

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has been an oil producer for over 100 years. In 1885, the first commercial oil was established in East Sumatra's Telaga Tunggal, and five years later the first refinery was constructed. There are several oil companies that had been in Indonesia since colonization, Stanvac, Shell and Caltex are the examples. Those oil companies, furthermore made an oil agreement with Indonesian government after Sukarno was sworn in as Indonesian president in 1949.¹ The oil agreement became the milestone that Indonesian government started their commercial oil production.

Since March 24th 1958, Indonesia made its first crude oil export. Then, in 1962, Indonesia became a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).² Indonesia's quota represented about 6 percent of total OPEC production. About 70 percent of Indonesia's annual oil production was exported on average during the late 1980, but in 1990, the consumption in domestic level was increasing steadily and reached half of annual oil production. Furthermore, Indonesian crude oil production has been declining since 1998.³ The oil consumption in Indonesia is considerably high. Oil is needed for transportation,

¹ Shannon Pallone, "Indonesia's Oil Crisis: How Indonesia Became a Net Oil Importer," *The Journal of International Policy Solutions*, vol.10 (2009): 2.

² Pertamina (accessed October 17th, 2011) available from <http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/Pertamina-Company-History.html>

³ Oil. (accessed October 17th, 2011) available from <http://countrystudies.us/indonesia/73.htm>

industry, and also electricity. The high demand for oil has driven Indonesia to be an oil importer country since 2004.⁴ After years of oil production, crude oil output has steadily declined to current production levels of around 1 million barrels per day (bpd) and the country is currently unable to meet its OPEC output quota of 1.425 million bpd, so that in January 2009 Indonesian government suspended its OPEC membership.⁵

Indonesian's high oil consumption and the government's decision to import oil brought about several criticism particularly concerning with the issue of global warming and energy crisis. In dealing with this issue, government applied simultaneously several policies based on the idea of strengthening energy sustainability and reducing carbon dioxide.

The policies taken mainly aimed to reduce oil consumption, to increase the diversification of New and Renewable Energy or NRE and at the same time, it is expected that the implementation of the policies would reduce the green house effect (CO₂).⁶

A. Problem Background

Based on Presidential Regulation No. 5/2006 on diversification program of energy resources, The Long-Term National Energy Planning (2015-2025) was set.

⁴ Oil (accessed November 15, 2010) available from <http://www.eia.doe.gov/cabs/Indonesia/Oil.html>

⁵ Indonesia Fails to Oil Pumps (accessed October 16, 2011) available from http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/GF04Ae01.html

⁶ Seminar Nasional Energi dan Lingkungan Hidup BEM FMIPA UNY, presentasi Pengelolaan Energi nasional: mandiri & ramah lingkungan Dr. M. Lobo Balia staf ahli menteri bidang kewilayahan dan lingkungan 6 Juni 2010.

It is to be used as the main guidance in national energy management to achieve the security of domestic energy supply. This regulation sets a clear target of the share of each type of energy up to 2025 as follows: oil supply should decrease to less than 20%, natural gas increases to 30%, coal should be more than 33% and NRE sets at 17%. NRE consist of biofuel 5%, geothermal power 5%, coal liquefaction 2%, biomass, hydro solar power, wind power 3% and nuclear 2%. In relation with Nuclear Power Plant or NPP development, processing of nuclear reactor licensing has been regulated in Government Regulation No. 43/2006. In Law No. 17/2007 on Long Term Development Plant Year 2005-2025, is stated that in the year of 2015-2019, NPP should be started to be utilized with the high consideration of safety factor. Hence, the establishment of NPP and the using of nuclear power as one of energy resources is clearly and legally supported by the government.⁷

There are three reasons the government's decision to use nuclear energy. First, Indonesian government believes that nuclear energy is relatively clean since it does not produce any green house gasses. In addition, NPP has been proven to be a reliable energy resource. Then, the fact that Indonesia has a big supply of uranium in Kalan West Borneo ensures the availability of nuclear fuel in long term.⁸ Finally, NPP in Indonesia is not only to reach an optimal energy mix based on cost and environmental protection, but also to relieve the pressure arising from

⁷ Arsip/power point nuclear power development issues in indonesia by Adiwardojo (BATAN) 20 October 2008

⁸ Oleh menteri negara riset dan teknologi Suharna Surapranata pada acara pembukaan seminar "Prospect Nuclear Electric Power in Indonesia"

increasing domestic demand for oil as well as to support sustainable development in Indonesia.

Nuclear power had in fact been involved in Indonesian's development program for over 50 years. Since 1958 Indonesian Government established a government body called *Lembaga Tenaga Atom* that carry out researches on atomic power. In 1975, government established three nuclear research reactors; Triga Mark II Research Reactor located in Bandung West Java, Kartini Research Reactor located in Yogyakarta, and GA Siwabessy Research Reactor located in Serpong Tangerang. Based on the blue print of National Energy Mix the nuclear power plant will start in 2016.

Beside that, Indonesian government try to create discourse to the public to create positive perspective that Nuclear is clean, reliable and nuclear fuel are available through promotion and socialitization. They try hard to promote that nuclear is one of potential alternative to reduce the dependency of oil that can solve energy crisis and global warming. Furthermore, Their activities consist of gives integrated's elucidation and illumination about the important thing of the NPP's project to fulfill the national electricity needs. The media that use to socialization are face to face, film presentation, people show, radio broadcast, mass media, symposium, and photo exhibition. The socialization run step by step, for the first step they try to train society figure, youth, teacher, the member of *kopri*, civil servant and students. They also have been invited several the member

of *Muspida* and also functionary to Serpong as one of the nuclear research reactor place.⁹

In 1996 Indonesian government through *Badan Tenaga Atom Nasional* (BATAN) or National Nuclear Energy Agency initiated the establishment Muria NPP in Central Java as a continuation of government plan to diversify energy resources.¹⁰ The building of Muria NPP raised positive and negative responses. Government bodies like BATAN and Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources give their endorsement to the project as they believe that NPP is safe and reliable. On the contrary, local people supported by Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) and major International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO) including Greenpeace reject the establishment of NPP in Central Java due to its impact toward environment.

As an International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO) that concerns with environmental issues, Greenpeace is well aware of the potential threat caused by NPP.¹¹ Greenpeace perceives that the establishment of nuclear energy in the future will damage the environment because there is no nuclear reactor that is absolutely safe.¹² The use of uranium as the material of nuclear energy, for example, might damage the environment because the process of

⁹ Iwan Kurniawan, *Pembangunan PLTN: demi Kemajuan Peradaban? Sebuah Bunga Rampai*, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta, 1996, page. 233

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Page. xxvi

¹¹ About Greenpeace (accessed October 20, 2009); available from <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/about>

¹² May Rudy, *Hubungan Internasional Kontemporer dan Masalah-Masalah Global Isu*, Konsep, Teori dan Paradigma, PT Refika Aditama, Bandung, 2003, page. 105

obtaining uranium involves activities that destroy the environment.¹³ Concerning on this matter, Greenpeace states that the risk from energy are real, inherent and long lasting.¹⁴

Greenpeace did several actions as the realization of their strong protest toward nuclear. In the beginning, the name is not Greenpeace but a little committee called *Don't Make a Wave Committe* which in 1971, they try hard to prevent the nuclear experiment in Amchitka Island off The West Coast of Alaska.¹⁵ Then, great victory for the anti-nuclear power campaign in Germany has been lead by Greenpeace through took peaceful direct action against the CASTOR transport taking nuclear waste to the interim storage facility in Gorleben.¹⁶ In South East Asia, June 17th 2008, Greenpeace admonish delegation of the ASEAN+3's meeting in Bangkok about nuclear energy by set photo of the Chernobyl victims and set banner "Nuclear Is Not The Answer", the activists asked for ASEAN's countries to invest the renewable energy. In August 7th 2008, the also lead the long march action as protest to extend message "Don't Nuke ASEAN" at AMEM (ASEAN Ministrial Energy Meeting) in Bangkok.¹⁷

¹³ The History of Uranium Mining: Doomed to Repeat Itself (accessed October 20, 2009); available from <http://weblog.greenpeace.org/nuclear-reaction/uranium/>

¹⁴ End the Nuclear Age (accessed October 20, 2009); available from <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/campaigns/nuclear>

¹⁵ Greenpeace Stories 25 Years of Environmental Activism (accessed January 24, 2012); available from <http://archive.greenpeace.org/comms/vrml/rw/text/ztextonly.html>

¹⁶ Nuclear Protesting Works and We're Not Going to Stop (accessed January 24, 2012); available from <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/news/Blogs/nuclear-reaction/nuclear-protesting-works-and-were-not-going-t/blog/31946/>

¹⁷ Tessa de Ryck, "Membongkar Tabir Propaganda Nuklir," Greenpeace Magazine, no. 4 (2008):11

The case of energy, especially nuclear, becomes debatable in International society when some of international societies agree with both nuclear energy for electricity and weaponry, but some agree only for electricity while the “Green” one does not agree with nuclear energy for electricity furthermore for weaponry.

The crucial thing is nuclear energy can be the threat for peace because it will create nuclear proliferation. The control over of nuclear weaponry by United States of America, Russia, France, Great Britain and China is the booster for the development of technology and nuclear material. Every nations that utilize nuclear energy are potential to misuse nuclear power for weaponry. Greenpeace states that many of states that have commercial nuclear electricity programme are actively started their research with two aims: nuclear electricity and the opportunity choice to evolving nuclear weaponry.¹⁸

The establishment of NPP in Muria, Central Java, has unavoidably triggered a dispute between Indonesian Government and Greenpeace. As a major side who reject the Government project, Greenpeace has done several efforts to prevent the establishment of Muria NPP. The strategies of Greenpeace to prevent the establishment of Muria NPP is interesting to analyze. Thus, this research embarks from that point.

¹⁸ Proliferation (accessed October 20, 2009); available from <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/campaigns/nuclear/proliferation>

B. Research Question:

Based on the research background, the main problem to be analyzed is as follows:

“How does Greenpeace as an International Non-Governmental Organization prevent the establishment of Muria Nuclear Power Plant in Central Java?”

C. Theoretical Framework:

Concept is very important method in analyze and evaluating research problem. According to Mochtar Mas'oe'd, concept is a general an abstraction that represents an object consist with its characters, or it can be a certain phenomenon.¹⁹ One the concept functions is to organize ideas, perceptions, and symbols in the form of classification and generalization.²⁰

To support the hypothesis, this paper would try to analyze with the concept of Power and Public Opinion.

1. Power Concept

Power generally defines as the ability to influence others. Language and discourse can become instrument to influence others, because of that language and discourse, recently assume as one of space in where the conflict of many interest, power, hegemony process and counter hegemony happen. It's begun from the

¹⁹ Mochtar Mas'oe'd, *Hubungan Internasional Disiplin dan Metodologi*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990, pg. 93-94

²⁰ *Ibid*, pg. 95

important meaning of language and discourse in social and also political studies, because most of human action include political actions has been done through and influence by the use of an articulation of the language. So that, language as well as discourse, not again assume in conventional perspective which just explain social and political facts but has been more aware as representative from deployment various kinds of power.²¹

Based on Foucault's perspective discourse is the place where the power and knowledge are meet, and both produce each other. Power is not about ownership but it is about strategy because power always spread out to everywhere as strategy movement and relation among people or group of people. Power can not allocated but it exist everywhere because power can not be possessed or be accumulated.

Power based on Foucault perspective, often related with knowledge, because knowledge is the instrument of power that should be spread out if wanna gain the goal. Foucault brings the consequence to know that research is needed to determine the power of knowledge that underlies the production of power. Because every power conceived and established by the knowledge and certain discourse. Moreover, the spread of knowledge give possibility to other party to resist, because of that power is dynamic, everywhere and often changing. The characteristic of power not often destructive but in Foucault perspective it is productive, because of that power often produce. So that, there is no knowledge

²¹ Muhammad AS Hikam, "Bahasa, Politik dan Penghampiran Discursive Practice Sebuah Catatan Awal", *Demokrasi dan Civil Society*. (Jakarta:LP3ES, 1999)

without power and vice versa. The implementation of power is really related from the discourse in the level of society.²²

Furthermore, in determining the truth, for Foucault is not understood as something that comes out of nowhere (an abstract concept). Truth according to Foucault produced by every power that produces knowledge. The power of discourse define as the choice appears either to be to oppose truths, reality with new realities and remain wedded to the repressive hypothesis, or to realize that these oppositions take place in discourse.²³ The French philosopher and social historian Michel Foucault contends that every social discourse which involves a politically generated truth-claim encounters a counter-discourse that challenges the original discourse's legitimacy. Truth for Foucault often seems nothing more than the outcome of a struggle between competing discourses. Thus power produces or creates notions of 'truth'.²⁴

In Foucault perspective, discourse is not about a series of word or proposition in the text, but rather something that produce others. The study of discourse analysis not just about pronouncement but also structure and rule from discourse. There is relation among discourse and reality, but Foucault perspective said that that reality should has an access with the the establishment of discursive

²² Struktur dan Sifatnya dalam Pemikiran Michel Foucault (accessed March 30, 2012) available from http://www.google.co.id/#hl=id&output=search&client=psy-ab&q=struktur+dan+sifatnya+foucault&oq=struktur+dan+sifatnya+foucault&aq=f&aqi=&aql=&gs_l=hp.3...11901118631111216213613312151514113211946510j10j2j7j4j1j1j112610.frgbld.&psj=1&bv=on.2,or.r_gc.r_pw.r_qf,.cf.osb&fp=cd5d56e1bba3ae10&biw=1693&bih=650

²³ Torbjorn Wandel, "The Power of Discourse: Michael Foucault and Critical Theory," *Cultural Values* vol.5 no.3 (2001):380.

²⁴ Counter-Discourse, 2008 (accessed January 25, 2012); available from <http://earthpages.wordpress.com/2008/01/15/counter-discourse/>

structure, because the perspective about an object established in the boundaries that has been determine of thats discursive structure which is the perspective that's define something is right or others is not. Discourse bounded the perspective, put outside the different perspective. The acceptance perspective about an object will enter and and the rejection of acceptance will put outside. The object could be not change, but the discursive structure can change the object.²⁵ For example, nuclear is energy, in one side the discursive structure direct it is an alternative to solve the crisis energy and global warming, in another side discursive structure can direct and bound the people perspective that nuclear energy is not the answer to face energy crisis and global warming. Finally, it is explain that discursive established to direct and bound the people perspective. From the explanation above, to direct and bound the perspective it is related how the subject can influence the perspective of the people through its roles, for example such as educate people, give information or information distribution and also to do advocacy. Those three roles can direct and bound people to agree with the discourse that has been establised, the one who did massive action of course will get a huge agreement about the discourse. Finally, it is conclude that power not operate through repression but its operate through the production of discourse. The continous power will produce the knowledge, and in the development of power, the knowlede continuously represent the effects of power. In the explanation above shows that Foucault tend to explain that how power is practiced, accepted, and view as a truth.

²⁵ Michael Foucault dan Pemikirannya (accessed April 10, 2012) available from <http://www.scribd.com/andalusianeneng/d/26994716-Konsep-Kuasa-Michel-Foucault-untuk-Analisis-Wacana-Kritis>

2. Public Opinion Concept

a. Definition of Public Opinion

There are three definitions on public opinion. Public opinion that is often assumed as collective opinion is defined as the collect result of individual opinions on public matters. It is also related with the sum of accumulated individual opinions on an issue in public debates and affecting a group of people. Because of that, public opinion gets its power through individuals who must be persuaded and organized. Mean while William Albig defines public opinion as a results from the interaction of persons in any type of groups. Bernard Hernessy defines public opinion as the complex of beliefs expressed by significant number of persons on an issue of general importance. Because of that there are several elements that related to build public opinion likes public in a significant number of persons, issue that related with general interest, there is a collective or complex beliefs, there is discussion among a significant number of persons and an expression of opinion.²⁶

All definitions above suggest that public opinion is made up from opinions that originates from controversion and disputation. It is resulted from interactions in public space. Public opinion also become social judgement about important and meaningful issue based on idea exchange of those who have high awareness and rational thinking.²⁷ In conclusion, there is a common feature among those 3 definitions on public opinion in that people's interaction through debates, talks, or

²⁶ Ibid, pg. 95

²⁷ Santoso Sastropetro, *Pendapat Publik, Pendapat Umum, dan Pendapat Khalayak dalam Komunikasi Sosial*, Remadja Karya CV, Bandung, 1987, pg. 52

exchange of ideas between people in a group to achieve any shared agreement in public space.

Hence, public opinion could be only if there are significant issue and people's reactions toward the issue. Public opinion have several characteristics, that is must be;

1. Based on facts and not just statements.
2. Could be a reaction toward certain problem and it is expressed explicitly through action.
3. Is an agreed to be solve problem.
4. Could be combined with individual interest.
5. Come from majority.
6. Is open to reaction.
7. Accomodates the interests of those participating in the process especially the threatened party.
8. Allows contra-opinion.

b. The Process of Public Opinion

Erikson, Lutberg and Tedin propose four stages to shape public opinion. Public opinion should;

1. Raise the relevant issue for most people.
2. Have an issue that is realtively new and a double standard commonly is applied to perceive the issue.

3. Have an opinion leaders.
4. Get media attention so that information and reaction toward the issue is widely known.

Based on Cutlip and Center, the process of building public opinion also has four stage;

1. There is problem to solve so that people attempt to find alternatives.
2. There are several alternatives that allow discussions or debates for the best solutions.
3. In the discussion process, the decision making process might the decision made should raise the awareness of the group.
4. The decision made is followed by several arrangements to get extensive support.²⁸

Based on Jeremy Bentham, a politician and philosopher, public opinion has a big power that is capable to put pressure on the government in order to make peace in the international world. Most people believe that public opinion is the main factor in controlling nuclear weapon, stopping colonization, and many others. Public opinion is perceived as a unified power and an influence that could reject the opposition's interest or contra opinion.²⁹

²⁸ Pendapat Umum dan Peliputan Aspirasi Masyarakat (accessed May 31, 2011); available from <http://bambangwn.wordpress.com/kuliah/kuliah-viii/>

²⁹ Charles A. McClelland, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Teori dan Sistem*, translate by Hilman Adit Penerbit CV Rajawali, Jakarta, 1981, page. 27

As a global campaigning organization that have information distribution, education and advocacy role, Greenpeace has power to influence public. Through Greenpeace's role and powerful counter discourse, they have big power to create public consciousness toward environmental problem especially toward some issue that Greenpeace carry on, because of that Greenpeace can mobilize public to create a contra opinion toward government policy, especially in this case to the development of NPP as an alternative to overcome energy crisis and global warming. Furthermore, the development of NPP can be realized only if there are availability, accessibility, affordability and also acceptability.³⁰ Public opinion and counter discourse especially a massive one could become a powerful instruments to force the acceptability of the change to the government decision and because of that, Greenpeace attempt to influence the acceptability of community to be against the establishment of NPP.

D. Hypothesis:

Hypothesis is defined as tentative answer taken from the conceptual framework, temporary data, and reference. Based on the conceptual framework, the hypothesis is: *Greenpeace prevents the establishment of Muria Nuclear Power Plant by their power in shaping a massive public opinion through its role in advocady, education, and information distribution especially rally campaign and also in establishing a massive counter discourse about anti nuclear energy in Indonesia.*

³⁰ Asclepias Rachmi Soerjono Indriyanto, "Energi Rendah Emisi Masalah Teknologi, Ekonomi, atau Politik?" *Prisma* 29, no.2 (2010): 53

E. Conceptual Definition:

1. Nuclear Power Plant

Nuclear Power Plant is defined as a thermal power station in which the heat source is one or more nuclear reactors (place where the nuclear reaction happens). It is base load stations, which work best when the power output is constant and its use the heat generated from nuclear fission in a contained environment to convert water to steam, which is use by a turbine to generate electricity.³¹

2. Massive Public Opinion

Massive Public Opinion is defined as a strong, solid, large and, continuous's public opinion.

3. Anti Nuclear Energy

Anti Nuclear Energy is defined as opposed or against the establishment by using nuclear energy which originates from the splitting of uranium atoms in a process called fission.

F. Aims of Research:

The aims of the research were:

1. To discuss the reasons for agreement and disagreement of the establishment Muria Nuclear Power Plant.

³¹ Nuclear Power Plant. (accessed October 17th, 2011) available from http://www.sciencedaily.com/articles/n/nuclear_power_plant.htm

2. To discuss the characteristics and of Greenpeace as International Non-Governmental Organizations.
3. To discuss the efforts of Greenpeace as International Non-Governmental Organizations to prevent Muria Nuclear Power Plant especially in shaping public opinion oppose the establishment of Muria Nuclear Power Plant.
4. To discuss how effective the strategy of public opinion shaping to prevent Muria Nuclear Power Plant.

G. Method of Research:

Generally there are two kinds of research method, qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative method is usually used in literature study while quantitative method is usually applied in field research. To find out the explanation about the effort of Greenpeace as International Non-Governmental Organization to prevent Muria Nuclear Power Plant, the qualitative method is employed. This method involved literature studies on books, journals, articles, booklets, letters, emails, Greenpeace's official website, government documents, and other reliable sources.

H. Scope of Research:

The scope of research is the writer try to explain two variable which are Greenpeace as International Non-Governmental Organization and Indonesian Government as state. So we can see that the research is deductive. This scope of research just explain about the establishment of nuclear energy (nuclear power plant) in Indonesia Muria, Central Java.

I. System of Writing:

The outline of this thesis is described as follows:

CHAPTER I will discuss about background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, conceptual definition, aims of research, method of research, scope of research and system of writing.

CHAPTER II will discuss about the problem of Indonesian energy condition. Furthermore, will also explain reason of Indonesian Government to establishment NPP. In particular, the Indonesian construction of NPP. Furthermore, will discuss about the establishment of NPP especially Muria's NPP.

CHAPTER III will discuss about the position of Greenpeace as an International Non-Governmental Organization that have a power to put a pressure on Indonesian Government to prevent Muria NPP. And also, will discuss about nuclear issue in Greenpeace's perspective, Greenpeace's character include the principle, the operational and the function, and last but not least Greenpeace's success story.

CHAPTER IV will discuss about the power of Greenpeace in shaping a massive public opinion and in constructing counter discourse toward Indonesian government discourse about Muria NPP that become the power instrument to prevent the establishment of Muria's NPP, and also the influence of Greenpeace action toward the establishment of Muria's NPP and finally, will also explain a learn from Fukushima Disaster.

CHAPTER V is the conclusion