



Parahyangan Catholic University
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
International Relations Department

Accredited A

SK BAN-PT NO: 3095/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/VIII/2019

Indonesia, Islam and Foreign Policy:
Analyzing the Influence of Islamic Groups in the Cases of
Rohingya and Uighur

Undergraduate Thesis

by

Aloysius Efraim Leonard

2017330050

Bandung

2021



**Parahyangan Catholic University
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
International Relations Department**

Accredited A

SK BAN-PT NO: 3095/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/VIII/2019

**Indonesia, Islam and Foreign Policy:
Analyzing the Influence of Islamic Groups in the Cases of
Rohingya and Uighur**

Undergraduate Thesis

by

Aloysius Efraim Leonard

2017330050

Supervisor

Sapta Dwikardana, Ph.D.

Bandung

2021

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
International Relations Department



Undergraduate Thesis Approval

Name : Aloysius Efraim Leonard
Student number : 2017330050
Title : Indonesia, Islam and Foreign Policy: Analyzing the
Influence of Islamic Groups in the Cases of Rohingya &
Uighur

has been examined in final examination
on Wednesday, January 20th, 2021
and hereby declared **GRADUATED**

**The Board of Examiners,
Chairperson and examiner**
Adrianus Harsawaskita, M.A.

:

Secretary
Sapta Dwikardana, Ph.D.

:

Member
Mangadar Situmorang, Ph.D.

:

Legalized by,
Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

Dr. Pius Sugeng Prasetyo, M.Si.

Statement

I, who signed below:

Name : Aloysius Efraim Leonard
Student ID : 2017330050
Department : International relations
Title : Indonesia, Islam and Foreign Policy: Analyzing the Influence of Islamic Groups in the Cases of Rohingya and Uighur

Hereby assert that this thesis is the product of my own work, and it has not been previously proposed by any other parties in order to attain an academic degree. Any idea and information gained from other parties are officially cited in accordance to the valid scientific writing method.

I declare this statement with full responsibility, and I am willing to take any consequences given by the prevailing rules if this statement was found to be untrue.

Bandung, January 4th, 2021,



Aloysius Efraim Leonard

2017330050

ABSTRACT

Name : Aloysius Efraim Leonard
Student ID : 2017330050
Title : Indonesia, Islam and Foreign Policy: Analyzing the
Influence of Islamic Groups in the Cases of Rohingya and
Uighur

As a country with the biggest Muslim population, it is not surprising if Islamic group influences the formulation of state policy, be it domestic or foreign. Hence, this research would like to answer the question of “**to what extent do Indonesian Islamic groups influence the formulation of Indonesian foreign policy on the Rohingya crisis and Uighur persecution, during the administration of Joko Widodo (2014 - 2019).**” Using the case study method, this research will analyze the responses of three Islamic groups: Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah dan Front Pembela Islam, to the two illustrative cases and comparing it with the Indonesian foreign policy. The concepts of foreign policy, interest groups’ influence towards foreign policy and two-level game from Robert Putnam will be used for the analysis. Based on the analysis, it was found that the influence of Islamic groups is different and should be judged case-by-case. This is due to the fact that Indonesian foreign policy is dependent to the regime’s leader’s vision; the Islamic groups have different influence it has towards the domestic politics; and they have different approaches in influencing policies.

Keywords: *foreign policy, Islam, Indonesia, Rohingya, Uighur.*

ABSTRAK

Nama : Aloysius Efraim Leonard
NPM : 2017330050
Judul : Indonesia, Islam dan Kebijakan Luar Negeri: Mengkaji Pengaruh Kelompok Islam dalam Kasus Rohingya dan Uighur

Sebagai negara dengan populasi masyarakat beragama Islam terbesar di dunia, tentu tidak mengejutkan jika kelompok-kelompok Islam ikut mempengaruhi pembentukan kebijakan negara, baik domestik maupun luar negeri. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjawab pertanyaan penelitian '**sejauh apa kelompok Islam mempengaruhi perumusan kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia untuk krisis krisis terhadap masyarakat Uighur dan juga krisis di Rohingya di masa pemerintahan Presiden Joko Widodo yang pertama (tahun 2014-2019)**'. Dengan menggunakan metode studi kasus, penelitian ini hendak mengkaji respon dari tiga kelompok Islam besar di Indonesia (Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah dan Front Pembela Islam) terhadap kedua contoh kasus dan membandingkannya dengan kebijakan luar negeri Pemerintah Indonesia yang dikeluarkan pada akhirnya. Konsep-konsep kebijakan luar negeri; pengaruh *interest groups* terhadap perumusan kebijakan luar negeri; serta *two-level game* dari Robert Putnam akan digunakan untuk menganalisis dan memberikan jawaban terhadap pertanyaan penelitian yang diajukan. Berdasarkan analisis yang dilakukan, dapat disimpulkan bahwa pengaruh kelompok Islam terhadap perumusan kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia harus dikaji per kasus. Hal ini karena kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia sangat bergantung pada visi pemimpin rezimnya; selain itu pengaruh kelompok Islam terhadap politik dalam negeri berbeda-beda; serta pendekatan kelompok-kelompok Islam juga berbeda.

Kata kunci: *kebijakan luar negeri, Islam, Indonesia, Rohingya, Uighur.*

Preface

After a full year of constant research and struggle, we have finally come full circle, as I have finally finished my thesis with the title of ‘Indonesia, Islam and Foreign Policy: Analyzing the Influence of Islamic Groups in the Cases of Rohingya and Uighur.’ The thesis was written in order to obtain the Bachelor of International Relations degree from Universitas Katolik Parahayangan.

Through this research, I wanted to explain the relations between states and non-governmental organizations (in this case, religious interest groups) in policy formulation. By choosing the relations between Indonesia and its Islamic groups, I wanted to make a research that is relevant to the current condition in the country I live in, where, as the days go by, identity and non-governmental groups started to have bigger influences in policy formulation.

However, I do realize that this research is nowhere near perfect. There are still many rooms of improvement that can be done. Hence, I am very open for any critics or recommendations that can be given to better this research.

Bandung, January 5th, 2021

Aloysius Efraim Leonard

Acknowledgements

I ain't lying—writing this page is harder than writing the thesis itself. So many names to be thankful for, for those who have seen the struggle from the very beginning with me hopping from one Unnormal Café to another; until the time when I spent hours in my apartment until four in the morning blasting either Glee, Ariana Grande, or Taylor Swift songs unapologetically. Hence, to this people, I would like to express my highest gratitude.

First thing first, to my family, EPS, Orpha Jane, Angel and Rebecca, thank you for always be there even though I am not *exactly* there. Thank you for believing in me deeply, even though you may not express that blatantly. To Mas Sapta, thank you for guiding me throughout the writing of the thesis. Thank you for the kind words and the compact sessions!

To my go-to, Nadya Hanaveriesa, I am pretty sure you are my 911! From Bandung to Scorze' to Georgia to Dortmund to Gwangju to our homes, thank you for always be there for me whenever I need you (even though most of the time it was me talking about myself). Words cannot describe how thankful I am for you.

Next, Cerdas Management (honestly this is the name we just came up with), Gregorius Giovanni, Carla Soetopo and Michael Andianto! I will promise that I will try to be more attentive next time! Thanks for listening to the stories I have, and the insights given, including for this thesis (although, mostly it is not about it).

To Bella Aprilia. Thank you for accompanying throughout my year in university, from hopping different cafes to ensure we got our writings done, to New York, Boston, Washington, D.C., Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Cirebon. Keep on being that one person that is very motivated and inspiring for others.

These three persons. To Lely Bakti, almost my ride-or-die during university time. You will do great; you will have the things that you have always dreamed of and keep on being healthy! Don't look so tired all the time! To Alya Diva, thank you for giving me rides to a lot of places, for writing such good writings and for so humbly giving your house for me and Lely to stay in Banjarmasin. To Ruth Latreia, thank you for preparing me for this (literally!) through the different paper competitions and writings and presentations, giving me books—you're *the* nerd.

To Sonia Meiliana, one day you told me that you couldn't relate to my stories anymore, but well guess where we are right now. I guess eventually our stories collides, again! Thank you for always been listening to me through my ups and downs. To Rossy Rosdiana, you're very cool. I am still thankful we got to spend time together during TAHI. You're amazing! To Dzaky Wirahman, aka idea machine, aka Arab. Without you, I might not be as excited for WH as I was. You have been constantly giving good ideas and you have been a really, really good friend. Thank you! To Diaza Okadimar, Lulu Zakia and Darama, you have made my times in Italy awesome, and I really hope that we can go far even to the future.

To Akifan Rahman, I know that finishing thesis for you is so six years ago, so I am still surprised that you would still keep up with me. Thank you for listening for my complaints and stories. No one knows what the future brings, but you have definitely been a big part of my thesis journey.

And finally, to the people behind these amazing *establishments*, hehe: Unpar for HNMUN Family, without you, I might not be as cool as I am right now. Warta Himahi (yes, there are 46 other persons I can't write your names one by one), thank you, for the amazing 3.5 years! Jurga (Ranti, Rifki, Flo, Bram, Egin, Mentari, Gea, Reiza, Gita, Balqis, Inez, Ivan, Naomi and Rahma), thank you for accompanying me during my college years. It was indeed full of laughter! Delegation of Yemen (Jasmine, Jonathan, Audi, Nana, Rafina, Chyntia), we almost made it (by the time this is released we already made it so yay!), thank you for keeping up with the Kimindashians. First Base (Brenda, Girin, Jordi, Rara), it's been five years. I am forever thankful for having to know each and every one of you. No kidding. Change.org Indonesia team (Mas Arief, Mbak Dhenok, Mbak Desma, Mbak Nova, Ci Jen, Mbak Ori, Mas Acu, Mbak Peggy, Mas Yusa, James, Mbak Prima and Mas Sakti), thank you for always supporting me when in Mondays I tell them that I spent my weekend only to finish my thesis.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	i
<i>ABSTRAK</i>	ii
Preface.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Tables.....	viii
List of Abbreviations.....	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1. Background of the problem.....	1
1.2. Problem identification.....	4
1.2.1. Problem description.....	4
1.2.2. Research scope.....	6
1.2.3. Research question.....	7
1.3. Research purpose statement.....	7
1.4. Literature review.....	8
1.5. Theoretical Framework.....	11
1.6. Research and data collection method.....	16
1.6.1. Research method.....	16
1.6.2. Data collection method.....	18
1.7. Research structure.....	19
Chapter 2: Indonesia’s Foreign Policy, and Indonesian Islamic Group.....	21
2.1. The Indonesian Approach to Foreign Policy.....	22
2.1.1. Indonesia’s independent-active foreign policy throughout the regimes.....	23
2.1.2. Indonesia’s independent and active: constant changes?.....	27
2.2. The Characteristics of Indonesian Islamic Groups NU, Muhammadiyah and the FPI.....	32
2.2.1. The Nahdlatul Ulama.....	34
2.2.2. The Muhammadiyah.....	36

2.2.3. The Front Pembela Islam (FPI)	38
Chapter 3: Indonesia, Islam and Foreign Policy: Responses to the Uighur and Rohingya Crisis	42
3.1. Indonesia's Response to the Uighur Crisis.....	43
3.1.1. Brief explanation of the Uighur crisis and Indonesia's response	43
3.1.2. Indonesia-China during the Joko Widodo Administration: A Dependency? 46	
3.1.3. Two-level game in Indonesia's response to Uighur crisis.....	48
3.2. Indonesia's Response to Rohingya Crisis	54
3.2.1. Brief explanation of the Rohingya crisis and Indonesia's response	54
3.2.2. Indonesia's relations with Myanmar during the Joko Widodo administration: a formality?.....	57
3.2.3. Two-level game in responding the Rohingya crisis	58
3.3. Islamic groups, influencing much?	63
Chapter 4: Conclusion.....	68
BIBLIOGRAPHY	72

List of Tables

Table 2.1. Indonesian foreign policy throughout the regimes.....	30
Table 2.2. Comparison of NU, Muhammadiyah and FPI.....	41
Table 3.1. Islamic groups influence on the formulation of Indonesia's Uighur foreign policy.....	53
Table 3.2. Islamic groups influence on the formulation of Indonesia's Rohingya foreign policy.....	62

List of Abbreviations

AKIM	<i>Aliansi Kemanusiaan Indonesia untuk Myanmar</i> , Indonesian Humanitarian Alliance for Myanmar
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
DPR	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat</i> , People's Representatives Council
FPI	<i>Front Pembela Islam</i> , Islam Defenders' Front
GAM	<i>Gerakan Aceh Merdeka</i> , Free Aceh Movement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JI	<i>Jemaah Islamiyah</i>
MPR	<i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</i> , People's Consultative Council
MUI	<i>Majelis Ulama Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Ulema Council
NAM	Non-aligned Movement
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
PA 212	<i>Persatuan Alumni 212</i> , 212 Alumni Brother
PAN	<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> , National Mandate Party
PKB	<i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i> , People's Awakening Party
PKS	<i>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera</i> , Prosperous Justice Party
PPP	<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> , United Development Party
PRC	People's Republic of China
SBY	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono
UUD	<i>Undang-undang Dasar</i> , Constitution

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Background of the problem

With almost 87.2% of the population identifies themselves as a Muslim, it is not surprising that Islam would play a big role in Indonesian politics, both domestic and international. Even though Indonesia has the world's biggest Muslim population, the country does not identify itself as an Islamic country. The country does not base its law on the sharia, and it recognizes five other religions as the official and recognized religions of the country. This enables Indonesia to constantly promote itself as a place where Islam and democracy, the two concepts that are often seen to be contradictory, can live side by side, even complementing each other. In 2016, the Indonesian President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo stated that as the world's biggest Muslim country, 'Indonesia has the role to show the world that in Islam, democracy and tolerance go hand-in-hand.'¹ He even promoted to the then-president of the United States of America that the Indonesian Islam 'protects democracy.'²

The extent to which we can see how Islam and democracy in Indonesia is complementing each other is the existence of many groups that identifies

¹ *Tempo.co*, "Ketika Jokowi dan Cameron Bicara Islam Indonesia di London," accessed December 16th, 2020 <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/764133/ketika-jokowi-dan-cameron-bicara-islam-indonesia-di-london/full&view=ok>.

² Mega Putra Ratya, "Di Depan Obama, Jokowi Tegaskan Indonesia Berpenduduk Muslim Terbesar dan Toleran," *Detiknews*, accessed December 16th, 2020, <https://news.detik.com/berita/3053964/di-depan-obama-jokowi-tegaskan-indonesia-berpenduduk-muslim-terbesar-dan-toleran>.

themselves as Islam-based. These groups' approach to Islam varies, from a modernist Muhammadiyah, traditionalist Nadhlatul Ulama (NU) to the *Front Pembela Islam* (Islam Defenders Front or FPI). Hence, it is not unusual to see these organizations take part in the formulation of Indonesia's domestic policies. The NU, for example, associates itself with the PKB; and the Muhammadiyah associates itself with PAN. FPI did several demonstrations questioning the country's decision on several issues, including corruption cases.³

However, relations between Islam and democracy in Indonesia does not only refer to civil society groups, but also, more political groups, such as political parties. We can find several political parties that affiliate themselves with Islam, such as the People's Awakening Party (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*, PKB), Prosperous Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*, PKS) and the National Mandate Party (*Partai Amanat Nasional*, PAN). The parties partake the democratic elections, both regional and national ones. However, these organizations (both political parties and civil society groups) do not adopt Islam as its ideology but rather Pancasila,⁴ or the basic five principles, as it is the only accepted ideology in the country. The existence of these groups, then, also influences the formulation of policies in the country, including foreign ones.

³ Adam Prireza, "FPI dan PA 212 Bakal Demo Korupsi Jiwasraya dan Asabri di DPR," *Tempo.co*, accessed February 9, 2020, <https://metro.tempo.co/read/1303510/fpi-dan-pa-212-bakal-demo-korupsi-jiwasraya-dan-asabri-di-dpr/full&view=ok>.

⁴ The *Pancasila*, or the five principles, is Indonesia's sole ideology that consists of: the belief in one almighty God; a fair and civilized humanity; unity of Indonesia; democracy led by the wisdom of consultation of the representatives; and social justice for all Indonesians. The Pancasila is written in the preamble of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution.

Foreign policy of a country is considered as a ‘sum of external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually but not exclusively states) in international relations.’⁵ Since the beginning of its independence, Indonesia has put itself as a country that champions the principle of ‘independent and active’ in its foreign policy. This means that Indonesia will actively involve themselves in the efforts to increase world peace, as what is written in the constitution. In Indonesia, the government plays a big role in formulating the foreign policy. Hence, even though the country is guided by the principles of ‘independent and active,’ each regime will have their own distinct features.

Especially during the first term of Indonesia’s 7th President, Joko Widodo, the country’s foreign policy was considered to be more ‘inward-looking’ with a low profile, compared to the predecessor’s, with the main emphasis on domestic policy.⁶ Align with that, mentioned in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ 2014 - 2019 strategic targets several proof of Indonesia’s inward-looking foreign policy, including maritime and border diplomacy, economic diplomacy, protection of Indonesians abroad and increasing Indonesian leadership in the international stage and ASEAN, among others.⁷

Even though the administration is seen to be more ‘domestic centered,’ they still put emphasis on responding to international cases that have relations with

⁵ Christopher Hill, *Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century: Second Edition*, (New York: Palgrave, 2016), page 36.

⁶ Mangadar Situmorang, “Orientasi Kebijakan Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia di bawah Pemerintahan Jokowi-JK,” *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* 11(1), 2015, <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v11i1.1442.%25p>, page 69.

⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, “Sasaran Strategis Kementerian Luar Negeri,” accessed February 9, 2020, https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/20/halaman_list_lainnya/sasaran-strategis-kementerian-luar-negeri

Islam. An example of this is Indonesia's active response to the issue of Palestine independence. Palestine has always been seen as one of the issues related to Islam that is strategic for Indonesia. Jakarta has been constantly advocating for Palestine's independence, even bringing it as one of its priorities when it got the chance to become the non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in 2019-2020.⁸ In addition to that, in 2018, the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi, inaugurated a 'Palestine walk' as a symbol of solidarity between the two countries in Bandung, the city in which the Asia-Africa Conference was once held.⁹ This shows that Indonesia, even though are still holding their 'independent and active' principle, is still engaging its foreign policy to issues related to Islam.

1.2. Problem identification

1.2.1. Problem description

Foreign policy formulation is often considered as an elitist process as the state is often seen as the only actor that influences its formulation. However, in the case of Indonesia's response towards the Uighur and Rohingya issues, the Islamic groups NU, Muhammadiyah and FPI play a role as they have been actively engaging with the public and decision makers in responding to the issues.

⁸ *VOA News*, "Indonesia to Put Muslim Issues Forward at UN Security Council," accessed December 16th, 2020, www.voanews.com/east-asia-pacific/indonesia-put-muslim-issues-forward-un-security-council.

⁹ *Humas Kota Bandung*, "Palestine Walk: Simbol Dukungan Warga Bandung untuk Palestina," accessed December 16th, 2020, <https://humas.bandung.go.id/layanan/palestine-walk-simbol-dukungan-warga-bandung-untuk>.

Muhammadiyah, for example, has issued an official statement regarding the violence in Uighur, including asking the Indonesian government to conduct diplomatic measures to create world peace and upholding human rights.¹⁰ Other groups such as the FPI-aligned *Persaudaraan Alumni* (PA, Alumni Brotherhood) 212 have also demonstrated asking the Chinese government to stop the persecution of the Uighurs, and demanding the Indonesian government to expel the Chinese ambassador to Indonesia.¹¹

To respond to the violence towards the Rohingya, there are several acts done by Islamic groups in Indonesia. In 2017, several Islamic groups, including the FPI created the *Aksi Bela Rohingya* (Support Rohingya Act) in several cities in Indonesia, including Jakarta and the areas of Buddhist temple Borobudur. In Jakarta, the demonstration took place in front of the Burmese Embassy, in which the demonstrators burned down a Burmese flag and threw stones and water bottles in the direction of the Embassy.¹² The demonstration near the Borobudur temple area was more conducive, and the demonstrator produced a document called the 'Borobudur Charter.' Through the charter, they demanded that the Indonesian government keep on being active in creating peace in Rakhine, Myanmar, and asked

¹⁰ 526/PER/I.0/I/2018. Muhammadiyah, *Pernyataan Sikap Pimpinan Muhammadiyah Tentang Kekerasan di Uighur*.

¹¹ Adam Prireza, "Aksi Bela Muslim Uighur, Demonstran Minta Dubes Cina Diusir," *Tempo*, accessed February 14, 2020, <https://metro.tempo.co/read/1157710/aksi-bela-muslim-uighur-demonstran-minta-dubes-cina-diusir/full&view=ok>.

¹² Nurita Sari, "Massa Aksi Bela Rohingya Bakar Bendera di Sekitar Kedubes Myanmar," *Kompas*, accessed February 14, 2020, <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2017/09/06/18205031/massa-aksi-bela-rohingya-bakar-bendera-di-sekitar-kedubes-myanmar>

international organizations such as the United Nations, ASEAN and Organization of Islamic Countries to deploy peacekeeping forces in the area.¹³

As the groups have been voicing out their demands, several of their requests have been accommodated by the Indonesian government and hence influence the course of the Indonesian foreign policy. Islamic groups NU, Muhammadiyah and FPI are being incorporated in Indonesia's humanitarian initiative for the Rohingya refugees. The groups are part of the AKIM (*Aksi kemanusiaan Indonesia untuk Myanmar*), an initiative in which Indonesia is sending volunteers to help the Rohingyas. In addition to that, the NU and Muhammadiyah were also invited to visit Xinjiang Province in China by the Chinese government. After the invitation, the Islamic groups supports Indonesia's response to the Uighur issue and help form a homogenous domestic response. Seeing these facts, it can be seen that indeed, in the Uighur and Rohingya issues, Islamic groups do play a role in the formulation of Indonesian foreign policy.

1.2.2. *Research scope*

The research that is conducted will focus mostly on finding out the influences of Islamic communities to the formulation of Indonesian foreign policy during the first administration of Joko Widodo, within the span of 2014 - 2019. It will focus also mostly on Indonesia's response to the humanitarian problems happening in the Rakhine State in Myanmar to the Rohingyas and to the Uighurs in

¹³ Damar Sinuko, "Aksi Bela Rohingya Melahirkan Piagam Borobudur," *CNN Indonesia*, accessed February 14, 2020, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20170908143401-20-240394/aksi-bela-rohingya-melahirkan-piagam-borobudur>.

Xinjiang, China. Hence, this research will analyze the influence of the NU, Muhammadiyah and FPI to the formulation of the country's foreign policy to that matter. The three groups were selected to be analyzed since all three groups have been influencing Indonesia's domestic and foreign policies before. In addition to that, the three groups have been one of the most vocal Islamic groups for the cases of Uighur and Rohingya, with three different approaches.

1.2.3. Research question

As this research is aimed to see explain process of foreign policy formulation, more particularly in Indonesia, this research will indeed need a comprehensive research question. Thus, the research will be based on the question of **'to what extent do Indonesian Islamic groups influence the formulation of Indonesian foreign policy on the Rohingya and Uighur crises during the first administration of Joko Widodo (2014 - 2019).'**

1.3. Research purpose statement

Based on the question written above, there are several objectives this research aims to find. First, to find out the factors that determine the formulation of Indonesian foreign policy, especially on the Rohingya crisis and the Uighur persecution during the administration of Joko Widodo. This is important so that the policy makers in Indonesia can consider additional factors in formulating their foreign policy. Second, to find the role Islamic groups and communities have in Indonesian politics. This aim is important also for the Indonesian policy makers, so that they can consider, and face said groups in an orderly manner. Third, to add

more research on the relations between Islam and Indonesian politics, as currently there are not many researches done upon this topic.

In addition to the said aims, this research also has several purposes. First, the research is written as a prerequisite for the writer to obtain the Bachelor of International Relations from Universitas Katolik Parahyangan. Second, this research is also written to increase the writer's and reader's knowledge of the roles Islamic groups have in terms of foreign policy making in Indonesia.

1.4. Literature review

In regard to the role of Islamic groups in the making of Indonesian foreign policy, there have been several literatures discussing that. Jörn Dosch, for example, in the writing *The Impact of Democratization on the Making of Foreign Policy in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines*, argued that the increasing role of civil society organizations (CSOs) and the legislature was caused by the democratization happening in the countries he used as the case study. All three countries, including Indonesia, have been dealing with an autocratic government for a long time (in the case of Indonesia is 32 years). And when the countries went to become a democratic country, the legislature and the CSOs had a bigger role in the making of policies, including foreign policy. The literature used Indonesia's fifth president, Megawati, presidency as the case study for the country. It is said that during her presidency, the *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (DPR, People's Representative Council) tried to have a bigger role in foreign policy, especially the Commission I that deals with international relations and defense issues. The commission's head that came from the opposition side of the government, challenged the president's stances on East

Timor and Australia. Other than that, the literature also discussed on how the possible domestic disruption caused by FPI and JI (Jemaah Islamiyah) stopped the Megawati administration from signing the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) anti-terrorism statement.

Another literature, written by Iis Gindarsah, echoes the same sentiment. Gindarsah highlighted the changing of Indonesia's stance on the Iranian nuclear issue voting during Indonesia's membership in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). When voting the first resolution on giving sanction to Iran, Indonesia voted yes, passing the Resolution no. 1747. However, when the Council was voting on giving additional sanctions to Iran, Indonesia changed its stance to abstaining from the voting of the resolution. Gindarsah argued that Indonesia's stance shift was caused by domestic pressure, mainly by Islam organization and also the parliament. Indonesia's initial stance resulted in irritation from the Muslims that wanted Indonesia to have good relations with other Muslim countries. The legislature also played a role as it called the then-president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) for a hearing through their *hak interpelasi* or interpellation rights. Gindarsah concluded the work stating that social and political constraints should not be underestimated in Indonesia's foreign affairs.¹⁴

While the first two literatures discussed about how Islam groups influenced Indonesian foreign policy through public opinion and legislatures, another literature from Ahmad Rizky Umar, *A Genealogy of Moderate Islam: Governmentality and Discourses of Islam in Indonesia's Foreign Policy*, took a different point of view.

¹⁴ Iis Gindarsah, "Democracy and Foreign Policy Making in Indonesia: A Case Study of the Iranian Nuclear Issue, 2007-08," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 34 (3), December 2012, page 432.

Umar agreed that there has been influence coming from Islam in the making of Indonesian foreign policy, and it has been evolving throughout time. Umar wrote that during the pre-democratization era, Islam hasn't been very visible in the Indonesian foreign policy. However, during the presidency of Abdurrahman Wahid or Gus Dur, a Muslim cleric, Islam played a bigger role. Even though Gus Dur was a cleric himself from the NU, Umar argued that Islam was seen more of a political commodity rather than the ideological basis of Indonesian foreign policies. Presidents after Gus Dur, Megawati and SBY, also use the connotation of 'moderate Islam' in their foreign policy as a result of the international system: Megawati used that in order to gain political leverage to work with the United States during the global war on terror; and SBY used that to implement his principle of 'zero enemy, thousand friend' type of foreign policy.

The sentiment coming from Umar was analyzed by Suryadinata long before. Suryadinata tried to analyze Indonesia's relations with Muslim countries (mostly Middle Eastern countries including the Palestine; Libya; and Afghanistan) and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) during the Suharto era. Suryadinata argued that Indonesia's relations with those countries during the Suharto era was not based on their solidarity towards the Muslim brother and sisters, but rather based on the 'calculations of Indonesian "national interest" as perceived by Suharto and other members of the military elites.'¹⁵ Suryadinata also wrote that even in the case when Indonesia sent volunteers, military observers and medical detachment to

¹⁵ Leo Suryadinata, "Islam and Suharto's Foreign Policy: Indonesia, the Middle East, and Bosnia," *Asian Survey* 35 (3), March 1995, page 303.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Indonesia did not do that on behalf of its membership at the OIC, but rather as the part of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

All four literatures gave different perspective on the role of Islam and Islamic groups to Indonesian foreign policy. Dorsch and Gindarsah both agreed that to some extent, Islamic groups influenced the foreign policy of Indonesia. Exclusive to Dorsch's argument, he stated that it was because of the democratization that happened in the country. Umar, in the different manner, explained that Islam's influence on the Indonesian foreign policy is used as a political commodity for Indonesia's own domestic and global interest. The sentiment was also echoed by Suryadinata. They stated that even though Indonesia seemed to be engaged in issues related to Islam, usually Indonesia does not base its policies on Islamic values, but rather secular ones. However, none of the literature above have discussed Islamic groups influence to Indonesia's foreign policy on Rohingyas and Uighur issues, especially during the Joko Widodo administration. Hence, this research will focus on that aspect to fill in the research gaps we currently have.

1.5. Theoretical Framework

In order to answer the question regarding the influence of Islamic groups and communities in the making for Indonesian Rohingya crisis and Uighur persecution foreign policy that was proposed, there needs to be several concepts and theories to give an extensive and comprehensive explanation academically. The research will use the concept of foreign policy and interest groups / social actors in foreign policy, that will be combined with the rational choice and two-game level

theories of foreign policy. This is to show how a rational choice for domestic needs will be the main argument of the foreign policy Indonesia enacted to respond to the crises.

Foreign policy is ‘the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor in international relations.’¹⁶ That definition of Hill put ‘independent actor’ as the subject of foreign policy in order to enable us including non-state entities such as non-governmental organizations, international organizations and companies, not only states, as the maker of foreign policy. Brighi and Hill on Hudson echoes the same sentiment, stating that foreign policy decisions happen on many different levels and involve a range of different actors.¹⁷ Morin and Paquin argue that foreign policy cannot be defined by a single question, objective, target or function, unlike domestic policy.¹⁸ The specific feature that foreign policy has and also differentiate it from domestic policy is that the authority that decides upon a foreign policy has a very limited control over the outcome it has. That is due to the many external factors that are not under the sovereignty of the decision maker. Morin and Paquin put the example of how the Brazilian government cannot reform the UN Security Council the same way it reforms its national institutions.¹⁹

To analyze the components or parts of foreign policy, Rosenau differentiated it into three parts, known also as the three concepts of foreign

¹⁶ Christopher Hill, *Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, (London: Palgrave, 2016), page 4.

¹⁷ Valerie Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory, Second Edition*, (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), page 4.

¹⁸ Jean-Frederic Morin and Jonathan Paquin, *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Toolbox*, (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), page 6.

¹⁹ Ibid.

policy.²⁰ The three concepts are foreign policy as a cluster of orientations; foreign policy as a set of commitments and form of actions; and foreign policy as a form of behavior. This means that Rosenau sees foreign policy as general tendencies for the conduct of state in international politics; a set of commitments and plans of actions; and empirical, concrete activities that is translated from the general tendencies and plans of actions of the state itself.

Although foreign and domestic policy is different, it is important to note that both of them cannot be separated. Scholars agree that domestic politics do play a role in the formulation of foreign policy. Especially in democratic countries, it is important to note how social actors, such as public opinion, the media, the experts and interest groups play a role in influencing the formulation of foreign policy. In this research's analysis, we will define further what constitutes an interest group.

Interest groups have their own specific concerns in society based on their values that they usually transmit through mass opinion.²¹ There are three categories of interest groups based on what they are defending. First, are the groups that are defending economic interests, for example firms, labor unions and consumer associations. Second, groups that are defending territorial interests, such as indigenous people groups, ethnic minorities and district government. Third, groups that are defending specific ideas, such as feminist non-governmental organizations and religion-based groups.²²

²⁰ James N. Rosenau, "The Study of Foreign Policy," in *World Politics: An Introduction*, James N. Rosenau, Kenneth W. Thompson, Gavin Boyd, ed., (New York: Free Press, 1976), page 16.

²¹ Hill, page 277.

²² Morin and Paquin, page 188.

Morin and Paquin propose three features in common for interest groups in influencing foreign policy.²³ First, they will work closely with other groups to create a coalition. These groups will try to coordinate and work together to represent their interest with communities which hold alike value. Second, they will use similar strategies for actions. The strategy that they use is usually mobilizing public opinion and trying to communicate their message through different mediums, or even meeting political leaders behind closed doors and testifying in the parliament. Lastly, they can create bigger influence during the early stages of the policy making process by ensuring the issue they are bringing is understood by the policy makers and included on the political agenda.

Although interest groups might influence the formulation of foreign policy, for states, the decision is still made by the government. Rational choice theory stated that every decision maker will make a rational choice after considering which decision would give the maximum benefit.²⁴ In other words, the theory suggests that the ultimate aim of foreign policy decision maker is the maximization of utility by actors, by identifying and prioritizing foreign policy goals and then selecting the means available to fulfil it with the least cost.²⁵ Assessing national interest is also integral in mapping a state's foreign policy goals, that will lead to the choice taken as their own foreign policy.

²³ Morin and Paquin, page 189 - 190.

²⁴ Bob Sugeng Hadiwinata, *Studi dan Teori Hubungan Internasional: Arus Utama, Alternatif dan Reflektifis*, (Jakarta: Obor, 2017), page 115.

²⁵ Chris Alden and Amnon Aran, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New approaches, 2nd edition*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2017), page 20 - 21.

One of behavior models of rational choice theory is the two-level game theory, that gives us the possibility to analyze the relations between domestic politics and foreign policy. First introduced by Robert D. Putnam, the two-level game theory tries to find the link between domestic politics of a country and diplomacy. Putnam conceded to the fact that foreign policy formulation is indeed state-centric, however he also realized that there is a missing link that should have been connecting domestic politics condition and a state's foreign policy or diplomacy making.

The argument first stated that in terms of foreign policy making, the 'state as a unitary actor assumption is often radically misleading.'²⁶ Hence, the two-level game was proposed by acknowledging that at national level domestic groups are often pressuring the government to adopt their favored policies, and in the international level government tries to satisfy domestic needs and pressure while minimizing unfavorable foreign development. The theory also argues that there is a political complexity regarding the need to fulfil domestic and international needs. When domestic needs are not being fulfilled, the executive of a state might lose their seat; while when not fulfilling international requirements might also decrease their international political leverage and bargaining power.

The two-level game theory separates international and domestic conditions into two different levels: the international one as Level I, and the domestic one as Level II. It also argues that in order for a state to have a bigger chance of success in Level I, there has to be a successful agreement in Level II beforehand. That is to

²⁶ Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organizations* 42(3), Summer 1988, page 433.

say that conducive domestic conditions will lead to successful international relations. The success of the two-level game is decided through three different determinants. First, the distribution of power, preferences and possible coalitions among Level II constituents.²⁷ It is stated that the less the possibility of an international agreement be accepted in Level II or domestically, the bigger the chance for other countries in Level I, or internationally, to do a bargain. Second, the political institution of Level II. Putnam argues when a state can make their decision autonomous from domestic pressure, the bigger their possibility to achieve international agreement. However, it will also put them in a less advantageous position to bargain internationally. Third, the strategies of the Level I negotiators.

Hence, it can be concluded that foreign policy is the main concept that can be used in this research. And, in order to enrich the analysis, the concept of interest groups in the formulation of foreign policy will be used, to see their influences. Adding to that is the rational choice theory and the two-level game that can be used to analyze how big the influence of interest groups that predominantly play in the domestic political stage to the formulation of foreign policy.

1.6. Research and data collection method

1.6.1. Research method

In conducting the research, the writer will use the qualitative method. Qualitative methods are used to explore, describe and explain a social

²⁷ Putnam, page 442.

phenomenon.²⁸ In qualitative research, the data can be collected through various measures, from field research or ethnography, interview, self-data or autoethnography, to unobtrusive methods or content analysis. Each and every data collection method is unique and should be used in accordance to the topic that is being discussed in the research itself.

In regard to the approach that is going to be used, this research will use case study. This research is going to analyze the responses of Islamic groups NU, Muhammadiyah and FPI to the Rohingya and Uighur crises. Then, it will see whether or not it affects the formulation and the final foreign policy of Indonesia towards the two issues.

Creswell stated that a case study involves the study of a specific issue that is being analyzed and explored through one or more cases.²⁹ Bungin explained that methodologically, case study is a comprehensive, intense, detailed study to explain contemporary phenomenon.³⁰ Yin in Bungin introduced case study as a method to answer the research question ‘how’ and ‘why,’ and to some extent, ‘what.’³¹ Bennet proposed several comparative advantages of using case study methods: the ability to measure in a case the indicator that best represents a theoretical framework; the possibility to generate new hypotheses and variables; and its ability to

²⁸ Patricia Leavy, *Research Design: Quantitative, Qualitative, Mixed Methods, Arts-Based, and Community-Based Participatory Research Approaches*, (New York: Guilford Press, 2017), page 9.

²⁹ John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2007), page 73.

³⁰ Burhan Bungin, *Analisis Data Penelitian Kualitatif: Pemahaman Filosofis dan Metodologis ke Arah Penguasaan model Aplikasi*, (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 2003), page 20.

³¹ Bungin, 21.

accommodate complex causal relations.³² It is hoped that by using case study, the complex causal relations between the responses coming from the Islamic groups towards the final foreign policy of Indonesia in the issues of Uighur and Rohingya can be explained, and eventually, it can generate a new understanding.

In conducting a case study research, Creswell proposed five procedures that can be conducted, in which he referred mostly to Stake.³³ First, the researcher shall choose the method should the case being analyzed has identifiable boundaries and is appropriate to be analyzed by this method. Second, after identifying the issue and cases, researchers should choose a case best representing for the analysis, for example those that show different perspectives. Third, the researcher shall do an extensive data collecting through multiple sources of information. Fourth, the researcher shall analyze the data given, and fifth, they shall show the findings from the case studies they have conducted.

1.6.2. Data collection method

In collecting the data, this research uses qualitative documents. The data that can be analyzed varies and here are the examples, although it is not limited to historical documents, transcribed speeches, newspapers, magazines, books.³⁴

As the method for the research is a case study, Creswell suggested that researchers should collect data from many sources and forms, including documents

³² Andrew Bennet, "Case Study Methods: Design, Use, and Comparative Advantage," in *Models, Numbers, Cases: International Relations Research Method*, Detlef F. Sprinz and Yael Wolinsky (ed.), (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2004), page 42 – 47.

³³ Creswell, 74-75.

³⁴ Leavy, 146.

and records. In this research, it includes the transcribed speeches of the Indonesian president and foreign minister, news regarding the acts of Islam communities and also official documents. Using this method enables the researcher to obtain the language and words of the participants, it can be accessed anytime, and it represents data in which the participants have given attention; and also since it is a written evidence, it saves the researcher's time and expense of transcribing.³⁵

1.7. Research structure

- **Chapter One** will talk about the **introduction** to the research. The introduction is aimed to give a clear-cut explanation of how the research is going to be conducted. This includes the background of the problem, problem identification, research scope, research question, aims and purposes of the research, literature review, theoretical framework, research method, research structure and the timeline of research.
- **Chapter Two** will discuss about **Indonesia's Foreign Policy, and Indonesian Islamic Groups**. Indonesia's foreign policy principle, its changes and continuation, and also the characteristics of the three most prominent Islamic groups in the country.
- **Chapter Three** will discuss **The Influence of Islamic Communities in the Formulation of Indonesian Foreign Policy**. In this chapter, the author will analyze how does Islamic communities influence the foreign policy

³⁵ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, (London: SAGE, 2014), page 239 – 242.

formulation of Indonesia, especially in the case of Rohingya and Uighur crises.

- **Chapter Four** will consist of **Conclusion** and **Recommendation** regarding the topic.