



I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana

Islam and Indonesia's relations with Pakistan

Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy Development

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Abstract

This study explores the roles of Islam in Indonesia's foreign policy. Indonesia is a country with the world's largest Muslim community, where the political meaning of Islam is contested in the process of nation-building. Islam has come under increasing scrutiny by international relations scholars, particularly since Islamic extremism has become one of the major challenges to the post-Cold War world order. Therefore, it is important to research whether and how the religion has impacted the basic thinking and making of foreign policy in Indonesia. To contextualize the analysis, the study pays special attention to Indonesia's relations with Pakistan as a major case study.

Chapter One examines the role of Islam in Indonesian foreign policy within three dimensions; national identity formation, elite interest and domestic politics, and external situations. The discussion on Jakarta-Islamabad relations are presented in chapters organized based on the changing political regimes in Jakarta and developments of international and regional Islamic-related issues, in a synthetic fashion. Chapter Two demonstrates that under the Sukarno regime (1945-1965) there was a shift in Indonesia's policy towards Pakistan; from avoiding to using Islamic identity. This was coupled with the change in Jakarta's strategic interests in the relationships with Pakistan and India. Chapter Three and Four report on the weakening of Islam's role in Indonesia-Pakistan relations, particularly as happened during the 1970s and 1980s under the New Order of Suharto in Indonesia. Islam did not rate as an important factor because the Indonesian government tended to pursue secular interests - with an emphasis on discourses of economic development and regional stability. Chapter Five discusses the growing interest between Indonesia and Pakistan to enhance cordial ties. Following two

decades of waning relations the commencement of re-engagement took place in the mid 1990s when Indonesia was performing a greater commitment towards the Muslim world, at the same time as Pakistan was pursuing closer ties with Southeast and East Asian powers. However, Islam was not reflected as an identity which Suharto wanted to construct in foreign policy alone, but as the consistent implementation of the independent activism policy. Chapter Six explores Indonesia's responses to the Kashmir conflict, particularly since people uprising has shaken the state in the early 1990. This chapter asserts that although Islam was not a factor in Indonesia favouring Pakistan on the Kashmir issue, Indonesia maintains the position of impartiality. Chapter Seven looks at how and why Indonesia views the importance of Pakistan in the global war on terrorism. It demonstrates that the policy is made upon the mixed context of Islamic and non-Islamic considerations.

This study concludes that Islam, to a limited degree, is used by the Indonesian government to relate with Pakistan, but it has not become the major consideration and real reference in shaping Jakarta's foreign policy towards Islamabad. The role of Islam is marginal. The relationship between Indonesia and Pakistan is dominated by secular economic and political agendas. In contrast, policies taken by the Indonesian government have in many respects differed with the Muslim people's voices. The Indonesian Muslims consistently articulate the Islamic identity to describe their relationships with Pakistan; - especially in dealing with issues pertinent to Islam and Muslims. This divergence surfaces because Islam has been significantly prevented from influencing the making and implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy. The constraints are set up by the state's non-Islamic identity, the ruling elite's material interests, as well as the condition of external environments.

Keywords: Islam, Indonesia's Foreign Policy, Jakarta-Islamabad Relations.

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I, however, take full responsibility for the views put forth and for any errors that may occur in this study.

Perth, 17 May 2012.

I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana

List of Abbreviations

APEC	: Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
APHC	: All Parties Hurriyat Conference
ASEAN	: Association of South East Asian Nations
ASEM	: Asia Europe Meeting
CENTO	: Central Treaty Organization
CSIS	: Centre for Strategic and International Studies
D-8	: Developing Eight
DDII	: Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (the Indonesian Council of Islamic Proselytizing)
DI	: Darul Islam
FPI	: Front Pembela Islam (the Islamic defender Front)
GAM	: Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (the Free Aceh Movement)

ICMI	: Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Se-Indonesia (the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals)
IGGI	: Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia
IPECC	: Indonesia Pakistan Economic and Cultural Cooperation
IPTN	: Industri Pesawat Terbang Nusantara (the National Aviation Industry)
IQR	: International Qur'an Recital
ISI	: Inter Services Intelligence
JI	: Jemaah Islamiyah
JKLF	: Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front
KISDI	: Komite Indonesia Untuk Solidaritas Dunia Islam (the Indonesian Committee for Solidarity with the Islamic World)
KSF	: Kashmir Solidarity Front
LeT	: Lashkar-e-Toiba
LIPIA	: Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam Dan Arab (the Institute for Islamic Knowledge and Arabic)

LJ	: Laskar Jihad
MNLF	: Moro National Liberation Front
MUF	: Muslim United Front
MUI	: Majelis Ulama Indonesia (the Indonesian Council of Ulama)
MMI	: Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (the Indonesian Council of Mujahidin)
NAM	: Non Aligned Movement
NEFOS	: New Emerging Forces
NU	: Nahdlatul Ulama
OAU	: Organization of African Union
OIC	: Organization of Islamic Conference
OLDEFOS	: Old Established Forces
PAN	: Partai Amanat Nasional (the National Mandate Party)
PBB	: Partai Bulan Bintang (the Star and Crescent Party)

PD	: Partai Demokrat (the Democrat Party)
PDIP	: Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle)
PKB	: Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (the National Awakening Party)
PKI	: Partai Komunis Indonesia (the Indonesian Communist Party)
PKS	: Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (the Justice and Welfare Party)
PNI	: Partai Nasional Indonesia (the Indonesian National Party)
POLRI	: Kepolisian Republik Indonesia (the Indonesian National Police)
PPP	: Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (the United Development Party)
SAARC	: South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation
SI	: Sarekat Islam
TII	: Tentara Islam Indonesia (the Indonesian Islamic Army)
UNMOGIP	: United Nations Military Observer Group on India and Pakistan

UNSF : United Nations Security Force

UNTEA : United Nations Temporary Executive Authority

ZOPFAN : Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality

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Introduction

This study explores the roles of Islam in the conduct of Indonesia's foreign policy. Indonesia is a country with the world's largest Muslim community, where the political meaning of Islam is always contested in the process of nation-building. Meanwhile, Islam has come under increasing scrutiny by the scholars of international relations at large, particularly since Islamic extremism has become one of the major challenges to the post-Cold War world order. Therefore, it is important to research whether and how the religion has impacted the basic thinking and making of foreign policy in Indonesia. In order to contextualize the analysis, the study pays special attention to Indonesia's relations with Pakistan as a major case study.

Islam and International Relations Study

In recent years, international relations academia has paid a great deal of attention to observing the influence of religion as a social phenomena and political force on world politics (Geislerova 2011; Juergensmeyer 2010; Sandal & James 2011). Islam is one of the largest religions in the world and as such receives special attention. This is partly related to the genuine revival of Islamic fundamentalism throughout the world (Savage 2004). An increasingly large number of Muslim women are wearing veils, more Muslim men are comfortable with growing beards, and more Muslim people appear to attend Mosque more often. A report of the Gallup Centre for Muslim Studies demonstrates that a vast majority of Muslim people - 86 percent of Turks, 90 percent of Indonesians, and 98 percent of Egyptians - confess that Islam underpins their way of life (Thomas 2010, 1-2). Daniel Philpott (2002), an international relations scholar, describes this happening as part of a process of de-secularization of the world.

More importantly, what lures Islam to the centre-stage of world politics is a series of events that has taken place in the Muslim world since the late 1970s. It started with the 1979 Iranian revolution, followed by the Gulf War in 1991, and culminated in the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States (US) which led to the subsequent American invasions of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq less than two years later. These events are important because they bring Islam and the West into antagonism (Akbarzadeh & Saeed 2003; Harris 2006; Yasmeen 2005). Speculation arises that ‘the clash of civilization’ is taking shape, a fact predicted by Samuel Huntington (1993). According to Huntington, cultural factors, rather than foreign policy or economics, will pre-eminently construct world politics in the future. The immense division amongst humankind will be formed by cultures, and consequently conflicts in world politics will manifest into the clash of civilizations. Huntington (1993) suggested ‘...the principal clash will be between Western and non-Western civilizations...’. He underscored the specific focus on the so called fundamental disagreements, actual or potential, between the West on the one hand, and the Islamic civilization on the other. Regardless of polemics on the validity of Huntington’s thesis, the practicality of the discourse of the West versus Islam has increasingly given rise to the important position of Muslim state and non-state actors in international affairs.

For its part, the Iranian revolution of 1979 highlighted Islam’s domestic political role and the behaviour of Islamic states in the world arena. In the 1980s, studies on the role and position of Islam in politics incrementally became an element of comparative politics or political science itself - in addition to sociology and anthropology - and for that reason focused first and foremost on the components of Islamist movements playing out in domestic politics. Two fine examples of this scholarly enterprise are the edited volumes by James Piscatori (1986) titled *Islam in the Political Process*, and John