



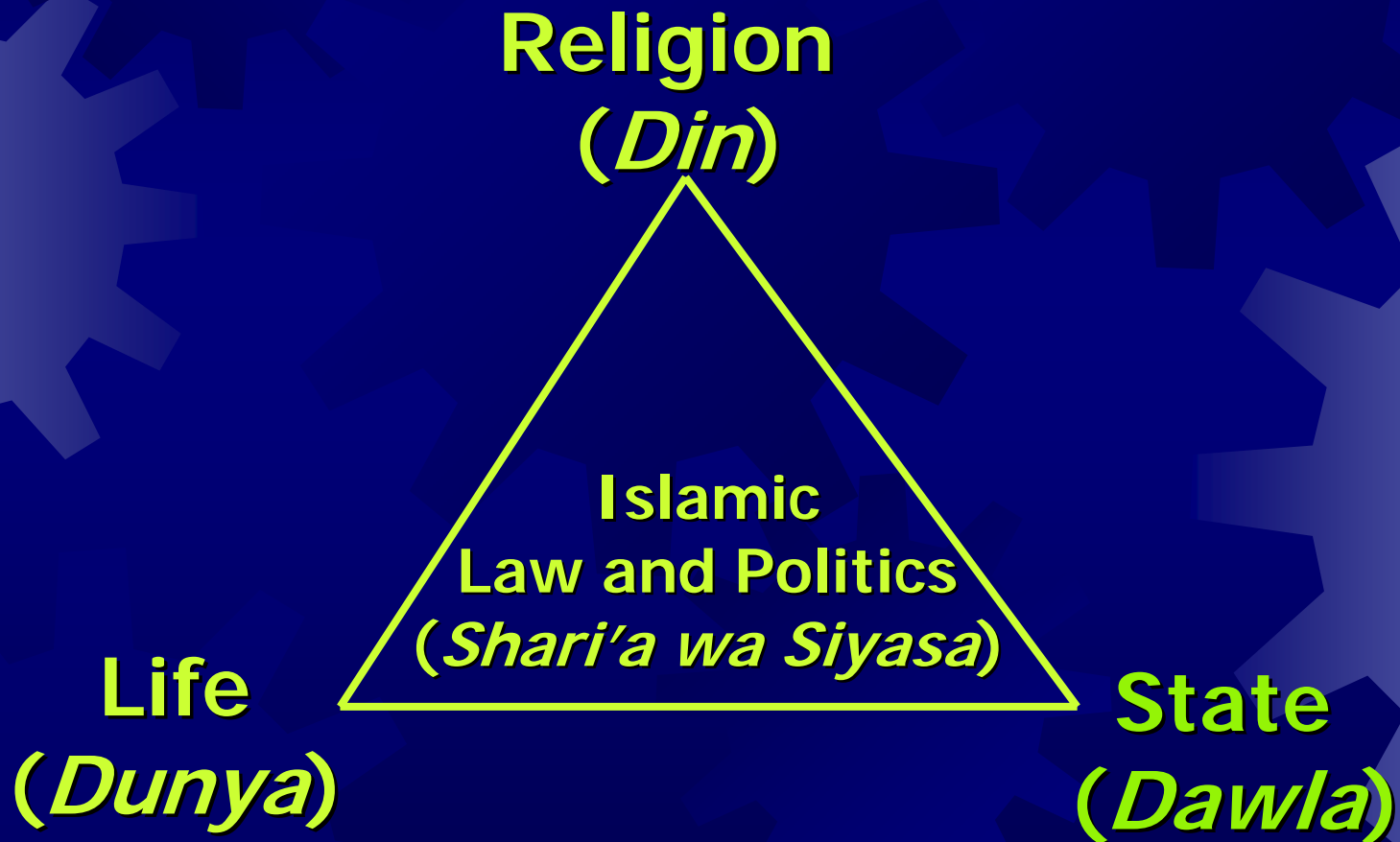
# **THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AND POLITICAL ISLAM IN INDONESIA**

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# Indonesia as a Nation-State

- ✱ Indonesia is a predominantly Muslim country, but it is not an Islamic state
- ✱ State ideology is Pancasila (Five Principles)
  - (1) Belief in One Supreme God, (2) Humanity
  - (3) Unity of Indonesia, (4) Democracy, (5) Social Justice
- ✱ Constitution is not based on shari'a
- ✱ Total Population 220 million : Islam (87%), Protestant (5%), Catholic (3%), Hinduism (1,5%), Buddhism (1%), Animism, etc (4%)
- ✱ The Indonesian Muslims are mostly Sunni and associated with Shafi'i's school of thought. There are Shiite groups, but the number is quite small and they do not have political power

# LEGAL-FORMAL APPROACH ON POLITICAL ISLAM



# SUBSTANTIVE APPROACH ON POLITICAL ISLAM

## ISLAMIC ETHICS (*Akhlaq*)

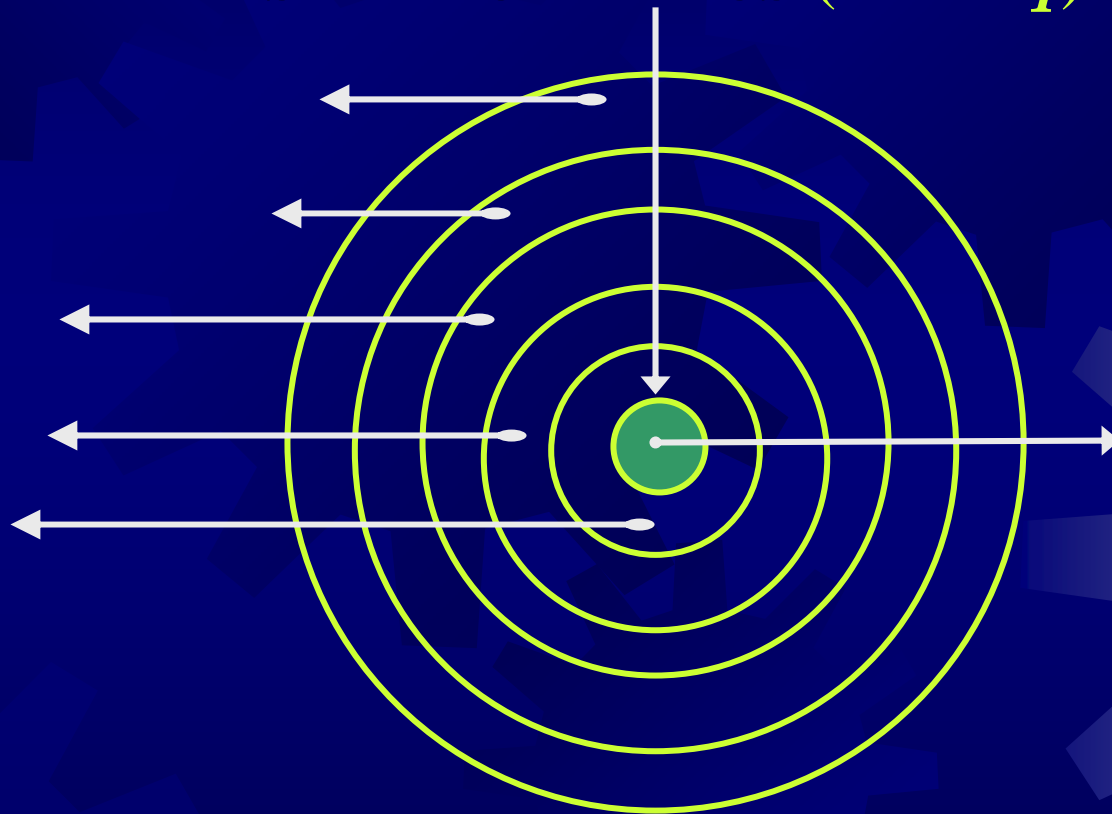
Pluralism

Tolerance

Equality

Freedom

Democracy



*Maqashid  
Al Shari'ah*  
JUSTICE  
Al-Adalah

# Political Islam and Democracy in Post-Soeharto Indonesia

- ✱ Soeharto's Politics of Accommodation
- ✱ The Collapse of Soeharto's New Order Regime (21 May 1998)
- ✱ Indonesia's multi-dimensional crisis
- ✱ The Rise of Radical-Conservative Islam Groups and their agenda for Imposing Shari'a under the administration of Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Megawati Soekarnoputri

# Radical Conservative Islam Movements In Indonesia

- ✱ Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia
- ✱ Lasykar Jihad (closed down)
- ✱ FPI (Islamic Defender Front)
- ✱ Hizbut Tahrir
- ✱ Ikhwanul Muslimin
- ✱ Lasykar Hizbullah
- ✱ Lasykar Jundullah
- ✱ Darul Islam
- ✱ Hammas

## Factors Causing the Rise and Spread of Radical Conservative Islam in Post Soeharto Era (1998-present)

Structural Crisis	Cultural Crisis
Weak State	Islamic Textual Civilization
Lack of Law Enforcement	Misreading on Modernization and Globalization
Economic Turbulence	Crisis of Identity
Hatred towards the U.S. Foreign Policy	Strong Believe in Conspiracy Theory



# Characteristics of Radical Conservative Islam (Radical Salafi Movements) in Indonesia

- ✱ **From Shari'a Mindset to Shari'a Minded**
- ✱ **Anti-Pluralism Agenda**
  - ✱ **Dar al Islam and Dar al Harb**
  - ✱ **Minna and Minhum (“us” and “them”)**
  - ✱ **Not respect to “the others”**
    - ✱ **Textual-Scriptural Interpretations**
    - ✱ **Legal-Exclusive Approach on Political Islam**
- ✱ **Gender Bias and Domestication of Women**
- ✱ **Committed to Anti-Americanism**



# PLI Groups

- ✴ Paramadina
- ✴ LKis
- ✴ P3M
- ✴ Lakpesdam NU
- ✴ Rahima
- ✴ JIMM (Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah)
- ✴ The Wahid Institute
- ✴ Others

# The Main Agenda of PLI

- ★ **Deconstruction of Strict, Legal, and Exclusive Shari'a**
- ★ **The Promotion of Pluralism**
- ★ **The Promotion of Gender Equality**
- ★ **Strongly support American values such as democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, pluralism, etc. Promote the compatibility of those values with the spirit of Islamic teachings**

# PLI in Action

- ✴ **The promotion of democracy and pluralism**
  - ✴ **Conducting radio talk show, broadcasted at 100 national radios**
  - ✴ **Conducting national and international seminars and workshops on democracy and pluralism (with the support of TAF and collaboration with ICIP's Network in Indonesia and SEA Countries)**
  - ✴ **Publishing books, bulletins, websites**
  - ✴ **Conducting research on “The perception of Pesantren Community in West Java Secularism, Pluralism, and Liberalism)”**
  - ✴ **Training on pluralism and multiculturalism for young religious leaders (multi-faith communities), and pesantren communities**

# Tension and Conflict

- ✱ Sabili, Hidayatullah, Serial Media Dakwah, Ummi (magazines), and Radio “Dakta” as the mouthpiece of RCI
- ✱ The Death Fatwa to Ulil-Abshor Abdalla (JIL) by FUUI (The Indonesian Muslims Forum of Ulama)
- ✱ The Case of Book “Fiqh Lintas Agama” (Interfaith Fiqh)
- ✱ The Case of Renewing compilation of Islamic Law
- ✱ Fatwa on Prohibiting Pluralism, Secularism, and Liberalism

# The PLI's Critiques to the U.S. Foreign Policy

- ✱ At the beginning, the PLI's groups are in favor with the “war against terrorism”
- ✱ Having observed critically President Bush's mishandling policies on the war against terrorism and the failure of U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East
- ✱ Ulil Abshar Abdalla : “Let alone the U.S. is able to promote American model of democracy in the Middle East, what is happening right now is Washington's total failure. The situation in Iraq is currently uncontrollable and yet it has created the new “terrorists” spreading in the region”. Ulil blatantly expressed his feeling. “I am proud of America as a nation and civilization; as a leading country which promotes freedom values. However, I am fully disappointed by hypocrisy of the U.S. government in solving the Middle East issue”
- ✱ Luthfi As-Syaukanie : “The Dead of America's Rational Mind” (*Kompas*, August 2, 2006).

# The Moderate Muslims in Indonesia

- ✱ Represented by the two leading Islamic Organization : NU and Muhammadiyah
- ✱ NU claims to have 40 million members
- ✱ Muhammadiyah claims to have 30 millions member
- ✱ NU : Ahlu Sunnah wal jamaah (The follower of Prophet Muhammad and his companion)
- ✱ The social base of NU : *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school and *madrassa* (Islamic school)



















# The Moderate Muslims (Contd)

- ★ The main doctrine of Muhammadiyah : *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (dakwah or preaching mission aimed to the calling of goodness and avoiding bad deeds in all aspect of human life)
- ★ Reject radicalism and condemn terrorism
- ★ It is not committed to anti-Americanism
- ★ Muhammadiyah does not support shari'a based by laws

# Critiques of Moderate Muslims toward the U.S. Foreign Policy

- ★ KH Hasyim Muzadi and Prof. Din Syamsuddin
- ★ The U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East is a great failure and yet it has threatened the unity of Muslims ummah
- ★ Disappointed with the Bush administration
- ★ The Moderate Muslims do not support anti-Americanism
- ★ The Moderate Muslims respect the U.S. as a great nation, a super power, a center of knowledge and technology

# Toward anti-Americanism

- ✱ Demonstration related to anti-Americanism is relatively few. Only 1,5% of the Indonesian people have ever carried out demonstrations opposing American policy (LSI Survey, 2004)
- ✱ Only 2 of every 100 Indonesians have ever conducted demonstration. Demonstration only involve hundred or thousand people, mostly from RCI.
- ✱ Its magnitude is often exaggerated by the media
- ✱ It is too small to make claim that Indonesian society is anti-America

# The Moderate Muslims (Contd)

- ★ NU is the first largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, and it may be in the Muslim world. It claims that NU's members are at least 35 million. Ideologically speaking, the NU follows school of thought (*madzab*) namely *ahlus sunnah wal jamaah*.
- ★ NU refers not only to the tradition derived from the Qur'an and sunnah, but also following the principles and guidances of the great classical ulama. In terms of dogmatic theology, NU refers to the ideas of Al Asy'ari and Al Maturidi. The teachings of those two ulama become pillars of Sunni theological standard. Regarding fikih (Islamic law), NU refers to Syafi'i's school of thought (*madzab Syafi'i*), one of the four famous prominent ulamas (Syafi'i, Maliki, Hanafi, and Hambali). In terms of sufism, the NU refers to the ideas of Junaid al Bagdhadi and Al-Ghazali.



# THE US-INDONESIA RELATIONSHIP

## G to G (Bilateral) Relationship

- ★ **President Bush : Indonesia is a friend of America**
- ★ **President SBY : We are pleased with our relationship and cooperation**
- ★ **Sudjadnan Parnohadiningrat, Indonesian Ambassador to U.S. “We are pleased that the U.S. and Indonesia bilateral relationship is running well and we have made significant progress during the last 2.5 years. I am optimist with the future of our bilateral relationship,”**
- ★ **U.S. State Department : “Frankly speaking, under President SBY we have the best bilateral relationship. We are pleased with this existing condition”**



# G to G relationship (Contd)

- ✱ The U.S. government staffs, elites, professionals, businessmen, academicians, politicians might be familiar with Indonesia as a predominantly Muslim
- ✱ Information concerning Indonesian Islam and Muslims community in the U.S. is not adequate
- ✱ Sometimes the certain U.S. media (especially TV), do not give adequate information and provide in-depth analysis concerning Indonesian Islam. They sometimes speculate that Indonesia has become the seed of radicalism and terrorism. This is not true.
- ✱ The Indonesian Muslims will remain moderate and RCI will not be able to dictate Indonesian politics.

# S to S Relationship

- ★ Ordinary Indonesian People have a limited information concerning the U.S. politics
- ★ They do not know the “success story” of American Muslims
- ★ They are vulnerable to RCI’s propaganda of anti-Americanism
- ★ The ordinary young generation prefers to watch or follow news on “American idol” which has been reproduced to be “Indonesian idol”
- ★ Love Mac Donald and Kentucky Fried Chicken
- ★ Follow the story of celebrities such as Brad Pitt Angelina Jolie, Britney Spear, Jason Timberlake, Curie Underwood
- ★ Need to develop a better mutual understanding between the two societies
- ★ The role of institution such as ACC (American Cultural Center) and USIS (United States Information Service) is quite important.

# The Future of U.S.-Indonesia Relationship

- ★ **Farid Zakaria (Editor of Newsweek): America Must Restore Its Place in the World**
- ★ **“America, will have to move on and restore its place in the world. To do this we must first tackle the consequence the current U.S. foreign policy of fear. Having spooked ourselves into believing that we have no option but to act fast, alone, unilaterally and preemptively, we have managed in six years to destroy decades of international good will, alienate allies, embolden enemies and yet solve only few major international problems we face ...the problem today is not that America is too strong but that it is seen as too arrogant, uncaring, and insensitive. Countries around the world believe that the United States, obsessed with its own notions of terrorism, has stopped listening to the rest of the world.**

# **Toward the U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Muslim World**

- ✱ **There is no doubt in arguing that that across majority Muslim majority countries, their communities feel a comfortable commonality with American values, education, and technology.**
- ✱ **Since the Bush administration launched the war again terrorism and occupied Afghanistan and Iraq, there are strong negative perception toward the U.S. and U.S Foreign Policy in Islamic world, including Indonesia**
- ✱ **In Indonesia, favorable views of the U.S. have declined manifestly over the past five years, from 65% in 2002 to 42% in 2007. In terms of Indonesian positive responses on American-style democracy, it also declines sharply, from 51% in 2002 to 28% in 2007 (23 point decline). ( See, “The Pew Global Project Attitude”, 27 June, 2007, p.4.)**

## **Toward the U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Muslims World (Cont)**

- ★ Problems Concerning U.S. Public Diplomacy**
- ★ Make No Significant Progress**
- ★ Limited Budget (Only \$1,36 billion for FY 2006-State Department Office of Public Diplomacy)**
- ★ Professionalism and knowledge about Islamic world**
- ★ Public diplomacy is not solution of the problem**
- ★ Public diplomacy needs a Good Policy**

# Toward The U.S. War against Terrorism

- ✱ The war against terrorism should be interpreted as “the war of ideas” or “the battle for global values” (Former PM of British, Tony Blair)
- ✱ Stephen Van Evera (Prof. of Political Science, MIT, Chair of Tobin Project National Security Working Group)
- ✱ The U.S. has made some mistakes :
- ✱ (1) To leave the war of ideas un-fought and left al-Qaeda and terrorists propaganda largely unanswered
  - Many Muslims deem al-Qaeda claims that the West, specifically America, has a hidden agenda to destroy Islam. Pew Global Attitude in June, 2006, showing that large public majorities in Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan, and Indonesia still do not believe that groups of Arabs had carried out the September 11, 2001 and attack in the U.S.
- ✱ (2) Limited fund to counter propaganda of terrorist groups
- ✱ (3) The Bush Administration invested little in programs to revive post-war Iraq and Afghanistan
- ✱ The Bush Administration does not follow Rosevelt’s post war program



# Toward the U.S. War Against Terrorism (Cont)

- ✱ The War Against Terrorism and Its Relation with the Situation in Iraq
- ✱ Opposition to American military operation is now widespread, with at least half of surveyed respondents in 43 of 47 countries saying the U.S. should remove its troop as soon as possible. In Muslims countries such as Indonesia, Turkey, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Malaysia, the demand for removing U.S. troop from Iraq is more than 70%.
- ✱ Yet, it is important to note that such sentiment is also shared not only by Muslim countries, but also spreading in non-Muslim countries such as Canada (62%), Argentina (87%), Venezuela (81%), France (78%), Germany (71%), Spain (71%), Poland (64%), Russia (76%), and Ukraine (72%). Most importantly, this sentiment is also shared by most Americans who are 56% say it is time now for troops to leave Iraq. (Cited from “The Pew Global Project Attitudes”, p. 24) .

# **Toward the U.S. War Against Terrorism (Condt.)**

- ✱ **The need to build an Anti-Terror Coalition**
- ✱ **Bruce Hoffman**
- ✱ **The three elements of al-Qaeda and terrorist strategies, (1) the continued resonance of their message, (2) their continued ability to attract recruits to replenish their ranks, (3) their capacity for continual regeneration and renewal.**
- ✱ **In so doing, Washington need to better understand the mindset and details of the al-Qaeda movements**
- ✱ **Sharing Experience in combating terrorism between the U.S. and Indonesia need to be strengthened (Ex. Anti-Terror Detachment 88)**



# America and The ‘Yudhoyono Factor’

- ✱ Under President SBY, Indonesia is relatively more stable
- ✱ (1) SBY gained popular vote
- ✱ (2) SBY has made certain progress in his two has made certain progress in his first two years in office.
- ✱ (3) SBY is able to maintain political stability
- ✱ (4) SBY has maintained a relatively steady economy In terms of GDP, his administration is able to reach around 5.6% in the past two years; the highest GDP growth since the 1997 financial crisis. With banks and companies restored to health, the economy grew 5.5% in 2006, and it is predicted to be 6% in 2007.
- ✱ (5) President Yudhoyono has developed a proactive and dynamic foreign policy with regard to Indonesia’s position in the world stage. The success of Department of Foreign Affairs (Indonesia Foreign Minister Dr. Hassan Wirayuda)
- ✱ (6) President SBY is friendly and has a good vision and understanding about the U.S. culture and politics
- ✱ (7) The SBY administration is committed to fight against terrorism

# Recommendations

- ★ **The U.S. policy to embrace the moderate Muslims is right and reputable and has to be continued in the future**
- ★ **The U.S. Must Continue its Support to Progressive-Liberal Islam**
- ★ **Improving the U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Muslims World. Place more qualified diplomats who have knowledge in Islam and maintain their tour of duty properly.**
- ★ **Re-open American Cultural Center and USIS.**
- ★ **Developing a better strategy and approach towards the RCI groups**
- ★ **Combating terrorism by searching its idea, mission, and action and building international anti-terror coalition**



# THANK YOU