeast Asia namely ASEAN, but unfortunately it is not effective enough because ASEAN has several particular norms and principles that hinder it.

ASEAN as southeast organization has particular norms and principles towards its member. At least, there are four norms and principles that underlined the sustainability of ASEAN. Firstly, opposing the use of violence and prioritizing peaceful solution. Secondly, regional autonomy. Thirdly, non-interference principle. Fourthly, refusing the establishment of military alliance and emphasizing bilateral security cooperation (Amitav Acharcya, 2001). Therefore, ASEAN has been criticized for its position to Myanmar, in particular for its policies of 'non-interference' and 'constructive engagement' (Humanitarian Practice Network: ASEAN).Considering the ineffectiveness of ASEAN, the case of Rohingya in Myanmar needs more powerful organization and greater aid. This is the inevitable moment where the United Nations can participate thoroughly to resolve the conflict in Myanmar. The outrageously aggressive repression,

denial of citizenship, forced labor, and arbitrary confiscation of property (Human Rights Watch, 2015) to Rohingya as Ethnic Minority has conceded this as crimes against humanity. Thus, it touches the sense of human security where it relates to the problem of Individual well-being and safety (B. Mendowitz, 1974).

From the explanation above, this paper purposes to scrutinize the role of United Nations as universally recognized power to create strategic resolution in order to solve the prolonged conflict in the ethnicity of Rohingya and how the perspective of human security will assist to prove that the humanitarian assistance for people of Rohingya is totally necessary to step in the Union of Myanmar.

Theoritical Framework

This paper will set to explain the Human Security studies and also to understand that Human Security as approach to comprehend the conflict of Rohingya ethnicity. Moreover, viewing the ineffectiveness of ASEAN to halt continuously terrible repression in Myanmar, particularly Rohingnya portraying the necessity of greater power to take over the conflict such as United Nations. The United Nations as agency will not attempt to use military intervention, but civil intervention. Because the victims are civil society instead of state. Therefore, the United Nations is in the process of creating the strategic resolution in order to resolve the discrimination towards Rohingya ethnicity. Not to mention, the concept of Human Security will enable to prove that the case of Rohingya is not recognized as domestic issue anymore, but it has become international

issue and urged the humanitarian assistance for its recovery.

In 1994, UNDP through the Human Development Report (HDR) introduced the concept of Human Security. The term was broadly defined as freedom from fear and freedom from want and characterized as safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life, whether in homes, in jobs or in communities (UNDP 1994, as cited in Tadjbakhsh 2008, p.1). In the same report is also mentioned about the world social charter in attempt to give clear and precise expression to the emerging concept of human security, as the growing consent on the new pressures of global human security requires social contracts at the global level (UNDP 1994, p.6).

The report listed seven specific values of Human Security that needed to be protected, such as economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security. The 1994 HDR also identified threats that were global in nature because they could rapidly spill beyond national frontiers. These included all sorts of trans-national threats. However, the Commission on Human Security (2003), tended not to make a list of threats, leaving them to the specificity of the context. This approach is preferred since it is difficult to decide whether or not people everywhere suffer the same threats to Human Security (Tadjbakhsh 2008, p. 3).

There are also debates and argumentations about the nature of Human Security about the broadness of the concept. Buzan (2009,p. 203) wrote that the UNDP's conceptualization of Human Security is probably the

most encompassing of the concept since Galtung launched structural violence. However, as in the case of structural violence, Human Security has also been attacked for being so broad that it becomes academically and politically unfilled. As Roland Paris (2001, p. 93 as cited in Buzan 2009, p. 2013) puts it, "if Human Security means almost anything, then it effectively means nothing'.

Scholars have already done some efforts to narrow down the concept that ends up in the debates over Human Security that seems like a new round of the Classical debate between wide and narrow concepts of security (Buzan 2009, p. 203).Nevertheless, what is perhaps important and different about the Human Security debate is that it shows both the value of institutionalization (its origin in the UNDP and its adoption as a concept by states such as Norway and Canada) and that academic standards are not always what determine the success or failure of a concept. Human security did promote a very broad agenda, but this at the same time provided a rallying point for a diversity of political actors seeking to boost support for development issues and humanitarian foreign policies (Buzan 2009, p. 205).

Thakur (2006, p. 72) stated that one 'leg' of human security is in the human rights tradition which sees the state as the problem and the source of threats of individual security. The other is in the development agenda that see that state as the necessary agent for promoting human security. Both are reflected in the UN policy discourse which focuses on the seven dimensions of economic, food, health, environmental, personal,

community and political security, as mentioned on the 1994 HDR.Considering the primary goal of Human Security approach is freedom from fear and freedom from want, however the right of freedom from fear for the individuals of Rohingya ethnicity urged that the humanitarian intervention such as Responsibility to Protect (R2P) will be necessary based on the Human Security perspective.

A comprehensive understanding of Human Security Concept will emphasize the urgency of United Nations's role fulfillment to mitigate the tension of Myanmar conflict particularly Rohingya ethnicity. This paper presents descriptive explanation of the Human Security as approach and Responsibility to Protect as concrete manifestation of United Nations inference in convincing that the endless conflict of Rohingya needs to be overcome by making strategic resolution in order to create peaceful situation in Myanmar.

This paper is written by using Qualitative approach based on the appropriate documents, books, and many others literatures in endorsing the conflict resolution in Myanmar. The validation of data will be interpreted by utilizing the analysis in stages. Freedom from fear and freedomfrom want as term provided by Human Security concept engages to elaborate the individual level of security that has already been conjured. The individual right to be free from fear is included in the protection of specific values of Human Security. Furthermore, the concept of Responsibility to Protect will be recognized as the aftermath of the inability of Rohingyas to protect themselves from this violence and discrimination.

Comprehension on Human Security as Approach

Human security is popularly defined as freedom from fear and freedom from want as the two main aspects to identify Human Security. It means, first, safety from such prolonged threats as hunger, disease and repression, and second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life, whether in homes, in jobs, or in communities. These two aspects can exist at all levels of national income and development (UNDP HDR 1994, p. 23).

In order to give more specific understanding in Human Security, the 1994 UNDP report introduced several essential characteristics that are considerably important as the focus of the concept. First, Human Security is a universal concern and it is a relevant concept to people everywhere, whether in rich or poor nations. Since the threats in Human Security are common, it may affect any people in spite of their nations and background. The threats are existent and growing despite the difference of the intensity from one part of the world to another (Ibid, pp. 22).Second, the components of human security are interdependent. Which means a threat may cause the involvement of different nations when it jeopardizes the security of people anywhere in the world. In other words, the consequences of the threats are not limited to a certain national border. Instead. It may travel across the borders of several states (Ibid).Third, Human Security is easier to ensure through early prevention than later intervention, because it is so much more expensive to deal with the afterward consequences rather than to prevent the effects of the threats. For instance, during the 1980s, the overall cost

for dealing with HIV/AIDS was approximately \$240 billion. If this amount of money invested in primary health care and family planning education to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS, it could have saved so many more lives from the diseases (UNDP HDR 1994, pp. 22-23).Fourth, Human Security is people-centered. It is focused on how people interact in a society, their freedom of choices, their access and opportunities in the market and other social circumstances and whether or not they live a peaceful environment (Ibid, p. 23).

Considering four essential characteristics of Human Security above such as universal concern, interdependent, ensuring through early prevention and people centered, justify the discrimination, denial of citizenship, forced labor and repression conceded as chronic disruptions for people of Rohingya in terms of Human Security perspective.There are several important categories of Human Security that addressed to the Rohingya ethnicity. Among other things: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security. It is proven in status quo that thousands of people of Rohingya got persecution from Myanmar. Meanwhile, Several other thousands of people of Rohingya who have been forcibly leaving Myanmar are still believed to be stuck in boats off the coasts of Thailand and Malaysia and It is not clear how many other boats are in a similar predicament (BBC News, 2015).

The Seven Categories as Concern in Human Security

The list of what considered as threats to human security are varied, depending on what become the

concerns on certain issue or territory. However, the report has listed the seven main categories of Human Security which including economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security (UNDP HDR 1994, p. 24).

Each of these values has their own concern regarding the needs in every sector. One of the focuses in economy security, for instance, is the high number of unemployment as well as the insecurities of jobs availability in various countries all around the world. One of the effects caused by economy insecurities is homeless which becomes a problem not only in third world, but also first world countries (Ibid, pp.25-26).For food security, the main focus is to make sure that all people at all times have both physical and economies access to basic food. What seems to be the problem of insecurities in food is not because it is unavailable, but because not all people can afford food and gain access to it. This relates to economy security where people who cannot afford food mostly because they are unemployed or not having a stable job (Ibid, p. 27).

In health security, the concerns of insecurities are about the infectious and parasitic diseases, as well as the disease of the circulatory system in developing countries and industrial countries respectively. The high rate of maternal mortality, especially after child birth, has also become the focus of health insecurities. Another issue that has been observed as the biggest problem of health security is the number of HIV/AIDS infected people which keeps increasing every year. The virus has become a global epidemic and transmitted to people around the

world regardless the countries. What makes it even a bigger problem is the fact that the cure for the virus has not yet to be found till today (UNDP HDR 1994, pp. 27-28).Meanwhile, the concern in environmental security is about the difficulty of access to clean water in several parts of the world, which not only affect the health condition of the population, but also has the potential to trigger political tension. Environmental security also focus on the other environmental issues such as the rising sea level, global warming, and climate change that might case hazards and natural disaster and threaten the livelihood of the worlds/population (Ibid, pp. 28-30).

The next element is personal security which talks about one's safety, particularly form physical violence which can be a threat in any kind of society. Threats are included threats form the state (physical torture), threats from other states (war), threats from other groups of people (ethnic tension), threats from individual or gangs, against other individual or gangs (crime, street, violence), threats directed against women (rape, domestic violence) threats directed a children based on their vulnerability and dependence child abuse and threat to self (suicide, drug use) (Ibid, pp. 30-31).For community security, what becomes the concern mostly is about conflicts between group that based on identity, such as ethic religious or tribal communities. The other problem is also including the violence within the groups itself, such as an unequal treatment to women, bonded labor and slaves and so on. The clashes among ethnic and religious groups sometimes an have wider effect such as refugee, political, instability, rebellion and armed conflicts that threaten not

only national, but also international security (UNDP HDR 1994, pp. 31-32).

Political security as the last main category in human security has concern in the insecurity of politics such as repression and military intervention in government that has happened in several countries and is still happening in several others. It looks forward to set people free to exercise their right in political and not limited by the government in terms of idea and information, as well as free from political unrest that would result in human right violation (Ibid, pp. 32-33).

Myanmar known as Burma has committed violations of 'first generation' human rights (as codified in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights) and 'second generation' economic, social and political rights (Srinkandi Annisa Gita, 2011). Forced labor as jobs for Rohingyas shows the insecurity of jobs availability. The limitation of working by Military Junta for ethnic minority created enormous number of Rohingyas jobless. Because of the economy insecurity, it affects the access to basic food. They cannot affod food because they do not have any appropriate jobs. Then, in personal security, individuals of Rohingya has obtained physical torture from military junta, threats from other ethnic such as Arakanese, threat against women such as rape by government military troops. Furthermore, over the community security, the clash of religious ethnics between Moslem Rohingya and Buddhist Arakanese has affected people of Rohingya become stateless, jobless, refugee and even boat people. In terms of Political Security, according to an Amnesty International report published in 2010, "the government of Myanmar violates

the human rights of ethnic minority political opponents and activitists in a myriad of ways, including torture and other ill treatment; discrimination on the basis of religion and ethnicity; unlawful killings; and arbitrary detention" (Amnesty International: The repression of Ethnic Minority activists in Myanmar). Such violence adds to the large abuses of human security in some areas of the country (South, p. 78)

United Nations Responsibility to Protectas Humanitarian Assistance for Rohingya

Increasing awareness of the plight of IDPs has resulted in new initiatives to address their needs – most notably in the doctrine on the responsibility to protect, but also in the reform efforts of the international humanitarian system, launched in 2005. The idea behind the responsibility to protect (R2P) concept is that the international community has a duty to protect people from war crimes, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing and genocide when their governments are unable or unwilling to do so. Emerging in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide, the concept was elaborated in the Canadian-led International Commission on intervention and state sovereignty (hereinafter "ICISS") and endorsed in 2005. Recognizing the failure to adequately respond to the most heinous crimes known to human kind, world leaders made a historic commitment to protect population from genocide war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity at the United Nations 2005 World Summit. Thus commitment entitled the responsibility to protect, stipulates that (Wesnsatama Vierna, 2014) : (1) The state carries the primary

responsibility for the protection of population from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. (2) The international community has a responsibility to assist states in fulfilling this responsibility. (3) The international community should use appropriate diplomatic humanitarian and other peaceful means to protect population from these crimes. If a state fails to protect its population or is in fact the perpetrator of crimes, the international community must be prepared to take stronger measure, including the collective use of force through the UN Security council.

The R2P doctrine spells out the international community's responsibility to prevent such as mass atrocities and to respond and rebuild in case they do occur. While emphasizing that the responsibility to protect is first and foremost of a national responsibility, R2P outlines a series of political, economic, diplomatic and military actions that can be taken to prevent widespread suffering from mass atrocities (Wesnsatama Vierna, 2014).The principle of Responsibility to Protect (hereinafter R2P) is a mere indication that sovereignty no longer exclusively protects states form foreign interference; it is then a charge of responsibility that holds states accountable for the welfare of their people. Through time, the development of R2P principle has undergone a long and winding road through numerous meetings and debates, resulting in numerous views of R2P itself (Wesnsatama Vierna, 2014).

The principle of responsibility to protect embraces there specific responsibilities (ICISS, 2001): (1) The responsibility to prevent. Every state has the responsibility to address both the root causes and direct

causes of internal conflict and other man-made crises putting population at risk. (2) The responsibility to react. Every state has the responsibility to respond to situations of compelling human need with appropriate measure, which may include coercive measure like sanction and internal prosecution and in extreme cases military intervention. (3) The responsibility to rebuild. Every state has the responsibility to provide, particularly after a military intervention, full assistance with recovery, reconstruction and reconciliation, addressing the causes of the harm the invention was designed to halt or avert.

Viewing the current circumstance in Myanmar, it seems the most possible body to apply this policy is the United Nations. United Nations as agency must make concrete resolution in order to prevent more heinous crimes in Rohingya. Fortunately, some preventive action to avert the gross human rights violation essentially have been endorsed by international community by 'diplomatic engagement, a commission of inquiry, an arms embargo and economic sanctions' (Global Center for R2P: Upholding the R2P in Myanmar). It is very urgent because from 1962 to 2011, the country was ruled by a military junta that suppressed almost all dissent and wielded absolute power in the face of international condemnation and sanctions (BBC News, 2015).

Based on three principles of R2P above such as responsibility to prevent, responsibility to react and responsibility to rebuild, United Nations along with International Community have a legal and moral obligation to work for durable peace across the world. At last, the Myanmar government has made the reaffirmation of R2P to UN resolution number 1674 over

the acceptance of framework for legitimate protection (Srikandi Annisa, 2001). It gives signal to the change of Myanmar behavior to minimalize the action of crimes against humanity towards minority ethnic such as Rohingya ethnicity in the Union of Myanmar.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The prolonged conflict to Rohingya as Ethnic Minority in the Union of Myanmar has been concerned as international issue and needed humanitarian assistance like responsibility to protect in order to assist the victims of Myanmar government repression. Human Security perspective that is used to analyze the status quo in Rohingya purposes to implement its values such as freedom from fear and freedom from want to the people of Rohingya.

In addition, the role of United Nations has become the only alternative to substitute the ineffectiveness of ASEAN because its non-interference principle. United Nations a powerful World body must empower the people of Rohingya by creating more strategic resolutions with peace and security values based.

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WOMEN AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Roles of "Abdi Asih" Foundation to Women's Empowerment
(Case Study: Dolly Prostitution in Surabaya)

Wirda Wanda Nanda Bakarekar and Laras Putri Olifiani
Master of International Relations
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Prostitution is a problem which has considerable influence for various parties. Its influence is composed of moral development, lifestyle, and even social aspects. Dolly is one of the largest prostitution in Indonesia, especially in Surabaya. On June, 18th 2014, Surabaya city government officially closed the brothel. For its reasons, Surabaya city government offered several programs to be able to empower the Commercial Sex Workers; one of the programs was giving cash assistance. Abdi Asih Foundation is a Non-Governmental Organization which has been active for more than 20 years to empower women, included handle and assist the Commercial Sex Workers, before Surabaya city government sets up the programs. This research focuses on the roles of Abdi Asih Foundation to women's empowerment (case study: Dolly prostitution in Surabaya).

Keywords: Prostitution, Pemberdayaan Perempuan, Yayasan Abdi Asih

Preface

Post-closing brothel, Dolly, on June 2014 Surabaya initiated by Tri Rismaharini as a mayor of Surabaya City had got many attentions, not only came from domestically but also internationally. At least, Washington Post and Free Malaysia Today reported about Dolly brothel had been closed (Anggi Kusumadewi, 2014). Given the history of Dolly as well as the biggest brothel in Southeast Asia, not only had an interest like a prostitution but there were various aspects such as Dolly prostitution had been going to the political and the economic. Pros and Cons occurred in the process of closing Dolly prostitution up to be the main concern in the news and the international world.

Assumption of Surabaya City Government by closing Dolly prostitution was because of the location must be closed by giving the argument that prostitution as a social disease that is contrary to the religion and culture of Indonesia. The next proposition was offered by the Surabaya City Government is not removing the WTS (women prostitutes), but giving assistance by providing fee income to be able to stimulate the economy and supported various empowerment skills. It was not about one year Dolly was closed, reappears media coverage and recognition of various people around the brothel who were saying that many sex workers are still working, but it is not at the location of alley Dolly. In addition there is confession of sex workers who were interviewed by a media of Kompas TV that the solutions offered by the government were not as effective as the main purpose. The fact is the cost of compensation was uneven and mentoring training was

also not appropriate with the empowerment training that should be done according to the rules.

These are reaping more attentions of various circles that the purpose of closing Dolly which is aimed for eradicating social disease or bad social issues on the contrary will increasingly spread because the prostitution location is not only in one place but in some places. It becomes interesting to study because of the various aspects, such as; First, Surabaya city government initiatives to address the social disease and to empower commercial sex workers so they have better welfare; it is positive steps remembering that some countries in Europe have made regulations about prostitution, however it does not correspond to what the government wants to achieve, otherwise the prostitution is still running. Second, the fact about prostitution is not only for increasing life style but from several sources said that prostitutions happened for meeting the economic needs of the family, so it should be a focus for the government especially for finding the right solution on doing empowerment. And the last, there is a Non-Governmental Organization which has been active for more than 20 years to empower women, included handle and assist the Commercial Sex Workers, it is Abdi Asih Foundation.

Abdi Asih Foundation is a non-governmental organization contributes on doing women empowerment in the area of Dolly prostitution a long ago before Surabaya city government sets up the program for closing Dolly. It is the reason why this is interesting to talk because the fact is there are many active women

empowerment foundations but having less attention from stakeholder.

Framework

    a.   Women Empowerment

Empowerment as altering relations of power which constrain women's options and autonomy and adversely affect health and well-being (Gita Sen (1993) in malholtra (2002: 6)). Generally empowerment leads to strategies or steps are taken to improve the quality of life. Empowerment, conceptually, means "power", but the meaning of power did not stop at political power in the strict sense, however the strength of a person on some of the following as personal choices and life opportunities, defining requirements, ideas, institutions, sources, economic activity, and reproduction (Ife, 1995: 61 – 64). According to Moeljarto Tjokrowinoto, empowerment contains two tendencies. First, empowerment emphasizes on the process of transferring power to communities or individuals are more empowered. Second, emphasizing on stimulation process, pushing, giving individual motivation for having ability or empowerment to determine what the choice of life becomes. That is, empowerment is a process, as a process that needs to be an effort to develop the strength or ability (power), the potential, and the resources to be able to defend him/her. (Moeljarto Tjokrowinoto,.2001.12).

Related to the empowerment of women, sometimes the attitude of women in an effort to realize the desire to bring appropriate with what is desired by their abilities. Awareness of women and men are very

thin in its comparison, because both of these things provide benefits to each other. Their inner strength, power, life choices, and also the dignity of themselves bring their ability to fight for women's rights. Women empowerment towards to the roles of process improvement capability, functionality, and status as women in leading, managing, and creating positive things that can support the quality and performance of women.

   b. Women's empowerment strategy

The emergence of discrimination against women forms the basis for the empowerment of women. Empowerment strategy is very important considering in the daily life women often experience limitations in actualize themselves. Empowerment is a strategy which is a process of stages that aim to improve the quality of human welfare. There are limitations in terms of education, skills, and job opportunities are a weakness in empowering people. In conducting the empowerment should be aimed at groups or levels of society that is lagging.

In performing this analysis is used the theory of women's empowerment. The purpose of this theory is to determine the steps that should be used as an approach and also to know how far the government's role on giving of the approach to sex workers. As for the several stages of the approach will be discussed in this analysis is doing approach, providing an comprehension, providing support, providing assistance, and mentoring.

Women empowerment is a tool and activities aimed to improve the welfare of women. To achieve it, it requires the synergy of several aspects such as the quality of human resources (HR), access, and equality in power, participation, and welfare. Empowerment itself starts from the increase in women's access to economic resources. Many activities of women especially in the domestic scope are tangent with the economic aspects and welfare, so that shows that women often experience injustice in the distribution of economic resources. So that through the empowerment of women can lead to obtain welfare and can be better participating in social activities.

Discussion

The problem of prostitution is not a new thing, as the movement of the times. Every country has their histories related to prostitution. Surabaya is the capital of East Java as a metropolitan city that has six largest points of prostitution in Southeast Asia. There are six points localization including Dolly, Kermil-Tambak Asri, Bangunsari, Klakah Rejo, Sememi Jaya (Moroseneng), and Jarak (Putat Jaya); Dolly is the largest localization in Surabaya. It is difficult to deny that there are pros and cons of their prostitution and those who work as women prostitutes or sex workers. It is inevitable that many reviews related problems associated with prostitution social science studies. Dolly phenomenon is closely linked to the pros and cons. The pro said that localization is a social disease that tends there are a lot of negative benefits than positive, on the other side the cons revealed that the localization has been established for a long time, as if it has been formed

a circle capitalization that is difficult to be released. The view of the pros and cons can be analyzed from various perspectives is offered by the social sciences. Nowadays, it can be seen that many groupings which is done various practitioners in seeing the phenomenon of prostitutes that cannot be separated from the binding environment. However, most sex workers are working on the basis of the economy (Miskawi, 2009, 24)

Purwanto said, one of the basic underlying that women work as women prostitutes / sex workers is due to the family's economic problems (Didik Purwanto, 1991). It cannot be ignored, while gender equality has been slowly accepted by the people of Indonesia. The role of women and men in terms of development and public activity are equal. Women can do public activities besides do the routines in the household. There are many motives behind public activities for women. According to Stoler, The motivation of women to work in the public realm is constituted by various interests, such as household economy, obtain access to be independence, and learn to face economic and social challenges and to improve the social status of economy (Ann Stoler, 1984).

Furthermore, according to Miskawi, it said that for poor households the income of a woman from economic enterprises gives the opportunity to play an important role in the household economy (Miskawi, 2009, 24). So it's also happening as the base of the sex workers to do sex work. According to one of the recognition of sex workers interviewed by Kompas TV, said that basic of commercial sex workers do this job is to be able to manage needs of the family without being noticed by family, it occurs in those aged 16 years old.

In addition, commercial sex workers admitted suffering from HIV/AIDS but still working as sex workers to be able to support the family. Although it is taboos in religion and society, sex workers are still doing their job with the reason is family's welfare.

The fact which happens after closing Dolly by government is the sex workers are still exist, they work as sex workers secretly in the area of Dolly or other places as long as they have been paid. It found from various sources such as doing interview which is done by kompas TV in a program called AIMAN *"Dolly Hidup Lagi",* on Monday April 25th at 10 pm. Many facts found that there are some sex workers who are still working in the localization, such as commercial sex worker those aged 16 and 55 years old. Other fact is their motivation for working is economic factors.

Economic factor is the main reason for them who still worker in the localization area until now. It has become the question for society and various circles on the government's program which had been done on closing the localization. Less than a year the localization is closed there is still found prostitutes selling themselves (Hermina Utami, 2015). Alternative programs conducted by the government in the case of Dolly was considered as a positive thing because the government has sought to eradicate the social disease that exist in Dolly area, but the steps undertaken by the government in the process of closing gets criticism from various sides, including sex workers believe that the provision of the compensation money is not effective. Various comments have sprung up related the effectiveness of compensation cost.

Government is approaching to empower ex sex workers by giving compensation cost for commercial sex workers and pimps. The mayor of Surabaya, Tri Rismaharini, said that the sex workers will get compensation cost each of Rp 5.000.000 for commercial sex workers and pimps, which all totaled in Surabaya is 1.449 (Dian Kurniawan, 2014). They has given empowerment by giving sewing training, but it is not effective because it conducted outside the town for 25 days (Khotibul Umam, 2014). So that these things can trigger the return of the sex workers to be able conducting their job inside and outside Dolly area. The same statement is also said by Director of Abdi asih Foundation who is being the main part in the area of women empowerment in Dolly and Jarak, deploring the attitude of government which seems not involve all elements of society in the process of closing the localization, because Dolly is not only a prostitution. Abdi Asih Foundation is a foundation that has long been engaged in the women empowerment, especially in dealing commercial sex workers in Dolly who need assistance.

This is particularly interesting to observe, because basically it is an empowerment institution which is located around localization that has been active and contributive on doing the empowerment and mentoring for commercial sex workers in Dolly, but it does not get the attention from government. Abdi Asih Foundation is a foundation which already has a program that is "Mentoring and Empowerment of commercial sex workers in Surabaya", doing various approaches such as:

procurement of "herbal healthy", arisan groups, and as well as mentoring. Furthermore it supported with an assortment of concrete activities as a form of empowerment for commercial sex workers, such as: participatory dialogue, training, courses, small-scale businesses, and so on. (SKY, 2007).

Lilik Sutyowati as a Director of Abdi Asih Foundation, she has repeatedly received awards from national and international for his efforts to fight for the dignity of women. On the international level, Lili Sutyowati was awarded Ashoka Global Award from Ashoka Foundation on her devotion as a true social entrepreneur. This award is given to those who have been empowering women to be able to defend their human rights and role in society, in the domestic and the public area (SKY, 2007).

Women empowering, according to Moeljarto Tjokrowinoto, is empowering which has two two tendencies. First, empowerment emphasizes on the process of transferring power to communities or individuals are more empowered. Second, emphasizing on stimulation process, pushing, giving individual motivation for having ability or empowerment to determine what the choice of life becomes. That is, empowerment is a process, as a process that needs to be an effort to develop the strength or ability (power), the potential, and the resources to be able to defend him/her. (Moeljarto Tjokrowinoto,.2001, 21). From this matter, it needs a process which needing continuously timing. In this case, Abdi Asih Foundation had done women empowerment with the two steps, seen by programs and activities that have been carried out. However, women

empowerment is not only a discourse, but it must contain strategies for achieving the purpose.

There are some approaches and strategies in the empowerment theory, that is: doing approach, giving comprehension, giving support, giving assistance and mentoring. The process of the empowerment approaches have done by Abdi asih Foundation before the government decided for closing Dolly prostitution. The roles of Abdi asih Foundation have reached the stage of mentoring which is done in a sustainable manner. Lilik Sutyowati in the interview on AIMAN KOMPAS TV program on April 25th 2015 at 10 pm, said that mentoring proses cannot be given only in one to three days, and it cannot just provide financial assistance for improving the standard of living as practiced by the government, the need for sustained action to assist commercial sex workers in order to get out of the prostitution. Lilik said that monitoring is done by providing a sewing course, salon, and others, and also need counselling approach in order to get maximum result.

Women empowerment is a tool and activities aimed to improve the welfare of women. To achieve it, it requires the synergy of several aspects such as the quality of human resources (HR), access, and equality in power, participation, and welfare. Empowerment itself starts from the increase in women's access to economic resources. In this matter, Abdi Asih Foundation has done women empowerment which has reached the stage of welfare by needing stages and time sustainably. Doing activities and training are being step by step for opening economic access.

Conclusion

Women empowerment is becoming big attention because of gender equality and Ministry of women's empowerment are exist, so injustice of woman can be solved. By seeing the problems, Dolly localization is standing up secretly, it becomes more interesting to see the effectiveness of Dolly closing program by Surabaya Government. Many statements appear to talk about the facts of Dolly localization and operate secretly. Increasingly sophisticated technology supports prostitution is becoming more easily.

This article assumes that long time ago before the government decided to close Dolly as a place to prostitutions; the fact is Abdi Asih Foundation has been active for more than 20 years to empower women. The stages of women empowerment is carried out systematically and sustainably. So that it can be criticized for Surabaya Government, in order to empower ex commercial sex workers, expected to undertake the steps by seeing to their psychologies, because as we know that many of them is being sex workers to support their economic problem in the family.

Recommendation

In this case, as academics, we agree with the Government who has made decision to remove prostitution which is not only as a social disease but it is also not allowed on religious values. However, giving compensation cost doesn't make a good ways to solve the problem because it has not been followed by mentoring and empowerment continuously yet. It becomes natural that many facts talk about commercial

sex worker and pimps work secretly after closing the prostitutions due to advanced technology can make everything will be easy.

At least, it needs more steps to make holistic approach in case of closing the localization. Creating cooperation between government and non-governmental organization is one of the thing that must be focused for removing the localization and focusing on monitoring ex workers because problems in Dolly localization is not only a prostitution, but it has more than prostitution.

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RECONCILIATION PROCESS IN RWANDA
Didas
Rwanda

Background

Rwanda, nicknamed the Land of a Thousand Hills for its fertile, rolling terrain, gained its independence from Belgium in 1962. Soon afterwards, increasingly violent power struggles began between Hutus, which makes up 80% of the population in Rwanda, and Tutsis, with approximately 15% of the population this civil war culminated in 1994 when more than 800,000 Tutsis were killed by their Hutu neighbors. It was the process of colonization that forever changed what was once a fluid essentially socio-economic distinction between Hutus into a rigid ethnic separation.

It is especially Belgian colonizing forces that are to blame for the ethnic divisions that tear apart Rwanda today. Indeed, it was the Belgians who imposed the use of identity cards that indicate race (Hutu, Tutsi). These cards were used during the genocide to decide the fate of their owner. The Belgians considered the Tutsis, who are typically taller and lighter-skinned, more superior to the Hutus. For this reason, they placed the Tutsis in charge of the colonial administration and gave them certain privileges. For example, higher education and government jobs were reserved for Tutsis. These policies created a sense of resentment amongst Hutus

and they strove to take back control of Rwanda after the Belgians' departure.

After years of civil war, the hostility between Tutsis and Hutus peaked in April 1994 when the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi and the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of Rwanda were killed when their plane was hit by a missile. In three months, more than 800,000Tutsis were brutally murdered by hutu.

After 1994 genocide, Rwanda population was divided into 2 groups, genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors. It was not easy to live together. At schools the genocide survivors children could not seat together in the same class with the children of genocide perpetrators and in the villages genocide survivors could not talk to and share with the family of genocide perpetrators . because of these divisions among Rwanda population Rwanda government founded the national unity and reconciliation commission to contribute to unity and reconciliation of Rwanda population and also some NGO have been founded to contribute to unity and reconciliation in Rwanda for example AMI (Association Modeste et Innocent), a nonprofit organization. In AMI's program, small groups of Hutus and Tutsis are counseled over many months, culminating in the perpetrator's formal request for forgiveness. If forgiveness is granted by the survivor, the perpetrator and his family and friends typically bring a basket of offerings, usually food and sorghum or banana beer. The accord is sealed with song and dance.

The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC)wascreated to help promote cooperation and cohabitation between traumatized communities. The reconciliation process in Rwanda focuses on reconstructing the Rwandan identity, as well as balancing justice, truth, peace and security. The Constitution now states that all Rwandans share equal rights. Laws have been passed to fight discrimination and divisive genocide ideology.

Reconciliation process

1. The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC)

Primary responsibility for reconciliation efforts in Rwanda rests with the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, established in 1999

Mandate

The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) was created in 1999 with the goal to combat discrimination and to erase the negative consequences of the genocide on the Rwandan people. According to article 178 of the Rwandan Constitution, the NURC is focused on:

➢ Preparing and coordinating the national programs for the promotion of national unity and reconciliation;
➢ Putting in place and developing ways and means to restore and consolidate unity and reconciliation among Rwandans;
➢ Educating and mobilizing the population on matters relating to national unity and reconciliation;
➢ Carrying out research, organizing debates, disseminating ideas and making publications relating to peace, national unity and reconciliation;

- ➢ Making proposals on measures that can eradicate divisions among Rwandans and to reinforce national unity and reconciliation;
- ➢ Denouncing and fighting against acts, writings and utterances which are intended to promote any kind of discrimination, intolerance or xenophobia;
- ➢ Making an annual report and such other reports as may be necessary on the situation of national unity and reconciliation.

 Tools for reconciliation

1. Peace-building and Reconciliation Program

The objective of this program is to gather the population of Rwanda to debate topics related to national politics. The aim is to confront the deeply held perceptions regarding the past, present and future and to combat sectarianism and to instead promote respect for human rights. The diversity of approaches: seminars, conferences and debates that are broadcast on the radio and on television as well as regular regional meetings. Thethemeswhich take into account the opinion surveysare taken by NURC in all 106 districts of the country.

a. INGANDO ("**solidarity camps**") are also part of this approach. They promote the integration of newly returned emigrants by ensuring their safety and initiating them into the principles of peaceful coexistence, tolerance and good governance preached by the government. These camps are meant to bring together different groups of people: youth, teachers, government workers, doctors and those suspected of having participated in the genocide who have been paroled. **The INGANDO** last forty-five days and are run,directedand is mandatory for university students receiving state-funded scholarships.

b. Itorero: Established in 2007, the Itorero program is a leadership academy to promote reconciliation, Rwandan values and cultivate leaders who strive for the

development of the community. From 2007 to 2009, more than 2 million participants took part in the Itorero program.

c. Seminars: Training of reconciliation, grassroots leaders, political party leaders, youth and women in trauma counseling, conflict mitigation and resolution, and early warning systems.

d. Research: The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission has published a number of studies investigating the causes of conflicts in Rwanda and how to mitigate and resolve them and how to get to reconciliation.

e. **Discussion about reconciliation in village**:the neibouring people in village get together and talk about unity and reconciliation.

2. Support for community based initiatives

The NURC encourages the participation of the community in the fight against divisions . The Commission provides financial support to more than sixty non-profits that work on community development and whose members include survivors, perpetrators and people whose family members are in prison.

Reconciliation clubs have been formed in schools and in universities. Students have also formed their own associations such as the Student Club for Unity and Reconciliation (SCUR). These organize visits to the genocide memorial sites to honor the victims.

The NURC gives support to national unity and reconciliation clubs and associations by providing

educational material for reconciliation activities. Commission instructors travel throughout Rwanda to help establish community initiatives.

3. National Summit

The national summit is the star project of the Commission. It is led by the president of the NURC and brings together the people of Rwanda as well as important persons from the international community. It is a public forum that informs the public of the progress and achievements of the NURC. It is also meant to collect suggestions and recommendations from the population about how to better serve the goal of reconciliation. The first summit was held in October 2000, followed by another in October 2002, a youth summit in 2004 and another national gathering in December 2006.

4. Community Festival

The Commission supports annual community festivals that play an important role in the **reconciliation process**. The NURC encourages cultural activities such as theatre, music, dance and art as tools of social transformation and to strengthen unity amongst the people of Rwanda. These festivals help to pass along the message of peace, tolerance, unity and social justice that the Commission aims to promote.

Justice after the genocide encourage unity and reconciliation

In the years following the genocide, more than 120,000 people were detained and accused of bearing criminal responsibility for their participation in the killings. To deal with such an overwhelming number of perpetrators, a judicial response was pursued on three levels:
- **The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)**
- **The national court system, and**
- **TheGacaca courts**.

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was established by the United Nations Security Council on 8 November 1994. The Tribunal has a mandate to prosecute persons bearing great responsibility for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda between 1 January and 31 December 1994.

The first trial started in January 1997, and by December 2012, the Tribunal had completed the trial phase of its mandate. Of the 92 persons indicted for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, 49 were found guilty and convicted 2 cases were withdrawn, 10 were referred to national jurisdictions (2 to France, and 8 to Rwanda), 2 accused died before completion of their cases, and 14 of the accused were acquitted. Nine accused are still at large. As of March 2014, the cases against 12 accused remain on appeal.

The ICTR is expected to conclude its work by the end of 2015. **After that, the so-called Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals (MICT)**, set up by

the Security Council in December 2010, will take over and finish the remaining tasks of the ICTR.

The national court system

Rwanda's national courts prosecute those accused of planning the genocide or of committing serious atrocities, including rape. By mid-2006, the national courts had tried approximately 10,000 genocide suspects. In 2007, the Rwandan government abolished the death penalty, which had last been carried out in 1998 when 22 people convicted of genocide-related crimes were executed. This development removed a major obstacle to the transfer of genocide cases from the ICTR to the national courts, as the ICTR draws to a close.

The Gacaca court system

To address the fact that there were thousands of accused still awaiting trial in the national court system, and to bring about justice and reconciliation at the grassroots level, the Rwandan government in 2005 re-established the traditional community court system called "Gacaca" (pronounced GA-CHA-CHA),.

In the Gacaca system, communities at the local level elected judges to hear the trials of genocide suspects accused of all crimes except planning of genocide. The courts gave lower sentences if the person was repentant and sought reconciliation with the community. Often, confessing prisoners returned home without further penalty or received community service orders. More than 12,000 community-based courts tried more than1.2 million cases throughout the country.

The Gacaca trials also served to promote reconciliation by providing a means for victims to learn the truth about the death of their family members and relatives. They

also gave perpetrators the opportunity to confess their crimes, show remorse and ask for forgiveness in front of their community. The Gacaca courts officially closed on 4 May 2012.

CONCLUSION

Because of genocide, Tutsi people in Rwanda lost their families and many genocide survivors have been raped and actually are aids patient and the life conditions are very difficult for them and some are not strong enough to forgive genocide perpetrators.Reconciliation is still the long process in Rwanda but Rwanda government always focus on unity and reconciliation where it founded national unity and reconciliation commission to contribute to unity and reconciliation and some NGOS have been found for unity and reconciliation . We hope in future Rwanda people will be united and reconciliated 100%.

ECONOMIC, BUSSINESS AND TOURISM

BUSINESS FOR PEACE : THE NEW APPROACH FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE

Yolanda Dwi Adea Agfajrina Cindra Pamungkas
Gradutae Student of International Relations
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
Email: Yolanda.adea@gmail.com;
agfajrina.pamugkas@gmail.com

Abstract

In the era of globalization, business and privates increased, can accelerate development process. However, these developments can also intersect with the interests of the community; cause of a conflict of private sector such as, MNC, TNC, foreign investors, with local community. This can happen because sometimes the interests of business sector can interfere the rights and interests of general public. Economic development can be sustainable development requires stability in each sector. Business for peace as a new approach is needed to provide new way, so the interests of both parties can be fulfilled side by side. This paper try to describea certain approach can be constructed to Business for Peace is a perspective of business ethics that have emerged in many countries and has recently become the platform of the United Nations Global Compact.

Keywords: Development, Multinational corporations (MNCs), Peacebuilding, Business for Peace.

Introduction

With the development of liberal economic growth in the world today, has often been debates whether the business sector to be an advantage or detriment in the context of conflict. Yet, economic actors have been and remain key players in transformation of societies. They are engaged both negatively and positively during conflict times. There are a variety of economic system the world has seen until now, such as Laissez Faire, Capitalist, Democratic Socialist and Communist economic systems. However, whichever the system are, corporations and corporate actors have played a decisive role, sometimes triggering conflicts and other times transforming it. This is because they are one of the actors who can determine and influence the socio-economic situation in the world. Therefore, it may be both the boon and the bane for a society and thus for the transformation of conflict (Miall, 2004).

It cannot be denied that economic issues have become root in nearly all conflicts around the globe. Various conflicts occur because there are businesses interests behind it, even conflicts also occur between the actors of the business itself with the surrounding community. For example, Shell in Nigeria or DeBeers in Angola and Liberia. Similarly, in Indonesia, there are many issues that cause conflict between the business community, such as AQUA with people in Klaten, the case of iron sand in Kulon Progo, Yogyakarta, and many other conflicts. But on the other hand is precisely the business sector also play a role in the process of peace building. In this context, there are few advantages to include the business sector in peace building: it is

influential in terms of financial strength, grass-root touch with community, national networks as chambers of commerce and connection to the political authorities (Upreti, Ghimire, & Iff, 2012).

Furthermore, peace is also needed by the business sector itself, so it was appropriate for the business sector also plays a role in creating peace. It is no longer time to think about "how to get what", but "what to do in situations and how".During the past decade the forces of political transformation and economic globalization have created a world of new opportunities and hope for some, but increased instability and insecurity for others. As we enter the 21st Century, violent conflict continues to affect the lives of millions of people, undermining human progress and economic development(Nelson, 2000).

So, this has important implications for the private sector too. Now not only the economy that give effect to the transformation of the conflict, but the conflict situation also affects the transformation of economic activity. So, not only profit that became interests of the business sector, they also need the peace. A simple example, such as, local business often has anown interest in peace, because conflicts can cost this sector much in form of security costs,risk management costs, material losses, opportunity costs, capital losses andpersonnel costs(Upreti, Ghimire, & Iff, 2012).

Moreover, transformation of conflict opens businessavenues for better investment opportunities, wider supply coverage andreduced operational costs. At the same time, some businessesmay thrive in conflict situations too. However, the most part of the

businessesthat thrive in peace and in a peaceful economy always outnumber the onesthat thrive in conflicts or in a war economy. Hence, conflict transformation can be a noble job for corporate sector to gain equitable economic growth and steady recovery. Because ranging from large multinationals to informal micro-enterprises has a vital role to play in creating wealth and promoting socio-economic development. It also has a role in contributing, both directly and indirectly, to the prevention and resolution of conflict. Therefore, in order that the business sector can play a role in peace, it needs an approach. In this case, the authors offer a Business for peace as a new approach for achieving this goal. Therefore, the aims of this paper is to describe the links between business and peace, also using Business for peace as a approach so that the business sector can be vital forces to help create peace and sustainable development.

Theoretical Framework

In his work, Business For Peace: The New Paradigm of International Peacebuilding and Development, Jason Miklian and Peer Schouten explained that to understand the philosophy behind Business for Peace (B4P), we must we must contextualize it first within the deeper interconnection between business and peace. B4P did not emerge out of the blue, but appeals to and invokes deep-seated assumptions regarding the linkages between enterprise, government intervention, and societal outcomes. While the contemporary interest in business-peace relationships is an outcome of post-Cold War priorities, it is also

anchored in the Cold War competition between rival capitalist and communist political economies. The Western Bloc advocated modernization theory, i.e., that aligning with free market democracy would generate peaceful and prosperous societies(Jahn, 2006). If this in practice tacitly meant supporting non-democratic regimes at times, it fits within long established paradigms of international political economy that can be grouped under the broad umbrella of liberal peace theory.

Positive liberal peace theory argues that interstate peace requires three pillars: republican institutions of representation, a commitment to basic human rights, and transnational interdependence(Doyle, 2005). The doctrine is associated with names such as Immanuel Kant, Joseph Schumpeter, and Francis Fukuyama, scholars who combined elements of republican or democratic politics and 'the spirit of commerce' in different ways to arrive at the idea that domestic institutional dispositions lead to 'cosmopolitan ties' that positively correlate with peaceful foreign policy inclinations.

This branch of liberal peace theory is 'positive' in that it emphasizes the role of liberal institutions to bring peace over the agency of markets. It holds that transnational institutions and regimes can overcome the collective action problems and transaction costs that lead to conflict by promoting interdependence, and that potential externalities of unrestrained free markets can and should be curbed by embedding them within an institutional architecture. Positive liberal peace theory

directly informs the agenda that has dominated until the onset of B4P (Miklian & Schouten, 2014)

In addition, The belief that economic entrepreneurship will lead to peace and development can be traced back to John Locke's Second Treatise, where he argues how the spatial expansion of entrepreneurship and property rights will lead to civic government with peaceful characteristics (Miklian & Schouten, 2014).

Moreover, Conflict-sensitive business engagement results into corporate actors' (individual and collective) transformation. It is related with the actors' internalization that they have responsibilities beyond profit-making. This helps speed up providing of reliefs to the conflict-affected people. UNGC (2005) writes that corporate sector's social engagement can make businesses a potential partner in post conflict reconstruction efforts undertaken by governments and international organizations. It puts forth that such engagements help them obtain a 'social license to operate' from local stakeholders.

Humanitarian engagement raises the sense of responsibility on one side and that of thankfulness on the other. So, it has to do with the transformation of relations and culture of humanism. Humanitarian aid can also mean that businesses profit from this. Corporate sector delivers food or other emergency supplies to the governments and the government agencies provide this for free to conflict-affected places, still the business gets paid by the government. Thus, humanitarian engagement of corporate actors has dual benefits to the corporate actors themselves (Upreti, Ghimire, & Iff, 2012).

However, B4P's rise is indebted to the fact that in practice, the liberal peacebuilding agenda has failed precisely in the places where it has been needed most. A decade after the launch of the Millennium Development Goals these initiatives have brought economic gain in low income countries where efficient institutions are already in place, but fail to lift up those living in the more challenging fragile and conflict-affected zones. In the latter, liberal institutional projects are often locally highly contested, do not address root causes of conflict, and can end up benefiting only certain factions of society – outcomes that also befell Cold War-era modernization theory. As one case study put it, the liberal peace in practice can turn out to be neither liberal nor peaceful. But absent an alternative, liberal peacebuilding continues to be the frame around which contemporary peace action is organized (Paris, 2010), not least because it still promises peace and development through the agency of western donors, on the premise that 'we just need to get the conditions right'.(Miklian & Schouten, 2014).

In this paper researcher uses descriptive research method. The author will try to understand and describe the data related to business for peace. Business for peace as new idea in international business for create world peace, formerly International business as one of the factors of conflict in economic growth and development.This study uses data that is obtained through the study of literature, from books, articles and sources on the internet, online journal, an online magazine relating to the object of the research was the collection of data is done through the print and electronic media in order to complement the research needs. Due to

issues raised are still ongoing and new, then the writer more use of literature on-line.

Business Sector Can Do For Society and Peace

In the current era, in which the world is interconnected, the private sector, Government, and society are distinguished in their respective responsibilities, but these actors have a common interest in stability, prosperity, peace, and development. In this case, the business sector can become an actor who brings a strong change. Do the responsible business operations in all areas and take action to promote peace, should be done in all sectors, especially the business sector. Because in the event of conflict and instability, not only can affect society and the environment, it can also pose a risk for all parts of the business sector. If it continues, will hamper growth and development, so that it could lead to a broader impact. So the responsible behavior with proactive action is needed to ensure that the business sector should be able to contribute to the development and help communities overcome challenges in achieving stability.

According tostudies by both the World Bank and the United Nations, there are correlations between poverty and violence.The literature generally argues that by providing jobs and diversifying economic opportunity, businesses can alleviate a region's poverty. Transferring technology can upgrade the economies of emerging market countries, as can transferring good management approaches for effectively running businesses. Technology can also offer a forum for people of different religious, ethnic, and national backgrounds

to work together toward a common goal.In this context, for example, Cisco Systems committed to this idea by investing $10 million in Palestinian programmers and including both Palestinians and Israelis on the same programming teams. Cisco has taken people and economies that are too often kept apart and reconnected them in person and in cyberspace (John Forrer, 2012).

In addition, in order to demonstrate the role of the business sector, in 2010, Swisspeace published a study in the Political Division on Human Security regarding the role of businessmen in the mediation process (Iff, Alluri, Kohler, & Sguaitamatti, 2010). The results showed that private businesses have an important role to play in the mediation process Track 1, which is instrumental in providing the resources, expertise, network, and lobbying to reach peace. At the same time, the study found that local businessmen have the potential to play a role that is relevant and is active in lower tracks, namely as a mediator and facilitator.

Moreover, by respect the rule of law and abide by international labor and environmental standards, companies can also contribute to peace. Mars Incorporated for example, has supported the Sustainable Tree Corps and helped in developing the Cocoa Livelihoods Program to evaluate the cocoa sector of Ghana and other regions. Mars works to raise awareness of the importance of reducing child labor and protecting workers at every level of the cocoa value chain, from the fields to the factories. The company also has committed to certifying its entire cocoa supply by 2020, all 250,000 tons a year, as sustainable. Also about respecting the rule of law, as corruption can stoke instability and violent

conflict, businesses with strong ethical principles and zero-tolerance policies toward corrupt practices move the needle toward peace.

Other rule of law contributions to peace including respect for property and contract rights. In addition, dispute-resolution mechanisms provide an avenue for resolving differences without resorting to violence. A recent example is Mongolia's tripartite agreement signed by business representatives, civil society, and government in 2010. The agreement established a national mechanism for dispute resolution, conflict mitigation, and education on mining issues. This agreement is the first of its kind globally and has the potential to set a leading example of best practices in preventing and resolving natural resource related conflicts through multi stakeholder collaboration (John Forrer, 2012).

Companies in business sector also need to develop their corporate citizenship if they want to commit for peace. Corporate citizenship encompasses a range of initiatives extending beyond traditional philanthropic activities; the term is broadly defined as a commitment to ethical behavior in strategy, operations, and culture (John Forrer, 2012). Contrary to common assumptions, rather than distracting from profit maximization, this commitment can manifest as a strategic response to market or governance conditions that affect the bottom line.

For example, Coca-Cola provides pushcarts to disadvantaged female entrepreneurs in rural Vietnam, allowing them to create a revenue stream for themselves while making it easier for Coca-Cola to expand into

underdeveloped areas that are harder to reach using conventional transportation methods. Corporate citizenship can enhance the social, environmental, and economic health of communities, in turn benefiting companies, which are not immune to what happens in their operating environment. In addition, to the extent that companies espouse the principles of corporate citizenship, they can promote diplomatic relations between country that they're from and the countries in which they operate.(John Forrer, 2012)

The business sector's contribution in creating the peace can also be done in a variety of levels, such as first,in personal dimension, corporate sector can help to reduce the negative effects of their own actions to the conflict context. This action decreases the possibility of conflict escalation thereby increasing the potential for safe and fair market opportunities. Second, is in relational dimension, as economy always a major part of political conflict, corporate sector can help enhance efficient communication for mediation, negotiation and mutual understanding.

In structural dimension, realizing the underlying causes of conflict as well as its proxy reasons, offering the possible solutions through corporate interventions and helping restructure the social relations fall under this category of shift. And in cultural dimension, corporate sector can promote respect to the local cultures, can enhance understanding of the social values, adapt with them while working in the community and remain aware of the culturally sensitive issues which can generate conflict. It can also identify and promote indigenous methods of conflict settlements.

Business for Peace

To make action, contribute, and foster peace, business sector of course need a way or approach to do that.That's why UN Global Compact launched Business For Peace (B4P) as a new approach. Business For Peace (B4P) is an umbrella term that encapsulates a new paradigm of international development. In 2013, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon launched B4P as the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC) new platform. Before this, there are few country that launched the same term as foundations or alliances, such as, Norway launched a Business for Peace Foundation in 2007 and Sri Lanka has had a Business for Peace Alliance since 2002 (Miklian & Schouten, 2014).

Drawing on over a decade of experience working with the private sector to explore the role of business in contributing to peace, the UN Global Compact launched Business for Peace (B4P) at the Global Compact Leaders Summit (19-20 September 2013). Identified in Forbes as one of the five areas defining the future of CSR, this leadership platform assists companies in implementing responsible business practices that are aligned with the Global Compact principles in conflict-affected and high-risk areas. The platform also catalyzes collaborative practical action to advance peace by leveraging business influence on the workplace, marketplace and local communities. (UNGC, 2013)The Global Compact initiative Business For Peace (B4P) is based on the role of companies as generators of change and transformers of conflict in opportunities for peaceand harmony, in the areas in which they operate. This initiative is consistent

with the rolethat the United Nations (UN) grants companies in its objective to complete its global agenda.

Business leaders and Global Compact Local NetworkRepresentatives who's commit to this platform recognize that special attention needs to be given when operating in high-risk areas to ensure that the rights of stakeholders and vulnerable groups are respected and supported. Further, they believe that conflict-sensitive supply-chain management, labour responsible practices, combating corruption, responsible water management and caring for the climate all operate as foundational pillars of peace and stability. So business sector shouldcommitted to play a constructive role in fostering peace, stability and development.

That's why, through B4P, business leaders from across the globe and Global Compact Local Network to express their willingnessto engage in learning, dialogue and collective action, to advance peace in the workplace, marketplace and local communities by paying heightened attention to UN Global Compact implementation in conflict-affected/high-risk areas, taking action to advance peace - individually, and in collaboration with others and annually communicating on progress. All this action is needed to advance peace in the workplace, marketplace and local communities. B4P will support companies in implementing the Ten Principles from UNGC when operating in high-risk or conflict-affected areas and, where possible, help to facilitate multi-stakeholder dialogue to enhance corporate engagement in priority areas. Together with other stakeholders, through B4P, will begin a journey that aims to uncover the most effective ways the private

sector can contribute to peace and to scale-up action towards it. (UNGC, 2013)

The B4P establishes business sector, for example multinational corporations (MNCs), as partners in localpeacebuilding. With donors increasingly fatigued by traditional mechanisms of aid delivery, B4P is taking a lead role in framing the post-2015 development agenda at the national and global levels. The B4P philosophy also entails a move by international institutions to help corporations move beyond 'do no harm' and engage more directly in actions that contribute to peace. Supported by the United Nations, World Bank, and nearly all major international development organizations, B4P aims to retool international businesses in conflict zones and fragile states as active agents of peace, stability and long-term development. In doing so, B4P is more than just an effort to renew established agendas. It contains the seeds of a more substantial paradigm shift in the global peacebuilding and development architecture. Its discourse forwards deep-seated assumptions regarding the relationship between business and peace, states and companies, and politics and economics that are as powerful as they are contested (Miklian & Schouten, 2014).

B4P is the first Global Compact platform that Local Networks can join through a public commitment, alongside individual companies. There are many countries that have participated and became a UN Global Compact Local Network, such as, Canada, Colombia, Egypt, Germany, India, Iraq, Israel, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Republic of Korea, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom, Ukraine, and also Indonesia.

Business for peace has launched in Indonesia on February 27, 2014, in Jakarta.

Conclusion

Business from multinationals to informal micro-enterprises- has a vital role to play in creating wealth and promoting social and economic development. The both of has a role in contributed directly and indirectly to the prevention and resolution of violent conflict. Violent conflict from company's cause of business partners or the result of bad management, operating controls within the compact. The company has three basic strategies that companies that can adopt in managing their impact on society. They are applicable for companies operating in any industry sector, country or community, but have a particular relevance in conflict-sensitive situations.

Business for Peace is new paradigm in international business of worldwide. All this time international business or foreign investment is caused of conflict of society. UN Global Compact in Human Right Issue created two principles of the UN Global Compact from Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Compact), are:Principle 1: Business should support and respect the protection of internationally proclaimed human right; andPrinciple 2: Business should make sure that they are not complicit human right abuses.

Respecting and supporting human rights remains one of the most challenging areas of corporate sustainability. Human Right in other part have traditionally been the concern of States, International human right instruments are addresses to them. B4P in

UN Global Compact have to implementation in human right value, because human right and moral is basis of create peace and sustainability.

Recommendation

Our recommendation to government for business to more effectively understand its role in emerging markets, government must better integrate the business sector into foreign policy and national strategy plans and documentation. Clear and enabling regulatory frameworks are needed. These could be designed to encourage, incentivize, and support business and peace. In addition, by recognizing companies that promote democracy, human rights, and anti corruption, the government can encourage peace-promoting behavior.

Local governments can also contribute to supporting a peaceful relationship in many ways. They can improve the management of land ownership, improve security, and further enhance the possibility that more people could be influential in policy development. For the promotion of peace in the context of business development, local governments can also monitor, evaluate and facilitate the process of placement. Large-scale business development often requires relocation and placement for local people. This displacement can trigger tension and conflict, so that the local governments should be able to identify triggers of conflict, provides and offers dispute resolution mechanisms, as well as engaging in dialogue and

monitoring. If this can take place peacefully, business can flourish in the area in a conductive situation.

Domestic microenterprises and SMEs also has great potential to encourage peace when involved in a local network. By integrating domestic firms to most their supply chains, the MNCs can help enlarge the activities of promoting peace. However, partnerships between MNCs and domestic companies did not directly can lead to peace. However, the conflict affects any point points the chain, so the sensitivity to conflict must be present from the end of the value chain to the other. In addition, the domestic companies can also foster peace by ensuring that they are paying taxes are invested directly into the communities in which they operate.

NGOs can also be a valuable asset to businesses desiring to enhance conflict sensitivity. However, NGOs and firms would be most successful by focusing on a shared interest in achieving peaceful outcomes as opposed to differences. By providing clear and realistic expectations for companies, NGOs may experience a more positive response. NGOs can also foster peace by engaging companies before they invest. Corporations should also be acknowledged when they succeed, to heighten the incentive to continue their efforts and increase their likelihood of consulting with NGOs in the future.

The association between business and peace is well known but very little understood, particularly regarding the direction or strength of causality. The academic community can engage in more detailed analyses to inform both business leaders and policymakers on the details of causality, impact, relative

costs, and outcomes. Existing assumptions should be challenged. Differentiated analyses of businesses, such as multinational versus domestic, or publicly traded versus state-owned, and the respective strategies most conducive to peace can be undertaken. In addition, distinctions can be drawn among the behaviors and objectives of businesses: Some firms explicitly intend to participate in peacemaking, while others seek to undertake ethical practices that are associated with peacefulness (John Forrer, 2012). Case studies documenting the experiences of business can be developed in significant depth to help identify companies currently practicing behaviors linked to peace, beneficially bringing to light those companies that undertake this work the best. This research may lead to the development of peace-specific codes of conduct for business.

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Thai Government's Strategy Towards Asean Economic Community 2015

Mr. AssazaliSibawaihi & Mr. MusreefudeenSama
Master of International Relations
UniversitasMuhammadiyah Yogyakarta
Musreefudeen@gmail.com

Abstract

ASEAN economic integration is indisputable. Together, they form a huge market that growing faster than other regions in the world and can form a dynamic regional. The establishment of the AEC will also help the region to play a more effective role in shaping the international trading that impact the financial system that is more responsive to their needs. ASEAN was formed on 8 August 1967 in Bangkok Thailand with the signing of the ASEAN Declaration founding attended by five countries included Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore. Thai government's strategy towards ASEAN economic community (AEC) 2015. Thai government's has 8 strategies to prepare AEC: 1. Enhance competitiveness of products, services, trades and investment, 2. Improve standard of living and expand social security, 3. Develop Infrastructures and logistic system, 4. Develop human resource, 5. Improve/revise law, rules and regulations, 6. Raise awareness of ASEAN community, 7. Strengthen country's security, 8. Increasing city potential linkage within ASEAN.

The writer used an extensive of relevant published materials such as books, journals, reports,

newsletters, official website and other sources of a wide variety of topics related with the subject of the topic. The methods to collect the data were through library research, internet media, book, magazine, journal, news, and some periodical data. It is especially important to describe the specific stage of Thai's government to become a stronger economic power in Asia.

Keywords: *Thailand Government, ASEAN, Strategy, Economic, Development.*

Introduction

The ASEAN economic community is from a new economic power in Asia, due to the fact that Asia is becomes one of the regions with the greatest total of the world's market potential. It is certainly interesting to other countries that want to develop their potential cooperation in the ASEAN region. The ideas of ASEAN economic community 2015 forces transformational of ASEAN as a regional organization of State-oriented into a people-oriented (Tham.S.Y.&Lee,Othman,2008).

ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is one of the pillars from ASEAN Community in which the other two first pillars are the ASEAN Political and Security Community seconds the ASEAN Socio and Cultural. The purpose of the establishment of the AEC is to improve the economic stability in the ASEAN region with the formation of the ASEAN Economic Community is expected to be able to solve the problems in the economy among ASEAN countries. In terms of objective economic basis for the establishment of ASEAN as reflected in the Bangkok Declaration of August 1967 is

to restore relationships intraregional and compile them in a procedures structure of Southeast Asia based on mutual respect and peaceful coexistence, regardless of social-economic system of each member state.

The main objective is to realize the ASEAN economic cooperation and social-cultural to using procedure structure of the Southeast Asia.ASEAN economic integration is indisputable. Together, they form a huge market that growing faster than other regions in the world and can form a dynamic regional. The establishment of the AEC will also help the region to play a more effective role in shaping the international trading that impact the financial system that is more responsive to their needs. Nevertheless, the obstacles to faster ASEAN economic integration are economic, technical or political ones.

Some countries lack the expertise, equipment or funds for certain measures to integrate the regional economy. Some countries fear that their industries cannot withstand the increased competition from other in the region. In the economic development, Southeast Asian countries still have economic gap and different starting point policy in the economic system. Some, like Singapore and Malaysia, are better off than other countries, even Indonesia with abundance of natural resources still remains in the middle rank of the economic development, while Philippines in the bottom with other CLMV countries.

Thailand is mixed economy in which both Capitalism and socialism the private sector and states define economy, represent characteristics of both market economies and planned economies(Nuchpiam,T. 2014). It can be described as market economies with strong regulatory oversight and governmental provision of public goods. Mixed economies also feature a variety of state run enterprises.Thailand seeks to position itself as the gateway to mainland Southeast Asia. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed on 8 August 1967 in Bangkok Thailand with the signing of the ASEAN Declaration founding five countries included Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand Malaysia and Singapore.

ASEAN has emphasized regional cooperation on three pillars of security-politics, socio-cultural and economic integration. Capitalism has made most development in economic in economic integration and aim to create an AEC by 2015. AEC has been agreed upon by heads of State from ASEAN member countries at Bali meeting in 2003 which was confirmed by the Declaration of ASEAN concord II, also known as Bali Concord II. The main concept of the AEC is to create the ASEAN as a single market and production base unite where there is a free flow of goods, services, factors, of production, investment and capital. Furthermore, the elimination of tariffs for trading between ASEAN countries is expected to reduce the poverty and economic inequality among ASEAN country member through a number of mutually beneficial cooperation(Sim, E.W.2008).

Thailand has set strategies in blueprint for relevant agencies to use as guidelines for the implementation of AEC; it will work with the private sector in the form of public-private partnerships (Singh, 2010).A clear action plan will also be worked out for all provinces in Thailand and overseas offices, which would enable them to operate in the same direction. Strategies in Thailand's blueprint, Thailand will move actively toward trade negotiations in ASEAN and other international forums, such as the World Trade Organization and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation.

Bilateral talks under joint trade committees will also be emphasized for the benefit of SMEs and economic development as a whole and strategy seeks to develop the "single gateway" for trade Centers in ASEAN and southern China by an emphasis on the development of trade infrastructure, e-commerce, and logistics supply chains, Thailand will become part of the ASEAN single market, the factor more important is human resource development, training courses for entrepreneurs will be further developed, so that they will cover all target groups, such as the Young AEC, OTOP Traders, and professional business people projects.

Theoretical Framework

In order to understand the phenomenon of preparation of Thai government strategy towards AEC 2015, the writer uses some theory or concept which relevant to the issue. In this case writer will use concept of political system, Theory of integrations and SWOT

analysis to capture the phenomenon of preparation of Thailand's government toward ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) 2015.

1. Political System. By David Easton

To answer a question and explain the issue of the ASEAN Economic Community I would like to use the system analyses of politics by David Easton.
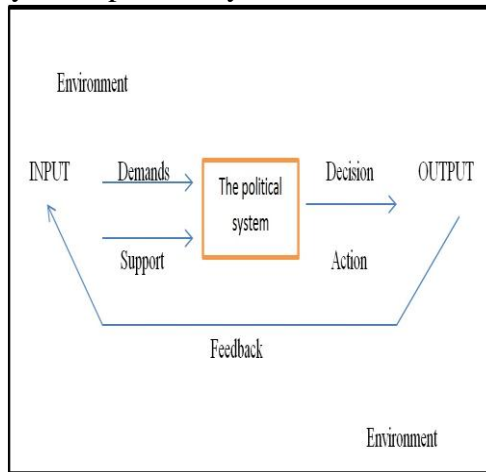

Diagram.1.1 Political System by David Easton (Masoed, Mohtar, Gajah Mada University, "PerbandinganSistemPolitik" (1989).)

From the picture above, we can see that the system is consisting of several units like environment, Input (demands and support), the political system and output as the result of processes (Mohtar Masoed,1989).

1.1 Environment

Environment is one of the important factors within a system of politics, which is the form of a system supported by the environment. Hence, environment gives significant impact toward the system of politics within states (MohtarMasoed, 1989). In this case, we can see Thailand as one of the state that would join the ASEAN Economic Community. Therefore, here the society and any political group and interest group in Thailand categorized as the environment refers to the model of political system by David Easton. Indeed, those political actors will influence the political system and the decision making process by the opinion and interest proposed by them.

1.2 Input (demands)

In this unit, a demand is one of the input points that can be proposed by the political party and group of interest. According to David Easton, the demand is the will of society about some matters that need to be fulfilled by the government. It would be some policy or another program of government that still cannot give the satisfaction for the societies(MohtarMasoed).Hence, in this case, the demands come from common people need government to develop their educate especially English language and skill of labor to competition in ASEA N Economic community (Trans National Riper(TNRC)9).

In this case, there is scholar that has opinion and an idea about the preparation of AEC in Thailand. Dr. SurinTeepsuwan, the ASEAN secretary since 2004 to 2011. As the Thailand political elite, Teepsuwan has spoken and promoted about an opinion to the

government such as SMEs, Human resources and education level.

1.2.1 SMEs (Small, Medium Enterprises)

In the preparation of ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), Teepsuwan see that the government needs to pay more attention about the existence of SMEs. SMEs will become an important aspect of Thailand development. We can see that SMEs could increase the profit per capita, because when AEC begin then individual around the ASEAN will come to every member states. Hence, it is possible that the customer comes from another state or foreign customer. It means that, government can use this opportunity to improve the state level in term of economics.

1.2.2 Human Resources

In a preparation of AEC, the government should understand about the importance of human ability, because with the number of humans in Thailand it can become the strong tools in the developing process. Dr.Surin argues that "*one of the major points in the preparation to facing the AEC, we need to improve the ability of human resources. Actually, we will compete with another state within ASEAN. Hence, what we will do is preparing our human resources by giving them knowledge and skill*".

1.2.3 Education Level

The last point of Surin's ideas is about education. We do believe that education is the key to open the world; the state could become the strong state when the education level is high, because educated people could become the main factors of state development. It is

applicable for every state, because in all development within state education is the main tools and compulsory. Hence, Thailand could also compete in the AEC by improving their education level. Education is the KEY.

1.3 Political System

In this part, the political elite like executive and legislative held a meeting and collect the data from the input. Therefore, any opinion and ideas that come from the society and political party are collected and discussed by the government. The purpose of this meeting is to decide the policy that should come out as the result or output. Hence, this is called as the decision making process.

1.4 Output

The last part of the system is an output, which is the last process from David Easton theory. Some output is also called the main purpose of this process, because it starts from input, decision making process and output. In here, we will know what are the policies created by the government in order to fix the problem or to fulfill the society‟s demands. Hence, every decision taken by government as the policy will be felt by the societies. Every process of this political system is same. It is the about the demands from the people and the policy from the government.

For the Thai government the national interest is to achieve the results of the ASEAN economic community (AEC) 2015, by having a Policy Statement of the Council of Ministers delivered by Prime Minister YingluckShinawatra to the National Assembly (Yingluck Shinawatra,2011)

Thai government accelerates the promotion and development of relations with the member of neighboring countries by enhancing cooperation between the public sector, private sector, people and the mass media in order to cultivate mutual understanding and instill closeness among all sectors which will lead to expanded cooperation in the areas of economics, trade, investment, tourism promotion, transportation and others under sub-regional frameworks so as to promote good neighborly relations because Thailand seek main continental in South East Asia.

Thai government create unity and promote cooperation among ASEAN member countries in order to realize the goal of creating an ASEAN Community, as well as promote cooperation with other countries in Asia through various cooperative frameworks, and prepare all sectors for the move towards becoming an ASEAN Community 2015 there are 3 Pillar. The Economic, Social-Cultural and Security-Stability areas.

Thai government utilizes regional connectivity within the ASEAN region and sub-regions in order to expand the economic base in terms of production and investment, prioritizing the development of provinces and groups of provinces situated along the economic corridors and border areas. Thai government Coordinate the work of government agencies overseas in accordance with the "Team Thailand" policy in order to carry out foreign affairs efficiently, effectively and with high quality.

2. Economic Integration

Global integration occurs because of the development of the international system. It is also based on the need to hand over the affairs of the country from the government affaires switch to a larger system, to achieve a greater interest together with other countries. According Martin Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghanexplain that the integrations can best be understood as a process. There are involves related below (a) a movement towards increased cooperation between countries, (b) the gradual transfer of authority to the supernatural agencies, (c) a gradual homogenization of values, (d) the coming into being of global civil society with it, the construction of new form of political community (Griffith,M&Callagham,T,2002). The term economic integration in the context of the state, which describes the union of several countries in a single unit, began with the emergence of the theory of Custom Union (CU) by Viner (Kosotali,A&Saichu,G 2008).

Holzman stated that the economic integration was a situation where the two regions join into one market or have a marketed price of goods and production factors in common between the two regions (Kosotali,A& Saichu,G,2008). The definition indicates that these are no barriers to the movement of goods, services and factors of production between the two regions and the existence of institutions that facilitate such movement.

In the economic integration, there are several important concepts especially for developing the regional economy. Those concepts are related into the basis questions on how this integration process can be

implemented. In the reality, ASEAN still lacks of the implementation on the economic integration. One of the reasons in the economic integration progress has some consequences to influence the national public of every member. Thus, the realization of the economic integration is not only merely related into the economic aspect, but also the political aspect. Kosotali and Saichu explained some concepts from the economic integration that has significant correlation between the economic and politics. They are:

2.1 Market Integration and policy Integration

2.2 Ambiguity of Economic Integration

2.3 Regional Economic Integration and GATT/WTO

2.4 Integration between Economic and politics

2.5 Economic Integration and Sovereignty

For example, one of the characteristics in the economic integration is that there should be a process of market integration. Every member of the state who is involved into the market integration will shift in the condition of the supply and demand. This condition also needs policy integration to build instrument and regulation as fairness standard for participation of every member state in the market flow. The policies not only come from the economic system but also from the interest of every state member. In this situation, economic integration needs the political support from every government of member's states.

3. SWOT analysis

Strengths

Thailand as a production base in the automotive and electronics industries is making a great investment

or research. The financial institution of Thailand is stability to investors to raise funds from financial institutions and the government of Thailand with confidence by promising to liberalize the financial sector as well. The locating of Thailand in the member of ASEAN is in the central land. It makes Thailand become the gateway to mainland in Southeast Asia such as communication, trade, investment, land transport, brokerage, tourism, whole exhibition, also Thailand's best travel features.

Weaknesses

Thailand had an uncertainly of political is Instability that as societies different ideas a political and the problem of unrest in southern Thailand (3 province) that is internal factors, Thailand has had a violation of intellectual property such as music, movies, and software. The people of Thailand still lack an ability to use English as a common language to communicate in ASEAN Economic community began.

Opportunity

Thailand has a policy of encouraging foreign investment, especially investment, leading to the development of technology innovation, and the development of personnel skills. Thailand's commercial trade liberalization is not blocked. The investment of Thailand is supported by Board of Investment (BOI).The Board of investment mainly supports the industry the Thailand in several branches of industry and some of Thailand's service sector such as medicine has advanced technology and quality at affordable prices.

Threats

Thailand has faced competition to lower labor inevitably. The main Production of labor-intensive industries is textiles. The production is move to countries with cheaper labor, such as Cambodia, Laos, Burma, and Vietnam (CMLV). So, investors must adapt it with the certainly problems, English's people of Thailand make small and Medium enterprises (SMEs) businesses which will be required to develop the English language skills. Otherwise, foreign workers who use English language will be scramble work certainly.

Thailand sees ASEAN community as a regional organization which is very important to meet the country's national interests. Therefore, the process of integration will bring better returns to Thailand. Moreover, this integration will make the defense of each country more secure and terms of trade in the ASEAN economies would be more beneficial for the products of the ASEAN. This will reduce the onslaught of products from foreign countries.

Conclusion

Thailand is very aggressive in the face of this AEC. We can see the massive campaign carried out by the Thai government passed by the mass media and also all the departments concerned with getting the funds for preparing AEC. Everything about the preparation for the AEC in Thailand will get funds from the government. So, no wonder if Thailand becomes the most aggressive ASEAN countries in preparing for the AEC. Promotions are always carried out by the Thai government by making the people aware of AEC. Thailand is lacking in

the field of foreign languages, so I wonder if Thailand concentrates in boosting the people's ability in mastering foreign languages, especially English. By, among others incorporating a compulsory subject in the school curriculum in English. In addition, Thailand also improves the skills of its students with curriculum support. Many schools are established to prepare the young generation to face AEC.

With the advent of this AEC, Thailand is prepared to improve the local economy and also improve HR Thailand. In politics, Thailand cannot be underestimated again by other ASEAN countries.

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GUN TRAFFICKING
AND ASEAN SECURITY STABILITY

Laode Muhammad Fathun
Graduate Student of International Relations
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Abstract

This paper describes the illegal arms sales in the business of selling weapons in international business. It involves a number of countries like the US, Russia, Britain and the others as an exporter of weapons in various areas. This condition is due to the excess stock of production, so that the illegal sales were taken to increase the revenue of the state economic. On the other hand, it is due to the excess production stock is a number of countries supplying arms control every aspect of the regional conflict region beginning the separatism and terrorism movement. Because with the supply of weapons to make radicalism easier to rebel against the government. One area that was subjected to the supply of illegal weapons is ASEAN. This region is very strategic passable from any angle by land, sea or air, especially the condition of the ASEAN region that very surrounded by the sea so as to facilitate the entry of weapons smuggling to track movement patterns radicalism. From some of the findings by the government apparat as operations in Poso, Central Sulawesi, a lot of weapons found in production by countries such as the US, UK, Russia, Belgium, and some other countries.

Keyword: arms sales, big countries, over production to weapon, stability of ASEAN, Radicalism, Poso.

Background

The problem which then arise and increasingly prevalent nowadays associated with increasing crime, not only domestically but involve various countries in a form of organized crime with a modus operandi has given rise to worries and concerns. Crimes that involve or result in some countries is referred to as transnational crime. One form of transnational crime is the illegal trade of weapons (gun trafficking). Trade and smuggling of illegal weapons, or better known by the term "illicit trade in small arms and light weapons" has emerged as a global problem because of its contribution to violence and instability in various regions, including have undermined development and jeopardize the security of the human race (human security). In fact, according to former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, the proliferation of weapons and ammunition of Commerce has an impact on the increase in acts of violence associated with the crime of terrorism. It is no doubt that the trafficking and smuggling of weapons has become "the most lethal killer" in the last decade. Moreover, this issue has gone beyond the hassle of humanitarian issues and has an impact on endangering national security. Weapons smuggling has allowed armed separatist groups and rebels for challenging the authority of the legitimate government thus creating lawlessness and destructive order in society.

Therefore, the necessary discussions and studies on gun trafficking in order to find solutions to overcome these transnational crimes. This paper will discuss the special gun trafficking in Southeast Asia. Because the security stability in this region is very important to be studied, as people who are in this region. In addition, the selection of the Southeast Asian region is because of this region fertile for the growth and development of the conflict, human rights violations and terrorism.

Restrictions and Problem Formulation

Production and development of weapons basically is done to meet the demands of defense and security in a country. Therefore there are some countries that act as producers and more consumers. For example, Americans who are the major exporters in terms of weaponry and developing countries are becoming importers because of differences in technological progress.

However, due to take place over the production of weapons so that it requires a wider market. One of the roadsthat taken isto send the weapons to war-torn countries. However, because of the tight regulatory arms trade illegally then the resulting sales, including in Southeast Asia in border guarding highly vulnerable. The emergence of smuggling weapons in Southeast Asia raises questions such as what prompted the emergence of the criminal action, how to practice, and what the

resulting impact, especially in the region itself? So it can take an action to prevent and reduce transnationalcrime.

Concept

Definition of transnational crime according to (Bambang Cipto: 2007: 224) are:

Transnational organized crime is a group whose main goal earned money legally or illegally to sell any merchandise that can provide maximum benefit with as little risk as possible.

Then (Antonio Nicasso and Lee Lemothe: 2003: 1) argues:

Is a transnational crime syndicate arranged neatly organized with consisting of a secret society originating from several countries for the purpose of running a secret operation and is supported by the ability of information and communication complete, in order to paralyze the target system.

In accordance with Article 1, paragraph 1 of Emergency Law No. 12 in 1951, the definition of illegal arms traffickers are:

Whoever, without the right to enter into Indonesia, make, accept, try, acquire, hand over or try to turn over, control, carry, have him or have supplies in hers, storing, transporting, hiding, uses, or issuing of a firearm Indonesia , ammunition or something explosives, punishable by death or life imprisonment or imprisonment as a maximum of twenty years.

One form of this transnational crime is the illegal arms trade defined by the United Nations Disarmament Commission as "the (trade) which is Contrary to the laws of States and / or international law". This definition raises the possibility of two types of illegal arms market: the gray market and black market. Grey market refers to a situation in which the trade occurs at the discretion of national governments, although it may violate international rules. While refer to the black market trade that occurs entirely outside the control of national governments. One of the most common weapons is the small arms trade. Definition of small arms by a group of experts for the United Nations in 1997 is:

all the weapons that can be carried by a person for personal use. Among them, include revolvers and semi-automatic pistols, rifles and carbines, submachine guns, assault weapons and machine guns (light machine guns), as well as including ammunition and explosives (Http://ytm.or.id/pdf/kertasposisi4.pdf).

The circulation of weapons is certainly driven by international trade, which is defined as the trade done by a resident of a country with a population of other countries on the basis of mutual agreement. Population in question can be people to people (individual to individual), between the individual and the government of a country or a state government with other

governments. Implementation of international trade between countries requires agreements to regulate the trade traffic. In addition, also for determining which one is legal and illegal trade. Especially for the arms trade, it uses trade law and international law.

The UN General Assembly has established the UN Program of Action to Prevent, Combat, and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects in order to improve and develop norms and measures to control over small arms at the global, regional and national. It covers important issues related to small arms trafficking that brokering, marking and tracing. Other international treaty on arms trade is the UN Firearms Protocol, which became part of the negotiations of the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime in 2001. This protocol is narrower or focused when compared with previous United Nations Program of Action. At least there are 4 important elements in it that step marking which marks the linking step with record-keeping, tracing steps to identify the source of illegal providers, and measures to criminalize the illegal arms trade.

In facing the illegal arms trade in South East Asia, it needs cooperation at the regional level to maintain regional security. The concept of security is defined by Arnold Wolfers stating "Security, in any objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values and in a Subjective sense, the absence of

fear that such values will be attacked" (AnakAgung and MochamadYani: 2006 : 122). This security definition emphasizes the freedom from threats such as the military that focused on the state, as well as indicating a difference of an individual security actor, national or international. Meanwhile, according to Barry Buzan, security concept can be assessed as the effect of each of the extreme positions of strength and peace. According to security associated with survival where the issues that threaten the survival of certain collective seen as an existential threat. So the need to prioritize measures such issues to be addressed as soon as possible, because it concerns human security (ibid: 122) Cooperative security that emphasizes the efforts to create security through dialogue, consultation, establishment of mutual trust without having to go through formal institutional approaches. It can be seen on security cooperation Asia-Pacific countries through forums ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum) (ibid: 129).

In studying the problem of trafficking gun, it can be used some units of analysis; the individual, groups / organizations, and countries in Southeast Asia. (1). Individuals, which is defined as the illegal arms traffickers in the form of individuals, whose use for personal gain. (2). group or organization, which is a group or organization is a group of people who work in an organized manner in the practice of illegal arms sales, either as dealers or users such as separatist groups,

terrorists, and insurgents in the country.(3). The State, which is referred to the countries that involved in the illegal arms trade, either as perpetrators or as a party to deal with these crimes.Indonesia has laws on illegal arms trafficking, namely Emergency Law No. 12 of 1951. This law is very strong prohibits illegal entry of firearms into the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. This Act may ensnare the depositary, the owner, and importing illegal weapons with severe penalties ranging from 20 years imprisonment, for life, to death. If the criminal offense is related to acts of terrorism, it can be coupled with appropriate legal entanglement of the Anti-terrorism Law 15 in 2003.

Analysis of Illegal Arms Trading

The concept of these weapons in gun trafficking is a weapon in the form of small arms. There are four characteristics of the weapons that are categorized as small arms which is portable, inexpensive, durable and trade-able. According to a data from the Small Arms Survey, there are 639 million guns in the world recorded. Thus, at least there is more than one weapon in every 12 people on earth. This does not include private gun ownership that is not recorded in the various major countries. The exact number of illegal weapons is difficult to ascertain. However, the circulation of light weapons and caliber type of light circulating in the world

is estimated at 900 million shoots and approximately half circulated among civil society.

It is estimated that increased trade and arms business has involved individuals, group of subnational actors and non-state, which acts as the user. The rise of crime is due to gun trafficking that the number one source of income in terms of income through crime. Judging from the demand side, small arms trade practices cover three market segments, namely the defense interests of the state, non-state groups and the micro context, individuals. On the supply side, arms-producing countries see this as a profitable business.

In addition, the easy access to arms trade is closely related to international terrorism and drug trafficking. In fact, it has been universally recognized that the arms trade has become a "destabilizing factor" that prolong the conflict, despite peace agreements, complicating efforts to achieve peace as well as the slowing of economic-social development. There are three types of illegal arms sales; between governments, governments to non-state actors (eg rebel group) in other country commercial sales, including those that are not directly between the seller and the recipient, for example, brokered the sale.

Incentives
1. Access to firearms is not only owned by state actors;
2. Lack of control of national governments;
3. There is no public transparency;

4. The lack of data collection on gun ownership;

5. Lack of control of the military;

6. The motive of defense and security (particularly for the separatist group);

7. Economic Motif.

Illegal Arms Trade in Southeast Asia

Basically, the smuggling of weapons in Southeast Asia is inseparable from the existence of some internal conflicts and separatist movements that occurred in the Philippines, Indonesia, Cambodia, Myanmar, and Thailand. Ironically one of the triggers proliferations of illegal arms trade is the strict control and regulation of the arms trade licenses, imposed by weapons manufacturers in developed countries to the consumer of weapons in developing countries such as ASEAN countries. In addition, the supply of arms smuggling also come from weapons that are still circulating freely in civil society in the countries that were involved in prolonged civil wars such as Cambodia, Laos, or the border region with Thailand.

In general there are several factors that strengthen the existence of arms trafficking in Southeast Asia including the geographical position of Southeast Asia is strategically surrounded by waters; and internally in the body there are countries in the region that support the activities of betrayal by supplying small arms

conventional weaponry who generally come from the military or government officials.

Southeast Asia regional small arms problem is not something new because it has been around since the 1960s. Some cases or conflicts caused by small arms in Southeast Asia, is the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), Maluku and Poso in Indonesia, then Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), Songkala, Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat provinces in Thailand, as well as Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in the Philippines.

One of the sources of smuggled weapons in Southeast Asia is the southern Philippines. Weapons smuggled from the area supplied at the request of the parties in several countries including Indonesia, especially in conflict-prone areas. For the area of Poso, Central Sulawesi, the smuggling of weapons from the southern Philippines brought in through the door Sangihe Talaud islands in North Sulawesi. Typically, M16 type weapons smuggled through frogs jump method, namely smuggling by moving from one island to another in Sangihe Talaud archipelago, to further brought up to Poso.

Another path is the border region of Malaysia and Borneo which is from the southern Philippines, the smugglers carrying these weapons first to Tawao (Malaysia). After smuggled weapons then it is put in Nunukan (East Kalimantan) and to be brought to Poso. Some transit points before the weapons smuggled from

the southern Philippines to in Poso is the coastal villages in the district of ParigiMoutongTogean Islands in TojoUnauna, and Kolonodale or South Bungku in Morowali from the port and the entrance to the two countries which Miangas and Marore (Daily SinarHarapan: 2002: 29).

The transit points mentioned above, the weapons were moved to Poso then taking into account developments in the situation. When the situation heats up, it is taken to the Poso weapons by sea, in part by utilizing the fishing boat moving at night in order to facilitate removal and avoid inspection apparatus. In fact, it also transported by land, with the mode of mobilization of humanitarian aid. Typically, short-barreled weapons and ammunition put into sacks of rice or boxes of instant noodles, to deceive the inspection apparatus. Conversely, in a quiet situation, firearms and ammunition easily smuggled into Poso. When the security apparatus loosened inspection of vehicles in and out of Poso, the smuggled weapons and ammunition is brought in, both with four-wheel vehicles, as well as with a motorcycle. Another smuggling methodused is to dismantle parts of the arms and enter into the pipe, so then it is easy to carry and not be detected. These smuggled weapons are supplied and used for SARA nuanced conflict in Central Sulawesi.Many facts about the use of various types of illegal firearms since the outbreak of the conflict in Poso. Among these, including

bolt action rifle category, such as 5 SMLE jungle carbine (UK), which is commonly known as the LE (Lee-Enfield) or jungle. There is also a type of assault rifle, such as artificial M16 Colt (USA) and AK-47 (AvtomatKalashnikova) Russian-made SKS rifle such as the automotive spring (Samozarydnyj Simonov carbine Simonova or selfloadingcarabine) made in Russia and M1 Carbin (USA). There is also a category of sub-machine guns gun, like Uzi (Israel). Even machine guns (machine gun) FN Mini (Belgium), Bren MK.3 (UK) and RPD are also made in Russia.

The news about illegal circulation of firearms, suspected contraband in the region comes from the border waters between the Philippines and Indonesia as of 13 January 2010 still showed. There are many and easy flow on smuggling. Central Sulawesi Police data, as many as 368 guns, of which 294 of them in the form of shoulder weapons, 16 shoots kind Dum-Dum, 40 hand-held short-barreled guns, 18 pieces of magazine and as many as 2503 rounds of ammunition were recovered by the apparat (http: // kotapalu. net / hundreds-gun-in-hammer-destroyed-coverage-6). The Chief Police of Central Sulawesi released that it has long identified the presence of transnational crime that make the region as a destination from the trafficking and smuggling of weapons. Further said that the police had coordinated with the Navy in particular terms of improving the security of territorial waters which is often "missed" by

smuggling networks, especially the smuggling of weapons.

Especially for the Philippines as the area of origin of illegal weapons is used in the conflict-prone regions such as Poso, Navy and Philippine Navy that will hold a coordinated operation in April 2010 (http://www.dephan.go.id/modules.php?name=News&file = article&sid = 7634,). Adding the sea patrols, the military also plans to install radar in the area of East Kalimantan and North Sulawesi. The aim is to monitor the traffic of ships passing through the pathway. It is also an effort to anticipate and eliminate illegal weapons coming into the region of Sulawesi particularly from the Philippines.

Impact Generated

Arms trade going on is not only causing the disruption of stability in Southeast Asia. However, other impacts such as:More and prolong the conflict and the various forms of human rights violations in the region; the spread of small arms in the amount of damage, and many become quite large as missiles, bombers or sophisticated aircraft tanks; the arms trade involving the government of a country to organizations in other countries, would give rise to disputes between countries such; the rise of the criminal action, triggering the countries in Southeast Asia to cooperate in handling it.

Countermeasures

Handling problems of illegal arms trade needs to be shared among nations-states and all parties in it with a political settlement and the law both at the national, regional, and international. This reduction has been realized by ASEAN countries on March 29, 2010 where representatives from 10 countries, international organizations and academics have discussed the illegal arms trade in Southeast Asia. The result of a political agreement is still not legally binding. However, the continuation of the legal agreement will be discussed in June 2010 (http://www.maju-indonesia-ku.co.cc/2010/03/10-negara-asia-bahas-perdagangan.html).

Cooperation of Indonesian Navy and Philippine Navy can be an example for other countries in the region to frequently conduct patrols together. Although the bilateral cooperation has not been supported by legal instruments such as the MoU, extradition treaties and others, this cooperation should still be maintained. The future of the legal instruments will be needed. One form of other countermeasures is the implementation of standardized international system of export control and documentation of the purpose of weapons which will be traded, including the network of brokers, agents, financial, and transport. In addition, it takes the commitment of countries to run ban on arms transfers to unauthorized users or abusers of human rights.Until now

the follow up of this issue has not been too in priority. A number of countries only focus on economic issues and investment. Performance undertaken a number of Asian countries for example in the year 2012 to met in Bali to discuss the Illegal weapon circulation. The same concerns from a number of countries are going to the increasing number of internal conflicts and separatism movement and the global terrorism.

Conclusion

Illegal arms trade has been spread out in Southeast Asia that has a strategic location. It is primarily driven by internal conflicts and separatist movements. Geographic waters in this area facilitate the movement of goods illegally. This crime resulted in the increasing of the widespread human rights violations and improved internal bloody conflicts in the countries of Southeast Asia. Regionally, this region does not yet have laws that criminalize gun trafficking in the region. There are only the bilateral relations between the relevant countries of this illegal arms trafficking case. It takes a strong commitment among countries in Southeast Asia to jointly combat gun trafficking. The first way that should be done by ASEAN as a regional organization is to establish rules that can be set as well as eliminating the transnational crimes such as illicit arms trade. Armed separatist movement and terrorism in various regions in Southeast Asia can actually be a strong reason for ASEAN to establish a regional security regime through traffic arrangements arms trade.

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