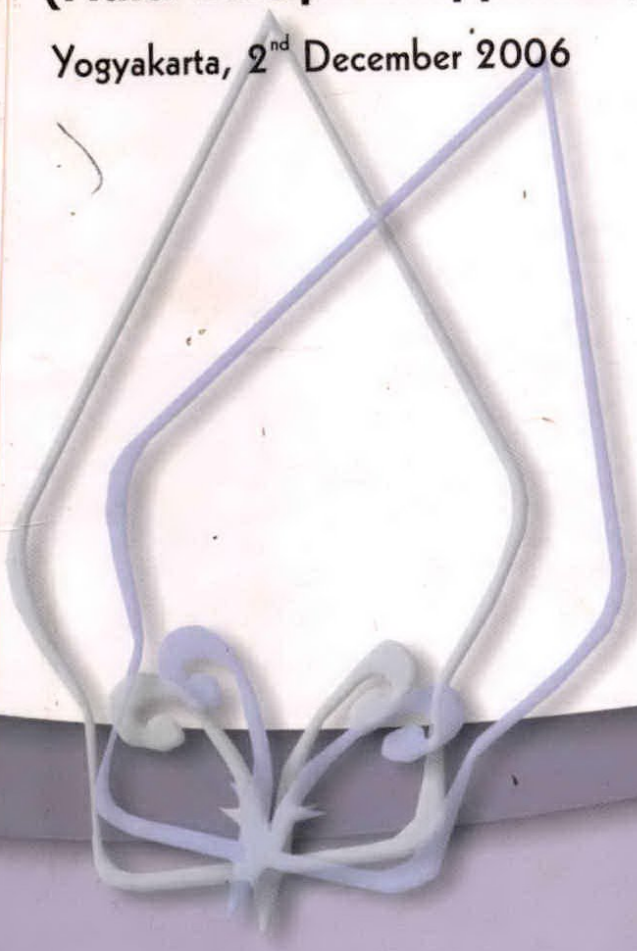


# Proceeding

## International Joint Seminar

**Muslim Countries and Development :  
Achievements, Constraints and Alternative Solutions  
(Multi-Discipline Approach)**

Yogyakarta, 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2006



**Organized by:**



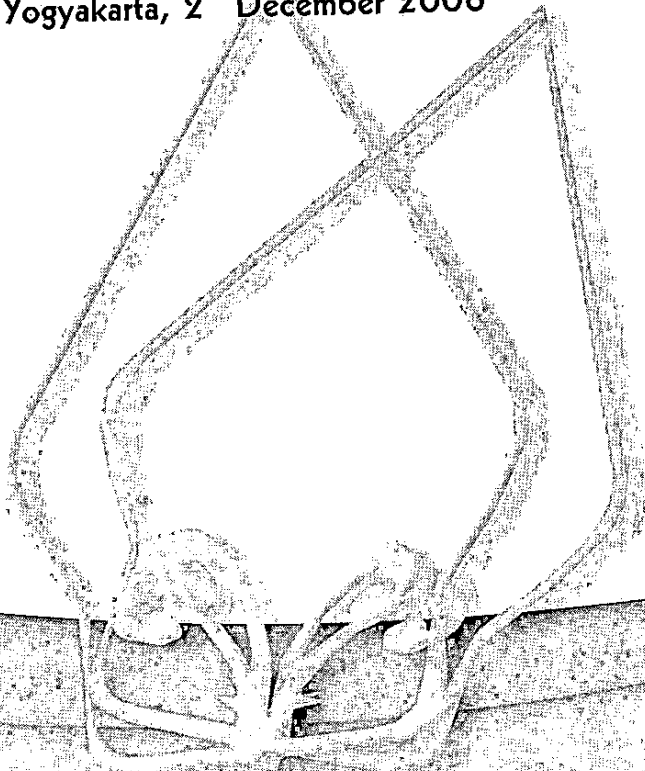
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**Organized by:**



Universitas  
Muhammadiyah  
Yogyakarta



International  
Islamic  
University  
Malaysia



Education and  
Cultural Attache  
Embassy of The Republic  
Indonesia in Malaysia

**MESSAGE FROM THE RECTOR OF  
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA (UMY)**

*Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh*

All praise be to Allah SWT, Lord of the world. Peace and blessings on Muhammad SAW, His Servants and Messenger.

First of all, as the rector of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY), I would like to welcome to the honourable guests, Rector, Dean of Postgraduate Studies (CPS), Dean of ISTAC, Dean of IRKHS, Deputy Deans and Head Departments from various Kulliyah, lecturers, postgraduate students of International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), and all participants in this joint seminar.

Academic cooperation between UMY and IIUM started several years ago. The cooperation between us is based on a solid foundation; both us are Islamic universities having same missions to develop Islamic society, to prepare future generations of Islamic intellectuals, and to cultivate Islamic civilization. In fact, improving academic quality and strengthening our position as the producers of knowledge and wisdom will offer a meaningful contribution to the development of Islamic civilization. This responsibility is particularly significant especially with the emergence of the information and knowledge society where value adding is mainly generated by the production and the dissemination of knowledge.

Today's joint seminar signifies our attempts to shoulder this responsibility. I am confident to say that this joint program will be a giant step for both of us to open other pathways of cooperation. I am also convinced that through strengthening our collaboration we can learn from each other and continue learning, as far as I am concerned, is a valuable ingredient to develop our universities.

I sincerely wish you good luck and success in joining this program

*Wassalamu'alaikum Wr, Wb.*

**Dr. Khoiruddin Bashori**

*Rector, UMY*

**MESSAGE FROM THE RECTOR OF  
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA (IIUM)**

*Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh*

In the name of Allah, the most Gracious and the most Merciful. Peace and blessings be upon our Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W).

First and foremost, I felt honoured, on behalf of the university to be warmly welcomed and to be given the opportunity to work hand in hand, organizing a respectable conference. Indeed, this is a great achievement towards a warmer bilateral tie between the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) and Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) after the MoU Phase.

I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to Centre for Postgraduate Studies (CPS), Postgraduate Students Society (PGSS), contributors, paper presenters, participants and our Indonesian counterpart for making this program a prestigious event of the year.

This educational and cultural visit is not only an avenue to foster good relationship between organizations and individuals and to learn as much from one another but a step forward in promoting quality graduates who practices their ability outdoor and master his or her studies through first hand experience. The Islamic platform inculcated throughout the educational system namely the Islamization of knowledge, both theoretical and practical, will add value to our graduates. This comprehensive excellent we strived for must always be encouraged through conferences, seminars and intellectual-based activities in line with our lullaby: The journey of a thousand miles begin by a single step, the vision of centuries ahead must start from now.

My utmost support is with you always. Looking forward to a fruitful meeting.

*Ma'assalamah*

*Wassalamu'alaikum Wr, Wb.*

**Prof. Dato' Dr. Syed Arabi Iddid**

*Rector, IIUM*

**MESSAGE FROM EDUCATION AND CULTURAL ATTACHE  
EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA  
KUALA LUMPUR**

*Assalamu 'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh*

All praise be to Allah SWT. This is the moment where implementation of MoU between Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) and International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) comes in the form of action by organizing this Joint Seminar. The efforts of both sides to implement the MoU are highly appreciated, especially, in the context of which both universities effort to enhance the quality of education.

Substantially, I believe that this Joint Seminar will bring many benefits. In term of the development of knowledge, it is a means for developing academic quality, for exchanging of information on academic development, as well as for constructing intellectual atmosphere at both universities. In term of international relations, both universities have taken part in increasing close relationship between Malaysia and Indonesia. RUM and UNY as well are using 'soft power' to increase bilateral relations among citizens which brings a lot of benefits for both nations.

Therefore, I hope that both RUM and UMY can make use of this program as a 'kick-off' for other programs in the future, especially in using UMY's vast networks with other Muhammadiyah Universities in various cities in Indonesia as well as IIUM's network. The support of IIUM for UMY also means a progress for IIUM and UMY. I hope such joint program will continue in future for betterment of both Indonesia and Malaysia. Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Kuala Lumpur will always support these efforts.

To our honorable guests, Rector, Dean of Postgraduate Studies (CPS), Dean of ISTAC, Dean of IRKHS, Deputy Deans and Head Departments from various Kulliyah, lecturers and students of IIUM, I warmly welcome you to Yogyakarta. I hope you enjoy your stay in the cultural city of Yogyakarta.

Finally, as the Attache of Education and Cultural, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, Kuala Lumpur, I sincerely wish you good luck *and a successful program with unforgettable memories.*

*Wabillahit Taufiq Wal Hidayah  
Wassalamu 'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.*

**M.Imran Hanafi**

*Education and Cultural Attache, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia*

## MESSAGE FROM DEAN CENTRE FOR POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

*Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh*

Praise be to Allah. May the peace and blessings of Allah be on the last prophet and messenger, our master Muhammad and on his household and companions. It is a great privilege for me to foreword this message to this wonderful event that is jointly organized by the Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) and International Islamic University (IIUM).

First and foremost I would like to record my special gratitude to management of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta for their co-operation.

In order to obtain comprehensive excellence, the Centre for Postgraduate studies has always facilitates postgraduate students of the university to achieve the highest quality in their academic work. This seminar is one of the many programs that Centre for postgraduate studies has to ensure quality graduates.

I would therefore like to thank all the participants and programme coordinators who have worked hard to realize this event.

May Allah SWT shower His blessing upon us.

*Wassalamu'alaikum Wr, Wb.*

**Prof. Dato' Dr. Wan Rafei Abdul Rahman**  
*Dean, Centre For Postgraduate Studies*

**MESSAGE FROM THE ACTIVE  
PRESIDENT OF POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS'**

*Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh*

On behalf of Postgraduate Students' Society (PGSS), my gratitude and appreciation to our beloved Dean of Studies, the Embassy of Indonesia in Kuala Lumpur, Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta and the organizing committee of IIUM and the Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta for their huge success. Postgraduate Students' Society (PGSS) under the supervision of the Center for Postgraduate Studies (CPG) is pleased to host this event.

As I strongly believe that the initial stages of unity are the key to building the new generation, who will represent the future more, such programs, not only achieve the mission of our universities but to achieve the global mission and vision. Therefore, I believe today, we have to have understanding and then only we can appreciate our diverse cultures. We should acknowledge the different strengths and weaknesses through knowledge in this age of information. I am sure this joint seminar will initiate unity among the future generations along with integrating them.

Thank you,

**Mohd Nabi Habibi**

*Active President Postgraduate Students' Society (PGSS)*

## MESSAGE FROM PROGRAM DIRECTOR

*Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.*

Praise be to Allah. May the peace and blessings of Allah be on the last Prophet and Messenger, our master Muhammad and on his household and companions.

Honestly speaking, we are pleased to be trusted by Postgraduate Students' Society (PGSS) and Centre for Postgraduate Studies (CPS) to organize the programme named Educational and Cultural Visit to Yogyakarta, Indonesia. For this, We express our gratitude to the management of both PGSS and CPS. This programme is of immense value. It has the potentials to promote intellectual endeavor, develop leadership capabilities and enrich cross-cultural understandings. We sincerely believe and hope that program of this kind will be organized in a regular fashion in future.

It is a great privilege for us to play twofold role in organizing this event: *as a host* and *as guest*. In fact, this is a fascinating experience to manage this event. Since our inception here, we have found meaningful interaction of students in an interweaving of cultures into complicated, yet beautiful, embroidery of social fabric. We are proud to say that this dearly loved university has produced graduates of high quality, who are distinct from those of the local universities.

Finally, we wish to express our special thanks to Bapak M.Imran Hanafi, Education and Cultural Attache of Indonesian Embassy, Bapak Herdaus, S.H., Assistant of Immigration Attache of Indonesian Embassy, Bapak Tharian Taharuddin for their immensely valuable assistance and co-operation in making this program a success. I sincerely appreciate all local committees at Yogyakarta, the colleagues and program coordinators and committee members who worked diligently to materialize this event. We wish to pass on good wishes to the PGSS for their valuable efforts it expended for this event.

May Allah s.w.t shower His blessing upon us.

*Wassalam,*

**Nasrullah**

*Programme Director*

**Todi Kurniawan**

*Co-Programme Director*



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## The New Roles The Muslim Plays in Competitive and Relatively Repressive International Relations

Dr. Bambang Cipto, MA  
University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

### Abstract

*Although President Bush's campaign for war against global terrorism that has generated detrimental impacts upon Muslim for the last few years, some newly-emerging roles have amazingly been played by the Muslim in a global scale. The rise of religions in international relations is one reason why the Muslim tries hard to influence the present competitive and relatively repressive international relations. Such new phenomena provide conducive arena for both the Muslim and, unpredictably the West themselves –in the form of Western government's attitude against what they called terrorism. I argue that such global conditions unexpectedly open opportunities for the Muslim to play a strategic part in shaping the present and future international relations. The new roles consist of global public opinion making and strategic foreign policy initiative. During the last five years the Muslim are being beaten by the diplomatic and international media pressures that force them to naturally react. Terrorism, the Prophet cartoons, and the harsh statement of Pope Benedict XVI were the motivating factors that drive the Muslim to create and substantively make a global public opinion. At the same time, the foreign policy of Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Saudi Arabia King Abdullah's initiative to broke with the West and developing Look East policy, and the dramatic endeavor of The Dubai Ports World are all basically representing the new roles, the new initiatives by Muslim at the present hostile international relations. How far all these trends within the Muslim will influence the world power constellation is still under investigations. But the truth is that plenty opportunities are exactly in front of the Muslim eyes. It is thinking seriously and acting wisely under the guidance of Islamic religion that matters in such anarchic international relations. Just a few years after the 9/11 that shocked both the West and the Muslim countries, the Muslim is now developing a new, almost unpredictable global role. This is a mixed of several movements that involved grass-root, state, and multinational level. The Muslim tried hard to paint a new international role in a creative and determinative ways on a hostile international landscape. Such endeavors have not always successful but positively contributed the international community that Islam has now something to say. To some extend, Islam is now even can be said to have something do more that what the world used to assume it has. This article is to discuss how far Muslim has created its own place in the contemporary intimidating international relations? I would argue that although reactive actions still dominated the relations between Muslim and the non-Muslim world, another but more mature actions are now being launched by the Muslim countries with extraordinary strategic consequences. It provided the Muslim a first step to gain more*

### The Return of Religion in International Relations

The rise of Islam in the present day international relations is not merely the result of the West's detrimental policy over the Muslim in the post 9/11. The rise of Islam is in line with the return of religion in international relations. Before and after the 9/11 a few experts in international relations both in the US and the British campuses have started to argue the place of religion in international relations. After the end of the Cold War they assumed that the community of international relations viewed religion unproductively. One of them was Huntington who judged that Islam together with Hindu and Confucianism was the potential future enemy of the U.S. This controversial issue was actually responded positively by a few creative thinkers, which then launched what the so called the rise of religion in international relations. They began to think openly "the global resurgence of religion is the result of the failure of the modernizing, secular state to produce democracy and development in the Third World."<sup>1</sup>

They refreshed the reader's mind that the Westphalia agreement was the starting point in the past that separated religion from international relations. The Westphalia agreement assumed that "when religion is brought into international public life it causes intolerance, war, devastation, political upheaval, and even the collapse of the international order. Religion should be privatized and politics secularized to guarantee peaceful international relations."<sup>2</sup>

The secularization process of international relations occurs when "scholars describe states, nations, international organizations, parties, lobbies, business pursue power, security, wealth, peace, stability, economic development, cleaner environment, the alleviation of humanitarian disaster, but do not include the spread or promotion of a religion."<sup>3</sup> The failure to anticipate the 9/11 is the cost that the political scientists should pay after such a long neglect on the role of religion in politics. It is the conceptual fallacy that weakened their capability of forecasting the future human tragedy.

Both realist and liberal traditions in international relations failed to grab religion as an important factor. Power and security are the main theme on any realist thinking in international relations studies. At the same time, liberal learned more about war, trade, and prosperity. The mainstreams in international relations theories failed to look the place of other values other than power, security, war, trade, and prosperity.<sup>4</sup>

Islam as a religion, however, strongly motivates the Muslims to increase their global participation. During the last six years people all over the world began to see the rise of the Muslim in some fields. There are two main arenas, public opinion and foreign policy, where the Muslims have been involving themselves. Their newly emergent roles are shaping the basic model for other Muslims to play more important roles in more diverse fields in the future.

<sup>1</sup> Scott M. Thomas, "Taking Religious and Cultural Pluralism Seriously: The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Society," *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 2000, p. 817.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 819.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Philpott, "The Challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations," *World Politics*, 55 (October 2002), p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 80 - 81.

## Responding the Outrage-Generating Issues

**Terrorism (2003)** Terrorism as an issue has been nurtured by the West before and after the 9/11. Since September 2001, the issue has gained support from most of the Western world. President Bush's decision to wage global war against terrorism has coerced the Muslim to suffer since the American government and the countries that support it restricted the freedom of the Muslim living in the West. While at the same time those in the Muslim countries were supposed to survive under the predicate of terrorist base camps. The Iraq war and after rendered the Muslim to express their resentment through several kinds of street protests. Several bomb explosions in Indonesia and Europe countries and the West's reactions against them unfortunately strengthened their public expression. It could be the only expression that they could show against powerful and hostile Western countries.

Research done by some Western institutions indicated that the Muslims were really unsatisfied with the way the Bush administration treated them. Cross-national surveys conducted by some research institutions pointed out that the Muslims are generally anti-America as a result repressive and imperialistic U.S. foreign policy to Iraq and Afghanistan.<sup>5</sup> This and other studies indicate that the Muslim is actively making public opinion as their automatic respond against what the so call American invasion to the Muslim land. In general, the Muslim is becoming more anti-America and showing more negative perception over American behavior in the Muslim countries.

**The Prophet's Cartoon (2005)** The 2005 Danish newspaper's *Jylland-Posten* published the cartoon that illustrated Prophet Muhammad SAW generated demonstrations and protests during January and February this year in almost all Muslim countries. They blamed the Western nations; especially Danish which failed to give respect to Islam and unfortunately even insulted the Prophet Muhammad. Supermarket in the Arab countries boycotted the Denmark's products to show their outrage against the offensive cartoon that depicted Prophet Muhammad as evil. The Saudi people who used to be conservative for the first time moved in the front line against the West's insult to the Prophet and Islam. "Most people in Jordan, Egypt, Indonesia and Turkey blame the controversy on Western nations' disrespect for the Islamic religion."<sup>6</sup>

**Pope Benedict XVI (2006)** around a year after the cartoon controversy another move by Western representative, and this time is a Pope; the Muslim is again getting angry for what the Pope Benedict XVI has said in Germany. In the university of Regensburg, Pope Benedict said "Show me just what Muhammad brought that was new and there you will find things only evil and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he preached." Demonstrations and protes exploded again in the Muslim countries. Some Muslim elite even stated strong condemnation against him. The Pakistani parliament cursed the Pope. While a shiikh ulama equalized the Pope with Hitler and Mussolini.

<sup>5</sup> Erik C. Nisbet, Matthew C. Nisbet, Dietram A. Scheufele, and James E. Shanahan, "Public Diplomacy, Television News, and Muslim Opinion," *Press/Politics*, 9 (2) Spring 2004, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> "The Great Divide: How Westerners and Muslim View Each Other," in *Pew Global Attitudes Project*, released 06-22-2006.

The Anti-Americanism, anti-Western movements are evidences that the Muslim are now playing more intensive public opinion making then before. Although what they have done are limited geographically but their impacts are globally significant. They urged some Western nation to consider doing some good revision in dealing with the Muslim countries.

### Foreign Policy Strategy

#### Iran and the American's Arrogance

Since Mahmoud Ahmadinejad ruled Iran the Western government especially the American is feeling uneasy. The Iranian president was assumed the only nation in the surface of the world who dares to challenge both the American and Israeli government in one strike. In one of his controversial statement he stated that the Israeli state should be deleted from the world map.<sup>7</sup> In another statement, he mentioned that the Holocaust of the Jews in Europe was a myth.<sup>8</sup> His accounts clearly created fury in the Israeli and certainly American government. The U.S., however, questioned the Iranian president more on nuclear issues rather on his strong, political statements. The uranium enrichment program developed by Iran and assisted by the Russian was the main issue that erupted conflict among the two countries. The quarrel widely escalated during the U.N. meeting where both of them made hostile statement. "Bush accused Iran's rulers of unwisely using their nation's wealth to finance terrorists and nuclear arms research."<sup>9</sup> The point here is not that Ahmadinejad, as the president of a Muslim country, is brave enough to challenge the super power. His global diplomacy through developing close relations with Russia and China is the key to his tough performance. Ahmadinejad is basically closed enough to the U.N. veto holder and long time allies (Russia and China).

**Riyadh – Beijing Connection** the state visit of Saudi Arabia King Abdullah ibn Abdul Aiziz to Beijing on the third week of January 2006 was a historical breakthrough which will change the world power constellation in the future. This visit was the first time since Saudi Arabia started diplomatic relations with the communist China in 1990. Saudi eyed China as a growing and possibly future superpower that hunger for sizeable oil to support her unstoppable economic success.

The maneuver was very strategic since Saudi Arabia was having problem with the Bush administration after the 9/11. Just like other rich Arab countries, Saudi Arabia needed another huge market for her oil and money. Saudi Arabia is gradually shifting its main investment from the West to East Asia. It was symbolized by China as King Abdullah's first foreign destination since he assumed office in August 2005.<sup>10</sup> Thanks to the terrorism campaign by Bush administration. The embarrassments and disappointments the Saudi suffered after the terrorism shock changed the mind of the King Abdullah and strongly motivated him to launch a "Look East" strategy to replace the old "Westward" one." This strategic decision was also strengthened by the three days visit by Saudi Arabia Crown Prince Sultan to Tokyo in April 7, 2006.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> <http://edition.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/meast/10/27/ahmadinejad.reaction/index.html>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.nccusa.org/news/051216Ahmadinejad.html>

<sup>9</sup> <http://uk.news.yahoo.com/20092006/325/bush-ahmadinejad-clash-nuclear-rights.html>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.saudi-us-relations.org/articles/2006/10/060408-saudi-japan.html>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.saudi-us-relations.org/articles/2006/04/060408-saudi-japan.html>



Acquisition of the U.S. Ports Dubai Port World is a company owned by the Dubai government, one of the prosperous United Arab Emirates. At early 2006 Dubai Port was supposed to takeover of the management of about 6 to 20 U.S. ports along east and south coast after it bought the company from a British owner. Dubai Port was supported by President Bush, former President Carter.<sup>12</sup> Former President Clinton himself has closed relations with Dubai government.<sup>13</sup> Officially it was approved by the Committee on Foreign Investment, a federal agency.<sup>14</sup> In February 2006 it was clear that the port management will be taken over by the Muslim company. The Republican camp, however, exploded the issue to the public and drew support from the anti-Arab groups. The Republican argued that the Arab, the terrorists are not allowed to manage the U.S. land. Rep. Duncan Hunter strongly said that "Dubai can not be trusted."<sup>15</sup> They exploited the Republican's and Democrat's anti-Arab sentiment to cancel the deal. The Republican strongly demanded Bush to annul the deal in order the Republican to win the mid-term election in the following November. Bush formally accepted this reasoning and the Dubai Port World preemptively withdraw the deal to save President Bush.

### Explaining the New Roles

The rise of Anti-Americanism among the Muslim countries is a blessing in disguise phenomena. It open the way for the Muslim to launch a world wide campaign of their existence as a well-knit community across the world. The Muslim is now able to influence global mass media by participating in the making of global public opinion. Such world-wide grass-root level source of power is becoming more strategic as a means to change the course of global public opinion.

In addition, Iran is once again contributing a radical view on how to face the West. It goes without saying that Iran is a resourceful oil country. Iran has plenty of oil sediments which can be exploited to support its foreign policy. Iran, under Mahmoud Ahmadinejad some times threatens the West by means of its oil weapons. If Iran reduces the oil supply the West will automatically in big trouble. Furthermore, Ahmadinejad also played the Russian and the China cards to scare the West. Ahmadinejad represent the capability of the Muslim to take advantage of the regional politics to cope with the American challenge. Managing regional politics through cooperation even with socialist countries is a means to survive.

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<sup>12</sup> "Jimmy Carter backs Dubai Ports World deal," *NewsMax.com*, February 21, 2006.

<sup>13</sup> "Stephanie Kirchgassner. "Bill Clinton helped Dubai on ports deal, *Financial Times*, 2006-03-02.

<sup>14</sup> <http://edition.cnn.com/2006/POLITICS/02/26/ports.dubai/index.html>. The Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (or CFIUS) is an agency of the United States Government that reviews the national security implications of foreign acquisitions of U.S. companies or operations. Chaired by the Secretary of the Treasury, CFIUS includes representatives from 11 U.S. agencies, including the Defense, State and Commerce departments, as well as (most recently) the Department of Homeland Security.

<sup>15</sup> "Duncan Hunter: Dubai can't be trusted," *NewsMax.com*, February 21, 2006.

The last new role that the Muslim is playing symbolized by the Dubai Ports World case. World class economic forces are important for a Muslim to deal with giant economy, such as, American market. Although Dubai Ports World failed to win the game, but it gave a deep impression that even a Muslim company is actually able to buy and actually manage foreign entities.

Together Iran and Saudi Arabia are giving strategic attention to China. Both considering oil business as the main reason for cementing relations with the communist Asia Giant. Look East strategy is the order of the day and the Oil Triangle is the game. Saudi Arabia and Iran wrote a new history for the Muslim. Do they think not about ideology? Do they think more on pragmatic calculation?

All these new roles are early steps. In the future, the other Muslim countries might follow the game. It could be at the same field or may also be in another, specific one. But the world is ever changing. The examples are instructive which means that there are always alternatives for the Muslim to participate in contributing ideas and actions worldwide.

### Conclusion

I would like to conclude this paper by stating that Islam, as one of world religions, is now back to the international relations analysis. The West, fortunately, could not escape from pointing their finger when seeing the rise of this old aspect of international relations studies. Academically, people in the U.S. campuses are surely still allergy to Islam, as a religion, in discussing world politics. Bush and other decision-makers around Washington D.C., think, although differently, that something should be done with those related to Islam. They used terrorism as an icon to talk about Islam and international relations. Islam, as a religion and whatever its symbol might be, is back into the mind of the international relations actors \*\*\*