INDONESIAN MUSLIM DIASPORA FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WORLD PEACE

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Abstract

World peace is still something that is not easily realized. One of serious threats on world peace comes from acts of terrorism. Acts of terrorism in the name of religion are being brought in some countries. The number of victims of terrorism continues to increase over time. And the present moment is the worst condition throughout recorded history. Acts of terrorism in the development not only targets the State with all its symbols, but also the civil society. So you could say the conditions today are very asymmetrical. Departing from these conditions, then Indonesia as a country with a large Muslim population, it is appropriate to perform a mission of world peace. The mission of world peace can be played by maximizing the role of the citizens of Indonesia diaspora. The diaspora has the potential to develop a peace mission which in itself will improve the reputation of Indonesia.

Keywords: diaspora; Indonesian muslim; world peace

ملخص البحث

السلام العالمي لا يزال مما لا يتحقق بسهولة. ومن أهم تهديدات خطيرة على السلام العالمي هي أعمال إرهابية. وتتم باسم الدين في بعض البلدان. ويتزايد عدد من ضحايا الإرهاب مع مرور الوقت. واللحظة الحالية هي أسوأ حالات على مر التاريخ. ولا تستهدف الأعمال الإرهابية الدولة بكل رموزها فحسب، ولكن للمجتمع المدني.
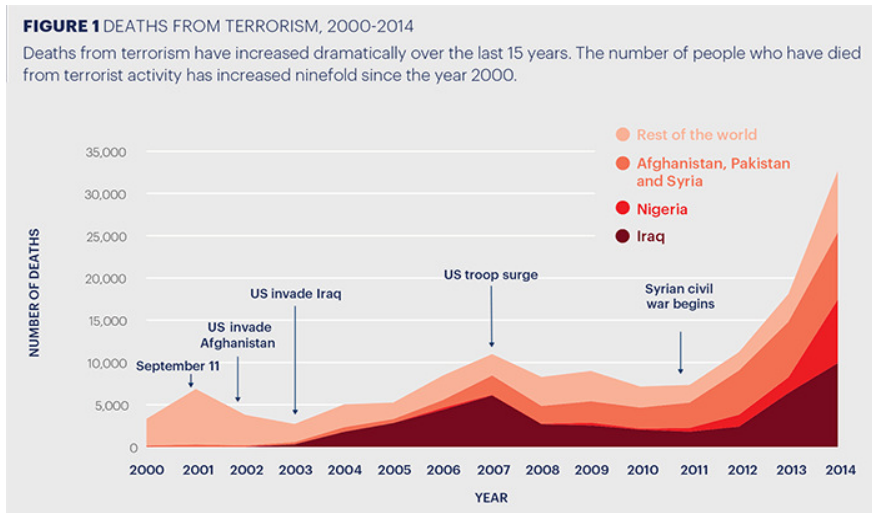
ثم اندونيسيا بصفتها أكبر دولة إسلامية من حيث سكانها، لابد أن تقوم بأداء مهمة من أجل سلام العالم. ومنها من خلال تعظيم دور الجاليات الإندونيسية في شتى البلاد. فإنهم لديهم القدرة على تطوير مهمة السلام، وتتحسن نتيجة ذلك سمعة اندونيسيا.

الكلمات المفتاحية::   أعمال إرهابية، إندونيسيا، السلام، الجالية

Preface

World peace in the light of positive peace[1] will not occur for the near future. This is evident by the continued emergence of acts of terror in some countries. In the beginning of 2016 various terror acts happened, which caused many casualties. The tragedy of Sarinah, Jakarta, on January 14, 2016 embarked on a dark note of peace. This was followed by a bomb in Brussels, Belgium on 22 March 2016. In the same month, only a few days afterwards, exactly on March 27, 2016 a bomb blast in Lahore Pakistan.

Noting the global terrorism as a threat to world peace can be started from seeing the number of victims resulting therefrom. It would be even more alarming when it is found that the number of victims of terrorist attacks has increased dramatically in the last 15 years. The following table is derived from the Global Terrorism Index of the number of victims of terrorism.
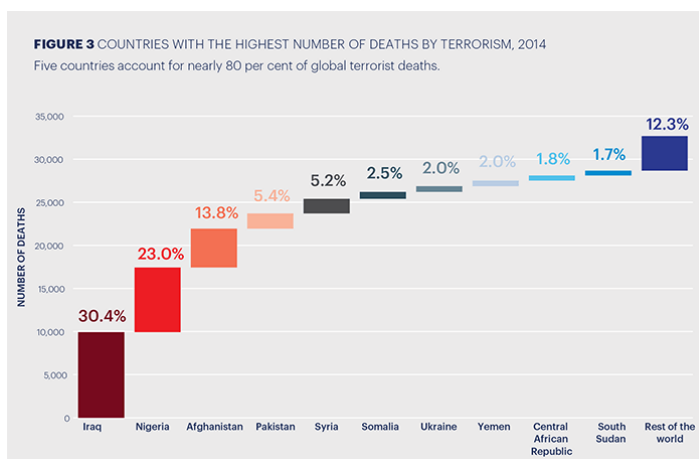

FIGURE 1 DEATHS FROM TERRORISM, 2000-2014

Deaths from terrorism have increased dramatically over the last 15 years. The number of people who have died from terrorist activity has increased ninefold since the year 2000.

Source:
Global Terrorism Index 2015, Institute For Economic & Peace. Page 15.

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[1] See Johan Galtung. 2008. Globalizing God: Religion, Spirituality, and Peace. Kolofon Press

A very drastic increase happened in 2014, in which 32,685 people were killed in a terrorist attack. The above data also presents the next concern, the majority of victims of terrorist attacks occurred in five Muslim countries: Iraq, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Syria.

FIGURE 3 COUNTRIES WITH THE HIGHEST NUMBER OF DEATHS BY TERRORISM, 2014
Five countries account for nearly 80 per cent of global terrorist deaths.

Source:
Global Terrorism Index 2015, Institute For Economic & Peace. Page 16.

In addition to the five countries mentioned above, we also need to look at Yemen that originally split in two, the south and the north, after the collapse of the Soviet Union merged into one. Southern Yemen tends to socialist Soviet and northern Yemen is more stuck on the American superpower. Unfortunately, as in general, the integration process is not an easy thing to live. The process of nation building, state building, state formation of political conflicts is suffused with a dialectical process towards maturity of the political culture itself.

Conflicts in the Middle East have given the impression that there lived the history and science of Islam that deserved to be taken from the area. But the collective moral, let alone understanding of nationality is no longer worth taken from a world where civilization began.

The Middle East as the center of civilization, the world's most elderly could be just a memory or the romance of the past that can never again be found in

the days to come. Ancient Arab civilization, Roman, Persian, to the Islamic civilization all started from a country that was dominated by the desert. The region has existed long before Christ. But how many beauties of the past are very difficult to see now as a result of civil war and conflicts prolonged grueling for those who observe it, especially for those who live there.

Seeing the above conditions, as a nation with the largest Muslim population, it does not seem excessive if we are to share experience that the journey and development of Islam in the archipelago is far from the blood-shed. Islam in Indonesia is very heterogeneous, but interest in it makes the communication should not be a heterogeneity trigger significant conflict.

In a study of identity politics, religion, language, race thinking (racism) and gender are some things that are very easy to be manipulated as a game. But in the context of Indonesia it seems that the game of identity politics is resolved relatively brief and localized. To be honest, we must admit that there is a ripple of conflicts on behalf of the Sunni - Shia in some places. However, Indonesia's Muslim population is Sunni Muslim majority that are not suddenly moved in the name of solidarity or even fanaticism flow. The Sunni Muslims still think that Indonesia is a necessity for the majority to protect the minorities.

The process of integration of multiple identities in the archipelago into a single entity called Indonesia goes without degrading each other's respective identities. In fact, it seems the people of Indonesia is moving towards what is said by Geoff Mulgan as the anti-political age.[2] Politics is considered only a series of ancient rituals that become a forum for tension and conflicts. In the era of anti-political age prerequisite by strong moral values and ethical values are used as a handle by political actors. Unfortunately this last condition has not been met by widespread political actors in the country. Only part of it that is conscious and holding it.

Back in the Middle East, Indonesian Muslims should think to contribute to easing tensions in the region. Then how is it done? In a study of contemporary international relations, international activities related to the issue of peace are

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[2] Geof Mulgan, *Politik dalam Era Anti Politik* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1995).

no longer the domain of the State alone. Non-state actors have an opportunity that is wide enough to participate. Of course, the facilitation of the State will participate in promoting the role of non-State actors.

Diaspora

One of the children born of globalization is the diaspora. International or transnational diaspora community spread beyond the confines of the State. One example of the diaspora in the current era is done by the Jews.[3] But the diaspora that I want to offer here is not as one that is stated by Owen, which stems from the development of capitalism. Instead, it is on the questions of peace that never appear in parts of the Middle East.

Carter[4] writes, "The problem with much of the diaspora literature, however, is that it fails to acknowledge that diasporas can also reproduce the essentialized notions of place and identity that they are supposed to transgress". Carter stated that the articles of diaspora today puts space and geography as figuratively. The statement was in harmony with the Carter Robert J. C. Young[5] when to review the work of Foucault; Madness and Civilization.

The characteristics of diaspora itself described by Clifford is the deployment history, myth or memory of the land of origin, the alienation in the countries visited, the desire to return, support for country of origin, as well as the importance of collective identity. Diaspora is also determined by changes in the country attended. Clifford concludes that diaspora is related to the norms of the State (nation state) and authenticity (indigenous).[6]

Global cultural mobility and transnational diaspora when it raises a role will last longer because the selection of the motion is to the grassroots level. This is often not done by the government itself only at the level of surface activity.

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[3] Bruce Owen. "Processes of Globalization: Diasporas" on *Living in Our Globalized World*. 2011. p 1.

[4] Sean Carter. "The Geopolitics of Diaspora", *Area*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (March, 2005). http:// www.jstor.org/ stable/20004429. p. 54.

[5] Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: an Historical Introduction*, (Oxford, United Kingdom:Blackwell Publishers., 2001), p. 395.

[6] Clifford, James. 1994. "Diaspora", *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 9, No. 3. Stable URL: http://www. jstor. org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp. p. 303 – 306.

From here I believe that when the diaspora perpetrators carry a peace-related roles, especially bringing best practice nationalities into the background, it is not impossible that it will form its own support for the realization of peace. Best practice is meant of course on how the national vision takes precedence over the fanaticism in the name of anything. And now it is the right moment for Muslims archipelago for the diaspora to make the world cooler.

Efforts to organize the Indonesian diaspora in various countries in the study of international relations can be categorized as a multi-track diplomacy. 'Multi-track diplomacy' can be seen as a conceptual framework. The framework serves to see the embodiment of international peace process as a system of life and as a reflection of the diverse activities undertaken to contribute in the process of peacemaking and peace-building in the international sphere. All components are intertwined like a cobweb models, ranging from the activities of individuals, institutions, and communities that then work together to achieve world peace.[7]

The number of registered Indonesian diaspora is about 7 million people and since 2012, the Indonesian diaspora has formed an organization that connects fellow Indonesian citizens who live outside the country. The corganization is called IDN (Indonesia Diaspora Network). IDN itself has held the congress 2 times, i.e. on 18 to 20 August 2013, and the latest on 12 to 14 August 2015. Unfortunately, the new organization serves merely as a medium that connects voice and expertise of its members. So, the work of the strategic and tactical mission of world peace is not run by IDN.

Indonesian Muslim and World Peace

Post-cold war, the study of Islam in world peace is one focus of much interest to the scholar of international relations. Islam in the study of international relations is a long time about the war. War is the most commonly found. But at the same time, the study of Islam was viewed on how peace can

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[7]Louise Diamond & John Mc Donald., *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace* (New York: Kumarian Press, 1996), p. 1.

emerge. Studies on Islam from the war appear until the war ended. From this war then came the concept of *dār islām* (the area of peace), *dār al-'ahd* (region treaty), and dar *al-ḥarb* (abode of war).[8] However, in the subsequent development of the concept cannot be used in modern international political conditions like today.

Study of Islam in politics today is brought closer to how democracy is reconcilable with Islam. One is Huntington stating when the people of Islam are trying to introduce democracy into their communities, the effort was likely to fail due to Islam, which is very influential in their lives, do not support democracy. Huntington argues that the failure of democracy in Muslim countries is partly due to the nature of Islamic culture and society that are not friendly to the concepts of Western liberalism.[9] But lately Mujani research is precisely the opposite, raising the compatibility between Islam and democracy in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, there are at least two public organizations (civil society organizations) whose base is the religious movement. The first is the Muhammadiyah, and the second is the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Muhammadiyah was established on 18 November 1912. While NU was founded later on January 31, 1926. Both of these community organizations have a long track record related to the issues of nationality.

Between Muhammadiyah and NU there are historical sensitivities that often come to the surface. At the same time they also save the romance of the past that is full of emotion. Namely how the history of NU by Bruinessen[10] stated in response to the Islamic modernist movement, which Muhammadiyah is the main driving engine. Even so, it is not the main reason for the establishment of NU. There was political constellation in Saudi Arabia that wanted to implement a single principle wahabi in Mecca, and it became a separate stimulant for the establishment of NU.

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[8]Ahmad Mujahid, "Hubungan Internasional dalam al-Qur'an," *Jurnal Ar-Risalah* Vol. 11 No. 2 November 2011, p. 28.

[9]Huntington in Saiful Mujani, *Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, . 2007), p. 14.

[10]Martin Van Bruinessen NU, *Tradisi, Relasi-Relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru* (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 1994).

But if both Muhammadiyah and NU, also affect the foreign policy of Indonesia also still need to be scrutinized further. But the point of this paper is not to press the matter. The point that the author wanted to emphasize here is on how Muhammadiyah and NU lately, especially in the conference that has been done by the two largest organizations, engaged in the issues that almost arguably not much different. Muhammadiyah self-image with Islamic advancement, while NU explores Islam Nusantara.

Muhammadiyah and NU role in international peace can be seen in some of the activities of the two organizations. Special branches that are outside Indonesia also owned by Muhammadiyah and NU. Various international forums related to the issue of world peace is also actively followed by both. Even in the latest conference last August, also scheduled Muhammadiyah International Meeting (MIM) whose purpose is to strengthen the vision and mission of Muhammadiyah at the global level. Muhammadiyah and NU also read tracks in the peace process in the region of southern Thailand and the southern Philippines.

For NU, in relation to the peace process in southern Thailand, I've even been researching into a dissertation by Arifi Saiman.[11] The study of the role of mediation NU in reducing conflict in southern Thailand. Thailand's foreign policy by inviting active participation of NU in helping to resolve the conflict in the Muslim-majority southern Thailand is a reflection of the confidence of the Government of Thailand to NU's reputation as an institution of civil society organizations. In the dissertation, it is apparent how NU forward the spirit of dialogue and non-violent approach in dealing with social problems or problems of social conflicts that involve an element of power or interest groups in southern Thailand.

The phenomenon of peacebuilding in Thailand has also been examined by Ahmad Suaedy. In 2012 Suaedy published the results of research entitled Dynamics of Muslim Minorities for Street Peace: The Role of Civil Society in

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[11]Arifi Saiman, "Peran Mediasi Nahdlatul Ulama dalam Meredam Konflik di Thailand Selatan" (Bandung: Universitas Padjadjaran Bandung, 2013).

the Muslim southern Thailand and the southern Philippines.[12] Suaedy sees that the conflict in southern Thailand's Muslim minority or Patani, and in the southern Philippines or the Bangsamoro in Mindanao not only on the level of political interest but rooted in cultural identity.[13] Suadey questions how institutions and individuals who are looking for a peaceful way was building a concept of cultural harmony, including religion, language, and historical claim over land and political interests in negotiating their own, between the Muslim minority by the majority population as well as the central government in the two countries.

Next is Varshney who studied the ethnic conflict and the role of civil society in India. Varshney tries to show the integral link between the struc-tures of civil society (civil society) on one side and the ethnic or communal violence on the other side. The focus is not on the network intra-communal civic life, but inter-communal networks that bring different communities.[14]

Esposito and Voll had also studied the dialogue of Islam and the West. The study revealed how the intellectual and religious activists in the world help transform the dynamics of international relations. Muslim activist intellectuals like Anwar Ibrahim in Malaysia, Mohammad Khatami in Iran, and Abdurrahman Wahid in Indonesia, during the final decade of the 21st century had built a new perception in the global interaction. The study also examined how the development between Islam and the West is no longer as a shock, but more as a dialogue of civilizations.[15]

Next is Hasenclever and Rittberger, who questioned whether religion creates something different. They viewed with the theoretical approach of the impact of political conflict and confidence. Often the political awakening of the religious communities coupled with fierce opposition within and between

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[12]Ahmad Suaedy, "Dinamika Minoritas Muslim Mencari Jalan Dami: Peran Civil Society Muslim di Thailand Selatan dan Filipina Selatan" (Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kemenag RI dan Wahid Institute, 2012).

[13]*Ibid,.* p. 1 - 3

[14]Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus Muslims in India.* Second Edition. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002.), p. 3.

[15]John L. Esposito and John O. Voll. 2000. "Islam and the West: Muslim Voices of Dialouge", *Millenium: Journal of International Studies.* Vol. 29. No. 3, pp; 613-614

nations. An example is the bloody conflicts in Algeria, Bosnia, East Timor, Kashmir, Nigeria, Palestine and Sri Lanka. There are three approaches in analyzing the impact of political conflict and belief, namely: primordialist, instrumentalist and constructivist.[16]

Seeing religion in the study of contemporary social science, it will not look at what religion is. Instead, it is more to what is played by religion. Call it on what has been investigated by Sadeghi in Iran.[17] He even came to the conclusion that Islam as an identity has influence over Iran's foreign policy. Iran's national interest is an embodiment of a combination of culture, nationalism, policies and economic factors besides of course the identity that gave rise to Islamic revivalism. Iran's Islamic revivalism itself has a tendency to either confrontational toward the West and the Middle East and the Post-Soviet States. The Islamic revival by Sadeghi also reworded by the export of the revolution that is responsible for the formation of Islamic world order.[18]

Seeing this phenomenon, it is precise what was said by Jonathan Fox and Sandler which states that religion plays a role through four sides:[19] First, religion is one of the source of the people's worldviews, It affects people's behavior. And the public will also affect the others. Second, religion is a source of identity. In adding influences on people's beliefs, religions can also affect who they are (the public). It makes them feel to have similarities with other members of that religion. This is what might cause them feel that they had to be responsible to fellow members of the religion wherever they are. This explains why in the same countries a religion tends to fight with the other.[20]

Thirdly, religion is a source of legitimacy. Religion can legitimize or even delegitimize an activity, including the foreign policy of a country or

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[16]Hasenclever, Andreas and Volker Rittberger. "Does Religion Make a Difference? Theoritical Approaches to the Impact of Faith on Political Conflict", *Millenium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 2000, pp. 641-643.

[17]Ahmad Sadeghi, "Genealogy of Iran Foreign Policy: Identity, Culture and History", *The Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, XX.4 (Fall, 2008), pp. 1-40.

[18]*Ibid.,* p. 22.

[19]Jonathan Fox and Samuel Sandler, *Bringing Religion Into International Relation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp; 176-177.

[20]*Ibid.,* p .176.

international actors. This explains why many policymakers use religious terminology and justified its image of religion for their actions.

Fourth, religion is associated with a formal institution. In some cases, these institutions are international actors themselves, as happened in the Catholic Church. In other cases, these institutions play a role in domestic politics to support the regime, oppose to the regime, and also lobby it. These institutions also play a role in political mobilization. Even can also overlap between the religious institutions with political parties that play a direct role in policy decisions.

Muhammadiyah and NU have some similar paradigms. Both put forward the propaganda through out moderation, tolerance, inclusiveness, and modern democracy. Moderatism becomes mainstream for NU-Muhammadiyah cultural movement to avoid violent means, to seek harmony, persuasion, and solidarity. Intensification and expansion in the area of education, health, culture, economic populist, political and nationalities becomes excellent program. This gave rise to inclusive pluralism Moderatism.

In Muhammadiyah and NU, the two organizations are quite pretty in positioning themselves in the actual issues nowadays. Even so, it is ultimately impressed later that NU and Muhammadiyah activity voyeur mutually each other on their activities. Besides, the questions whether the NU and Muhammadiyah are driven by 'something' are the same so both recently seen playing a tone which sounds almost the same anyway.

When two largest and oldest organizations in Indonesia already have a rhythm that is almost the same, it should be easier to synchronize the two steps to create world peace. The device owned by Muhammadiyah and NU are so complete. The networks that began to unfold in various countries outside Indonesia would make it easier for both to express world peace, mainly in regions where Islam was first revealed to the Middle East, which is still far from peaceful.

Conclusion

Road preaching taken by Muhammadiyah and NU is often different. But should both want to think further for world peace, that concern both. With

the steps laid out with neat course will enable both of them to reach the goal they want, the peace of the world. But of course set the rhythm of both measures is not an easy task. Given as noted previously that between them have historical sensitivity.

The number of Indonesian citizens who are Muslim and is affiliated to the Muhammadiyah and NU would be a very important point to escort citizens of Indonesia diaspora to various parts of the world. The long experience of Indonesian citizens who remain encapsulated in diversity is a modality that is not easily shared by everyone in the world. The Diaspora can be rigged for world peace missions.

NU and Muhammadiyah have performed a strength of civil society, which is important in the history of nation and state of Indonesia. Therefore, the experience of both in Indonesia could be accepted by all parties. It is proper concrete steps for both to promote world peace to be harmonized so that the stories of the past are not repeated sentiment. So, the purpose to create world peace became increasingly closer to achieve.[]

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