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VERITY

Verity diterbitkan oleh Jurusan Hubungan Internasional, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Pelita Harapan 2 (dua) kali dalam setahun pada bulan Januari dan Juli. Jurnal ini diterbitkan sebagai sarana pertukaran dan penyebarluasan gagasan-gagasan ilmiah dalam bidang Hubungan Internasional dan bidang-bidang lain yang terkait dengannya.

DAFTAR ISI

Pengantar Redaksi

PENGANTAR REDAKSI

Edisi Jurnal Verity paruh kedua tahun 2018 mengangkat enam tulisan yang mendiskusikan beberapa isu di bidang Hubungan Internasional. Tulisan tersebut memiliki fokus pada ranah sosial seperti isu budaya dan identitas regional. Namun tidak bisa dipungkiri bahwa pengaruh realis masih mendominasi pembahasan akademis dalam Jurnal Verity terutama mengenai kebijakan luar negeri yang dibahas pada kebijakan negara Indonesia di bidang keamanan maritim. Penelitian kualitatif pustaka yang ditulis oleh Roy Vincentius Pratikno menemukan adanya perbedaan pengaruh dari budaya nasional dan budaya perusahaan yang berkontribusi besar dalam mempengaruhi dan menciptakan kinerja dan efektivitas organisasi seperti peruhsaan multinasional yang aktif secara lintas negara. Berdasarkan tinjauan literatur yang dilakukan oleh penulis menunjukkan adanya dampak dari berbagai tingkat budaya nasional yang cukup berpengaruh dan bisa membentuk budaya organisasi. Pada tulisan kedua yang dipenakan oleh Indrawati dan Agung Yudhistira Nugroho dari data sekunder, mendiskusikan tentang bagaimana Indonesia menerapkan politik luar negeri dengan prinsip bebas dan aktif dalam menjaga dan memanfaatkan sumber daya lautyang tujuan utamanya adalah menjadi poros maritime dunia dalam bentuk diplomasi maritim. Dalam tulisan tersebut penulis mengungkapkan bahwa Indonesia memiliki potensi yang besar untuk menjadi poros maritim dunia jika dilihat dari sumber daya lautnya jika dimanfaatkan dan dikelola dengan baik untuk mendorong pertumbuhan ekonomi sebagaimana yang ditargetkan oleh Presiden Jokowi untuk meningkatkan pendapatan per kapita Indonesia di tahun 2045.

Artikel ketiga yang ditulis oleh Karen Savitri fokus pada isu transnasional dengan mengaplikasikan analisis teori konstruktivisme. Tulisan tersebut mendiskusikan penyebab yang mendasari alasan orang Indonesia mendukung gerakan dari ISIS yang dikaitkan dengan perjalanan sejarah dan radikalisme di Indonesia serta penyeberannya di kalangan milenial. Selanjutnya tulisan dari Afrizal Fajri dan Muhammad Yamin menunjukkan adanya pergeseran dari pola tradisional yang kemudian difasilitasi oleh sistem elektronik yang menggunakan teknologi internet ketika melakukan transaksi pembayaran dalam bentuk *Bitcoin*. Dalam tulisan tersebut penulis mencoba menjelaskan perdebatan kategori sistem pembayaran *Bitcoin* yang menimbulkan kontroversi khususnya di ranah keuangan internasional. Beranjak dari isu keamanan dan ekonomi, Jerry Indrawan dan Muhammad Prakoso Aji mendiskusikan tentang bagaimana peran olahraga sebagai sarana untuk menyatukan beragam bangsa untuk mencapai perdamaian dunia. Dalam tulisan tersebut penulis memberikan pandangan bahwa perdamaian dunia dimulai dengan membangun rasa identitas bersama serta menciptakan persahabatan diantara kelompok-kelompok. Tidak jauh berbeda dari fokus identitas bangsa, tulisan Amelia Joan Liwe membahas tentang pembentukan identitas Kawasan Asia Tenggara yang menurut penulis perkembangannya jauh lebih lambat dibandingkan dengan organisasi regional seperti ASEAN sehingga menyebabkan Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara di wilayah regional terkesan lebih lambat dalam perkembangannya dibandingkan dengan negara di luar Asia Tenggara yang sudah mempelajari dan meneliti wilayah Asia Tenggara sebagai suatu kajian dalam ilmu Hubungan Internasional.

➢ *Redaksi*

THE STRONGER IMPACT OF NATIONAL CULTURE OVER ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE ON SUPPLY CHAIN OPERATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The proponents of national culture have a strong belief that national culture has an impact on the performance of a firm. They also believe that national culture influences team work and the ability to innovate. They consider the impact of national culture on behavior and relationships to be longer lasting than cultural influences that tend to diminish as a company changes. On the other hand, the supporters of organizational culture have a strong conviction that well-defined and widely used organizational practices throughout the organization will help an organization become excellent and capable of achieving high levels of performance. Both the partisans of organizational culture and the supporters of national culture have their own reasons as to why each side is more impactful when compared to the other. This paper attempts to answer which side has a stronger impact by reviewing the literature on the effect of national culture or organizational culture on the supply chain operations of MNCs in Japan and the US. It appears that national culture is more impactful than organizational culture when it comes to supply chain operations.

Keywords: Organizational culture, national culture, corporate culture, supply chain operations

Background

A well-defined organizational culture that is used in the entire organization has become the hallmark of a successful organization. Therefore, prestigious and successful MNCs usually prefer employees that suit their needs and company culture[1]. However, when this organizational culture travels across countries and even more across continents, sometimes it does not work as well as when it is applied in the home country of the MNC. This would incite scholars to raise question whether national cultures would hold back organizational culture[2]. Moreover, Hofstede argues that national culture is an essential factor an organization has to pay attention to enact great performance[3]. On the other hand, the proponents of organizational culture believe that organizational culture affects organization performance, employee satisfaction and organizational effectiveness[4].

Each proponent of national culture and organizational culture has convincing arguments that their side has stronger influence over another. This paper attempts to investigate which among national culture and corporate culture has the stronger impact particularly on supply chain operations. The exploration of the impact of national and organizational cultures will also be used to point out whether the consequences of these two cultures are universal around the world.

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[1] Gerhart, B. (2008). How much does national culture constrain organizational culture? *Management and Organization Review*, 241-259

[2] Gerhart, B. (2008)

[3] Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

[4] Nazarian, A., Atkinson, P., & Greaves, L. (2014). The relationship between national culture and organizational culture: A case of medium and a large size organizations in Iran. *The Macrotheme Review*, *3*(6), 66-78.

Problem Statement

The partisan of the organizational culture would argue that organizational culture induce the achievement of organization performance and sustainability; yet, the supporters of national culture believe that national cultures can play a more prominent role in achieving organization performance and responsible either for softening or strengthening the organizational culture to shape the organization.

Since both sides have reasons and arguments to back up it claims and all the arguments, claims and reasons are solid so that it would be hard to decide which side that is, organizational cultures or national cultures that have much stronger impact. Therefore, the review of various works of literature on the effects of national culture and organizational culture on supply chain operations of MNCs in Japan and US will be used to highlight the culture that is more impactful and strong.

Organizational and National Cultures

Cultures

Culture is defined in various ways. However, one of its universally accepted definitions is that it is the shared programming of the thinking patterns of the members of a group that distinguishes them from non-members.[5] The variations from one culture to another are evident from the differences in the views of the members from those of the members of other groups, because of differences in the collective programming. Culture is a universal concept explored when talking about organizations, particularly when the issues of discussion are management or sociology. When referring to nations, it is used to refer to differences in management, sociological views, and political issues. However, culture is wider than its common usage; it can be applied to the areas of gender, generations, or social classes when it is used to study national or organizational characteristics.[6]

Hofstede used the layer of an onion's skin to describe the manifestations of culture. There are different depths in the manifestations of culture, from only superficial as represented by symbols to the deepest expressions of culture that are represented by values. And between those two layers reside heroes and rituals.[7] Symbols refer to words, dress, flags, etc. which mean something only to those who share the culture. Heroes denote person whether dead or alive, real or imaginary, which considered as the model because they possess characteristics that are highly regarded in the particular culture. Rituals such as greetings, daily interaction, and religious ceremonies that are collectively done to reach desired results are used within a culture. Values are preferences of something over other things.[8]

Individual that belongs to certain group carries the common mental program, and this individual throughout their lives belongs to many different groups at the same time. Therefore this individual gets some layers of mental programming. The layers of mental programming are at the national, ethnic/religious, gender, generation, social strata, and organizational level.[9]

The in-depth understanding of the impact of national and organizational

[5] Hofstede, G. (2001)

[6] Krumbholz, M., & Maidne, N. (2001). The implementation of enterprise resource planning packages in different organizational and national cultures. *Informational systems, 26*(3), 12-23.

[7] Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M. (2010). Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind: Intercultural cooperation and its importance for survival. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.

[8] Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M. (2010)

[9] Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M. (2010)

cultures is crucial in providing information about the role that culture plays in organizations and in influencing organizational outcomes. The members of society gain gender and nation-related cultural views since childhood up to adulthood, and therefore are in many cases more deep-rooted than the other cultural models developed next.[10] The cultural models developed later in life include the occupational culture acquired in learning institutions and the workplace. For instance, the change of job from one organization to other organization resulted in the change of organizational culture; this makes the previous one less relevant and less impactful.[11] For comparison between national and organizational culture, the national cultural models reside in the unconscious values that are acquired during childhood and young adulthood; it will provide directions and broad tendencies on preferences for various states of affairs over others.[12] Whereas, organizational cultures are built upon conscious and visible practices, particularly about the ways that people regard what takes place in the organizational environment.

To find out the culture that is more impactful and stronger, the review of various studies on the impact of national culture and organizational culture will be used. The exploration of the impact of national and organizational cultures will also be used to point out whether the consequences of these two cultures are universal around the world.

Background on Organizational Culture and National Culture

Definition of culture is broader and more complex than it is initially considered because it is also included on shared processes such as socially constructed systems, styles of using technology, language, origin, and shared history. The indication of the description of the depth of culture is that it affects every aspect of organizational life, whether the dominant culture is the organizational culture or the national culture.[13] Czinkota and Ronkainen is also widened the definition of culture after stressing that it extends the behavioral styles and patterns that are learned, and which distinguish the particular society.[14] There are a wide variety of perceptions related to national culture that has led to the development of a distinctive culture framework and dimension for national culture, for example, Hall's and Hofstede's dimensions.[15] The distinguishing factors shared by the various culture dimensions used to explain national culture is that people experience culture from an early age, and culture can be split into different layers, starting from the individual to the societal level.[16] According to Ford, national or societal culture occupies the top level because it comes with primary socialization.[17]

[10] Hofstede, G. (2001).
[11] Rose, G. M., Evaristo, R., & Straub, D. (2003). Culture and consumer responses to web download time: A four-continent study of mono and polychronism. *Engineering Management, IEEE Transactions 50*(1), 31-44.
[12] Hofstede, G. (2001).

[13] Hofstede, G. (2001).
[14] Czinkota, M. R., & Ronkainen, I. A. (2007). *International marketing* (8th ed.). Mason, OH: Thomson South-Western.
[15] Park, J., & Abele, E. G. (2010). *Interpersonal relations and social pattern in communication technologies: Discourse norms, language structure and cultural variables.* Hershey, PA: Information Science Reference.
[16] Park, J., & Abele, E. G. (2010).
[17] Ford, D. P., Connelly, C. E., & Meister, D. B. (2003). Information systems research and Hofstede's culture's consequences: an uneasy and incomplete partnership. *IEEE Transactions on Engineering Management*, *50*(1) 8-25.

The two levels of culture that are highly recognized and used as reference are organizational and national culture. As a result of the attention and focus towards the two levels of culture, cultural issues are known at the organizational and national culture levels, which indicate that those originating at other levels such as the individual level are ignored.[18] Over the years, different studies have explored the impact of organizational and national cultures on organizations, but there is an insufficient study done on the impact of national culture on organizations and organizational cultures.[19] Rose also highlighted that little study had been done to explore the impact of national culture on the culture of an organization, which would provide information about the culture that is more influential among the two.[20] The influence and impact of national culture on organizations and organizational culture was highlighted by Browaeys and Price, after stressing that it has various levels, ranging from explicit to implicit. The most precise level of the culture there is cultural artifacts, which includes things such as food, language, fashion, and architecture.[21]

The second level of national cultures is more impactful on organizations and their cultures than organizational culture. The second level is comprised of values and norms, which gives the society guidance on what is appropriate and what should not be done.[22] The indication of the various levels of national culture is that it overlaps with organizational culture in some areas, which makes it impactful on organizations. The impact of national culture was explored by Ali and Amirshahi, through a study examining the impact of the Iranian culture, where the conclusions included that the culture of centralized authority and power has influenced organizations in many ways.[23] The effects evident on Iranian organizations and their respective cultures includes that the culture of centralized power has rendered many organizations to be inefficient and also created a lack of motivation.[24] The impact of Iran's national culture on organizational culture and organizational effectiveness are highly noticeable in public organizations; the same is also reported among private sector organizations.[25] In particular, the evidence of the impact of national culture on organizational culture includes that private organizations suppress stakeholder participation, and show a tendency towards the centralization of managerial power.[26]

The Comparative Impact of National and Organizational Culture

The impact of national and organizational culture have been studied in numerous and various studies. The study by Ali and Amirshahi explored the effects of culture on Iranian organizations and noted that the national cultural values of centralization of authority have been very impactful. Ali and Amirshahi also pointed out the national culture of centralizing power has rendered many organizational cultures of both public and private organizations to be ineffective, by sidelining

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[18] Ford, D. P., Connelly, C. E., & Meister, D. B. (2003).

[19] Loch, K. D., Straub, D. W., & Kamel, S. (2003). Diffusing the internet in the Arab world: The role of social norm and technological culturation. *IEEE Transactions on Engineering Management*, I(1), 45-63.

[20] Rose, G. M., Evaristo, R., & Straub, D. (2003).

[21] Browaeys, M. J., & Price, R. (2008). *Understanding cross-cultural management.* Harlow, England: Financial Times/Prentice Hall.

[22] Ford, D. P., Connelly, C. E., & Meister, D. B. (2003).

[23] Ali, A. J., & Amirshahi, M. (2002). The Iranian managers: Work value and orientation. *Journal of Business Ethic*, *40*, 133-143.

[24] Ali, A. J., & Amirshahi, M. (2002).

[25] Ali, A. J., & Amirshahi, M. (2002).

[26] Ali, A. J., & Amirshahi, M. (2002).

the value of employee engagement, and reviewing management practices.[27] And also study by Javidan and Dastmalchian pointed out that the managerial approach of Arab and Iranian organizations are similar in a variety of ways,[28] including that they stress obedience and control, and orientation towards making insufficient plans about the future.[29] Hofstede accentuated the influence of national culture over organizational culture in the case of Iranian. Hofstede classified Iran as a high collectivist society. Therefore, it affects organizational cultures. The national cultures affect the values and the principal managerial stress by the managers of the organization.[30]

Similarly, in the case of Iranian, Javidan and Dastmalchian looked at the different dimension of national culture, power distance. This dimension of national culture is impactful on Iranian organizations and their respective cultures.[31] According to Hofstede classification, the Iranian is considered as high power distance society where there is the unequal distribution of power in the society.[32] In a similar vein, Metcalfe and Mimouni found out that many reports of high power imbalances between staffs occupying different levels.[33] This is evidence that the national culture of high power distance has major impact on organizations and their cultures. When it is examined a lot deeper, the cultural value of power imbalance can be traced back to the

family structure of Iran. It is the usual case in Iran that the father had the ultimate power and authority as the leader of the power. The impact of Iran's culture has been reported over the years, which indicates that national cultures are indeed more stable and influential as compared to organizational cultures.[34]

In the case of sustainability of the effects, Myers and Tan indicated that national culture and its impact on organizations are more long lasting and steady as compared to organizational cultures. It is because of the higher stability of national cultures, that is, national cultures are more deeply rooted. As a result, national cultures effects are reported on organizations and its employee over the years.[35] Myers and Tan reasoned that the profound effects on national cultures over organizational cultures were based on the fact that national cultures influence the organizational culture mode that is adopted. McCoy supported the same view. They pointed out that national cultures have a more profound effect on organizations, as compared to organizational cultures on the basis that national cultures have influence in the process of forming organizational culture. The national culture also influences the effectiveness of an organization's culture for the reason that it affects the relationship that exists between different people in the organization. The national culture dimensions such as masculinity or femininity, individualism or collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, and time orientation that have been cultivated in society as a whole, when traced back, were responsible for impacting the organizational cultures in the organizations. It indicates that effects of national culture on organizational cultures are more impactful than organizational

[27] Ali, A. J., & Amirshahi, M. (2002).

[28] Javidan, M., & Dastmalchian, A. (2003). Culture and leadership in Iran: The land of individual achievers, strong family ties, and powerful elita. *Academy of Management Executive*, I(4), 127-142.

[29] Metcalfe, B., & Mimouni, F. (2011). *Leadership Development in the Middle East.* Cheltenham, England: Edward Elgar Pub.

[30] Park, J., & Abele, E. G. (2010).

[31] Javidan, M., & Dastmalchian, A. (2003).

[32] Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M. (2010).

[33] Metcalfe, B., & Mimouni, F. (2011).

[34] Nazarian, A., Atkinson, P., & Greaves, L. (2014).

[35] Myers, M. D., & Tan, F. B. (2002).

culture, and the impact can be experienced in the long term.[36]

As for organizational culture, according to Schein, the process of defining organizational culture is the most challenging part in measuring progress, during the planning and executing of organizational change programs. The difficulty of defining as a result from the fact that organizational culture is vary from one organization to others organizations, which in many cases, it is impossible to give distinctive explanations for the differences (Schein, 2010).[37] Regarding the variation of organizational culture from organization to organization, Nazarian explain that the organizational culture of a private for-profit enterprise is different than that of a public sector healthcare organization such as a hospital.[38]

The complexity of organizational culture can be seen from the various layers it possesses. The outermost-layer is apparent to all, in the form of physical features such as building, furniture layout, and the people engaged in the operations of the enterprise. The other two layers are not easily seen by the outsider. The two inner layers comprise of the beliefs and the values that are embedded into the culture of the organization. In many instances, members do not consciously aware of it. Therefore it is also impossible for general public to know.[39]

The similar view about how hard it is for non-members to understand organizational culture of an organization is mentioned by Hofstede. He gave an analogy that trying to understand the inner layers of an organization's culture is similar to developing an intuitive explanation about the personality of another person. In principle, the values, beliefs, and principles that made the organizational culture of an organization are highly hidden that it is almost impossible to understand them.[40]

The culture of an organization is comparable to the glue that ties the organization together and offers the workers a sense of belonging to the organization; this is what made commitment levels soar and performance to. Hofstede shares the same view, where the highlight made is that organizational culture shapes everything, including the sense of belonging shared among employees, and the willingness of employees to pursue the goals of the organization.[41] Further, the explanation of organizational culture was expanded by Schein stressing that the organizational culture is mainly the pattern of shared assumptions, values, meaning, and beliefs that are fashioned or adopted by employees in an organization.[42] The integration of these various concepts into the definition of organizational culture came to point that it includes the identity of the organization as well as its employees, organization initiative and commitment.[43] Nazarian et al. (2014) pointed out that from a broad scope of organizational culture indicates that it is borrowed a lot from the national culture of the people, considering that more general culture offers the basis for values, beliefs, moral, and guiding principles.[44] This would indicate that about the relationship between

[36] McCoy, S., Galletta, D. F., & King, W. R. (2005). Integrating national culture into IS research: The need for individual-level measures. *Communication of the AIS*, *15*, 211-224.

[37] Schein, E. H. (2010). *Organizational culture and leadership* (4th ed.). San Fransisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

[38] Nazarian, A., Atkinson, P., & Greaves, L. (2014).

[39] Fang, T. (2010). Asian Management research needs more self-confidence: Reflection on Hofstede (2007) and beyond. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, *27*(1), 155-170.

[40] Hofstede, G. (2007). A European in Asia. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, *10*, 16-21.

[41] Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M. (2010).

[42] Schein, E. H. (2010).

[43] McCoy, S., Galletta, D. F., & King, W. R. (2005).

[44] Nazarian, A., Atkinson, P., & Greaves, L. (2014).

national culture and organizational culture, is that national culture is more impactful on the organization with the rationale that apparently national culture is the foundation of other cultures, i.e. organizational culture.

The Impact of National Culture on Organizational Supply Chain Operations

The review of the various dimensions of national cultures shows that it is more impactful than organizational cultures, taking into account that the national culture influences the formation of the organizational culture (Park & Abele, 2010).[45] For example, the US and the countries in Asia differ greatly, in the ways that they approach cultural values and attitudes. The differences for instance in focus on long-term objectives and a collectivist attitude possess by Asian countries such as Japan.[46] Moreover, the employees of an organization with Japanese workers are usually having higher levels of collectiveness, as compared to employees working in an individualistic society such as the US. The differences in national culture will influence the ways that the members of society regard to power and authority, the Asian workers who are coming from high power distance culture, in a Japanese organization will be just fine with the present of power imbalances, and hierarchical power distribution. In contrast, the employees of a company based in the US are more likely to challenge the power structure, and will be less likely to accept the unequal power allocated to those that are higher in the organizational structure.

In the organizational context where business is the primary goal, the group-centred cultural outlook is crucial to the success of organizations. The 2000s and 2010s are characterized by the call for the formation of organizational networks that rely on trust and cooperation, which is not supported by the individualistic organizational cultures of many Western countries.[47] One of the proof the success of national culture to the success of organizations is evident in the Far East, particularly in the car industry. The experts in the motor industry of the Far East have claimed that American car manufacturers need to adopt the Japanese model of networked suppliers.[48] The value of taking such a cultural outlook is that the contractors to companies not only maintain close ties but will also grow and learn from the parent company, which will improve the business outcomes for either side.[49] The differences in the cultural models of the East and the West demonstrate the impact of national culture, which seems to dominate that of organizational cultures.

The impact of national culture on the organization and organizational culture is evident from the changes that taking place in the corporate cultures of American companies.[50] In the recent years, American corporations have been shifting towards the Japanese model of forming strong partnerships with contractors, although the changes have not achieved significant results yet.[51] According to Zhi, the 2003 survey done by Planning Perspective, a market research institute, showed that Toyota and Honda Motors are the leaders in the creation of partnership relationships with affiliate companies. The most surprising part

[45] Park, J., & Abele, E. G. (2010).
[46] Schein, E. H. (2010).

[47] Zhi, C., Baofeng, H., Yuan, L., & Xiande, Z. (2015). The impact of organizational culture on supply chain integration: A contingency and configuration approach. *Supply chain management: An International Journal*, *20*(1), 24-41.
[48] Park, J., & Abele, E. G. (2010).
[49] Zhi, C., Baofeng, H., Yuan, L., & Xiande, Z. (2015).
[50] Zhi, C., Baofeng, H., Yuan, L., & Xiande, Z. (2015).
[51] Kent, R. (2006). Research approaches, methods and applications in Europe. London, England: Cengage Learning EMEA.

of the findings is that the data gathered from the survey was based on the response of US suppliers of car parts to the major vehicle manufacturers operating in the US. The findings as a result of the study are that the national culture of Japan, which is the reference culture underlying the formation of the organizational cultures of Honda and Toyota has widespread effects on the two companies.[52]

What can be learned from the qualitative benchmark to estimate the formation of partnerships between car companies and their suppliers are trust and the perceived growth prospects from the partnerships. The finding as pointed out by Hofstede is that national culture affects the relationship between people, and also the general approach to corporate relationships. So, despite the hard efforts made by American companies to imitate Japanese model of partnership, the national culture of America remains powerful on organizational cultures that in a way interfere the organizational outcomes.[53]

Toyota and Honda have been successful in the formation of relationships with their suppliers. The success of the two companies in the creation of strategic partnerships with their suppliers is as a result of their observance of the six principles of the creation of relationships.[54] The six principles include emphasizing cooperative work, two-way communication, developing the skills of suppliers, supervising their work, using supplier competition to strengthen the partnership, and having an in-depth knowledge of

suppliers.[55] The six principles, when it is examined deeper, are deeply rooted in the Japanese culture and not evident from the American culture. This lead to the conclusion that when American companies failed to imitate, it is because of the superficial application of the principles is unlikely to be impactful.[56] The Japanese companies when applying the principles coming from understanding the underlying cultural context behind it and integrating it into their corporate culture and way of life.[57] The difference results when applying the principles indicates that national culture might be responsible for the successful of the application of the principles by the Japanese companies.

The way Japanese firms develop the bond with their suppliers, for instance, is through visiting suppliers' plant by the managers. That way it helps them to understand the partner better and as a result would develop the better relationship with their suppliers.[58] Honda is also using the same principle in dealing with their suppliers. Their directors and managers visit and spend time with their suppliers, by doing so it will help them to increase the understanding and familiarity with their business.[59] The cultural approach is natural to the Japanese companies, due to the cultural orientation that can be traced to their national cultures. In contrast, cooperation between companies is unnatural to American companies, due to the national culture of competitiveness. Hofstede indicated that to the American confrontation is part of the cultural orientation. Therefore,

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[52] Zhi, C., Baofeng, H., Yuan, L., & Xiande, Z. (2015).

[53] Hofstede, G. (2007).

[54] Rutkowska, A. L. (2009). The impact of national and organizational culture on the cooperation of firms- a supply chain perspective. *Journal of Intercultural Management*, *1*(2), 5-16.

[55] Liker, J., & Choi, T. Y. (2004). Building deep supplier relationships. *Harvard Business Review*, December.

[56] Liker, J., & Choi, T. Y. (2004).

[57] Zhi, C., Baofeng, H., Yuan, L., & Xiande, Z. (2015).

[58] Liker, J., & Choi, T. Y. (2004).

[59] Zhi, C., Baofeng, H., Yuan, L., & Xiande, Z. (2015).

American companies adopt confrontational style also when they conduct business, including they ways that they treat their suppliers. For example, instead of making an effort to cultivate cooperation among its suppliers, US vehicle manufacturers make their suppliers compete against each other and then companies choose which one they think is the best for company's benefit.[60] The difference in the national cultures between America and Japan affects how they conduct the operation as well as the organizational culture that they practice.

The influence of the national culture of Japan is clearly apparent in the organizational cultures of Japanese companies such as Honda and Toyota. The proof of the influence includes that the spirit of mutual understanding, harmony, and cooperation guides the relationships between the two companies with their respective suppliers, among other stakeholders.[61] The value of the approach to organizational issues includes that it separates the person or institution from the problem in question, and as a result enabling the company to explore for the causes of problems, without blaming to any individuals or groups.[62] In relating to its suppliers, the specialists of the Japanese companies help them to explore for the root causes to the problems experienced, particularly when the suppliers are not able to identify the problems on their own.[63] The approach taken by American vehicle manufacturers is entirely different, noting that they do not emphasize on increasing the cooperation efforts needed to identify the sources of problems.

Organizational Culture on Organizational Supply Chain Operations

Companies operating in the West, for example as discussed earlier, America vehicle manufacturers do not benefit from the cultural values that make Asian companies more efficient at managing their affairs with suppliers and other players in the supply chain. However, the establishment of the right organizational culture can help in mitigating the initial cultural shortcomings.[64] According to Masqood, the orientation towards sharing of knowledge and innovation throughout the supply chain is greatly influenced by organizational culture. The aspects of organizational culture that foster the sharing of information and knowledge is that of trust, which is primarily a frame of mind shared by the various members of the organization.[65] The cultural approach is related to maximizing the efficiency of the various parts of an organization's value chain. The importance of organizational culture is as influential on organizations as a national culture since organizational culture influences the realization of an organization's strategic goals. In reality, the adoption of the right organizational culture can enable organizations to operate more cooperatively with the members of its network.[66] In particular, the customer orientation of an organization's culture is critical to organizations, as it influences the productivity and outcomes of the supply chain. Further, Masqood continued to point out that institutional trust, which is actualized through regulations, norms, and rules that govern action and responses in the

[60] Zhi, C., Baofeng, H., Yuan, L., & Xiande, Z. (2015).
[61] Rutkowska, A. L. (2009).
[62] Hofstede, G. (2007).
[63] Zhi, C., Baofeng, H., Yuan, L., & Xiande, Z. (2015).

[64] Masqood, T., Walker, D., & Finegan, A. (2007). Extending the "knowledge advantage" creating learning chain. *The Learning Organization*, *14*(2), 123-141.
[65] Zhi, C., Baofeng, H., Yuan, L., & Xiande, Z. (2015).
[66] Masqood, T., Walker, D., & Finegan, A. (2007).

organizational, remains constant for quite long periods of time.

According to Grawe, an organization can expand its organizational culture along with its strategic orientation, for instance, the strategic orientation can focus to the external stakeholder of an organization such as customers and competitors. As the strategic focus widened, the organizational culture is also expanded to accommodate it. As the organizational culture expanded, the behavior of people in the organizational change i.e. focuses toward the needs of customers and regard for the potential of competitors. In essence, organizational culture can be used to foster and help the realization of the strategic of an organization.[67] In addition to those two aspects, cost orientation which is more inward of the organization, can also expand the organizational culture and change the way people do things in an organization.[68]

The establishment of a strong culture of an organization improves the performance of the employee within the organization, as attitudes, norms, and beliefs affect organizational culture which guides to strong communication among employees which eventually foster employee performance.[69]

Conclusion

Culture is defined in a variety of ways, including the shared thinking patterns of the members of a particular group, which distinguishes them from non-members.

Culture is a crucial concept in discussions about organizations, noting that both national culture and organizational culture influence the activities, the use of technology, the relationships in the organization, and the outcomes of organizations.

The review of the literature on the various levels of national culture pointed out its impact, which emphasized the fact that it shapes organizational culture. The study reporting on Iranian companies demonstrated the influence of national culture on the organization. The review of the literature detailing the impact of national and organizational culture pointed out the differences reported, including that it is commonly reported that national culture is more influential. The pointers made included that national culture heavily influences the layers of organizational culture, and the values it endorses. The review of the literature also reporting the impact of organizational and national culture on organizational operations showed that supply chain operations are profoundly affected by national culture.

The review of the literature also pointed out the impact of corporate culture in mitigating initial cultural shortcomings. Corporate culture promotes trust that will eventually promote sharing of knowledge and innovation among employees. Corporate culture helps the realization of an organization's strategic goals. As corporate culture expands to accommodate an organization's orientation toward the consumer, the productivity of an organization is also improved. Corporate culture also fosters the strategic orientation of the firms.

What makes national culture stronger than organizational culture is the fact that national culture influences and forms organizational culture rather than the opposite. Furthermore, the impact of

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[67] Grawe, S. J., Chen, H., & Daugherty, P. J. (2009). The relationship between strategic orientation, service, innovation and performance. *International Journal of Physical Distribution & Logistics Management,*, *39*(4), 282-300.

[68] Zhi, C., Baofeng, H., Yuan, L., & Xiande, Z. (2015).

[69] Awadh, A. M., & Alyahya, M. S. (2013). Impact of organizational culture on employee performance. *International Review of Management and Business Research*, *2*(1).

national culture is more long lasting and stable, as it is deeply rooted. The exploration of the impact of national culture and organizational culture point out that the consequences of these two cultures are indeed universal.

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PENERAPAN PRINSIP POLITIK LUAR NEGERI INDONESIA MELALUI DIPLOMASI MARITIM

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to analyze how Indonesia explores maritime resources as an instrument of Indonesian diplomacy. Indonesia's diplomacy remains within the framework of Indonesia's foreign policy principles. Indonesia applies the principle of free and active foreign policy which it has done since the beginning of Indonesian independence. Indonesian maritime diplomacy strives to achieve a level of national interest that will allow it to become the world's maritime axis. To achieve this, Indonesia has joined several strategic partnerships that are concerned about and discuss maritime issues. The partnerships that Indonesia is involved in are trying to solve maritime problems. The data collection process for this paper was conducted using library research and secondary data supported by interviews with related parties. This research is very useful to understand how Indonesia carries out its foreign policy based on the principle of being free and active through diplomacy. Indonesia's cooperation in the maritime field has become a tangible form of Indonesian diplomacy.

Keywords: Foreign policy, diplomacy, maritime diplomancy, free and active foreign policy, Indonesia

Pendahuluan

Indonesia merupakan Negara kepulauan yang terletak di antara benua dua benua, Asia dan Australia serta dua samudera. Posisi ini membuat Indonesia menjadi sangat strategis. Kepemilikan kurang lebih 17.499 pulau menjadikan Indonesia sebagai Negara kepulauan terbesar di dunia.[1]

Pengakuan dunia terhadap Indonesia sebagai negara kepulauan terbesar di dunia, mendorong Indonesia untuk dapat menjadi poros maritim dunia. Visi Indonesia untuk menjadi poros maritim dunia sendiri juga telah didukung oleh berbagai pihak, salah satunya adalah pemerintah Tiongkok. Pemerintah Tiongkok telah menawarkan dana bantuan sebesar 40 miliar dollar AS kepada pemerintah Indonesia guna mewujudkan visi Indonesia Poros Global Maritim.[2]

Konvensi *UNCLOS* (*The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea)* merupakan salah satu ajang dimana peran Indonesia sebagai negara maritim dalam kancah internasional terlihat. Keistimewaan negara kepulauan dalam hukum internasional khususnya hukum laut internasional telah berhasil dibawa oleh Indonesia. Pada tahun 1982 Wawasan Nusantara diadopsi ke dalam konvensi *UNCLOS* dengan sebutan konsep negara kepulauan atau *archipelagic state concept*.[3] Keberhasilan memasukkan konsep Negara kepulauan ini kemudian mendorong Indonesia untuk meratifikasi *UNCLOS* pada

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[1] Badan Pembinaan Hukum Nasional. (2015, October 28). *Indonesia merupakan negara kepulauan yang terbesar di dunia*. Retrieved from https://bphn.go.id/news/2015102805455371

[2] Tawakal, M. I. (2015, March 9). *Menyusun strategi diplomasi maritim*. Retrieved from https://www.kompasiana.com/tautawtau/54fd193fa333117e3350f826/menyusun-strategi-diplomasi-maritim

[3] Saleh, M. (2009). Aspek hukum internasional mengenai peperangan di wilayah laut negara kepulauan. *Jurnal Hukum*, 123-146.

tahun 1985 Undang-Undang Nomor 17 Tahun 1985.[4]

Indonesia menerapkan lima pilar utama untuk menjadi poros maritim dunia, yaitu: *pertama,* membangun budaya maritim; *kedua,* penjagaan dan pengelolaan sumber daya laut; *ketiga,* membangun infrastruktur dan konektivitas mariim; *keempat,* kerja sama maritim melalui diplomasi; *kelima,* pembangunan kekuatan pertahanan maritim. Kelima pilar tersebut disampaikan oleh Presiden Indonesia, Jokowi dalam KTT ke-9 Asia Timur yang diselenggarakan di Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar, November 2014.[5]

Diplomasi maritim yang diterapkan Indonesia melalui kelima pilar tidak dapat lepas dari politik luar negeri Indonesia. Terlebih politik luar negeri merupakan perwujudan dari kepentingan negara terhadap hubungan internasional. Indonesia telah menerapkan prinsip politik luar negeri bebas aktif yang sejak awal kemerdekaan. Konsep luar negeri bebas aktif tersebut masih diterapkan hingga saat ini. Meskipun Indonesia telah berganti kepemimpinan dan pemerintahan, Pada dasarnya, prinsip politik luar negeri "Bebas, Aktif" tidak banyak mengalami perubahan ditengah perubahan pemimpin di Indonesia. Pada masa Soekarno, "Bebas-Aktif" di gambarkan dengan "mendayung diantara dua karang" seperti yang disampaikan oleh Mohammad Hatta. Pada masa SBY, prinsip "Bebas-Aktif" digambarkan dengan "*Navigating in the Turbulance Ocean*". Pada termin kedua pemerintahan SBY, prinsip "Bebas- Aktif"

bertransformasi menjadi "*Thousand Friends Zero Enemy.*"[6]

Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia yang bebas dan aktif ditujukan untuk mencapai kepentingan Indonesia guna menjadi poros maritim dunia. Dengan prinsip yang sudah ada tersebut lalu bagaimana prinsip tersebut diterjemahkan dalam diplomasi maritim Inonesia?

Kerangka Teori

Dalam penelitian ini penulis menggunakan dua teori, yaitu politik luar negeri dan Diplomasi Maritim.

1. Politik Luar Negeri

Pengertian Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia dapat ditemui dalam Pasal 1 ayat 2 Undang-Undang No. 37 Tahun 1999 tentang Hubungan Luar Negeri yang menjelaskan bahwa Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia adalah :

"Kebijakan, sikap, dan langkah Pemerintahan Republik Indonesia yang diambil dalam melakukan hubungan dengan negara lain, organisasi internasional, dan subyek hukum internasional lainnya dalam rangka menghadapi masalah internasional guna mencapai tujuan nasional"

Politik Luar Negeri erat kaitannya dengan kepentingan nasional suatu negara. Politik luar negeri dapat dipahami sebagai cara untuk mengartikulasikan dan memperjuangkan kepentingan nasional terhadap dunia luar.[7] Rumusan politik luar negeri setiap negara berbeda, bergantung dari kepentingan nasionalnya masing-masing. Politik luar negeri juga dapat diartikan sebagai tindakan/ perilaku/ kebijakan suatu Negara untuk mencapai

[4] Sunardi, L. (2015, February 2). *Diplomasi maritim: RI ratifikasi seluruh perjanjian*. Retrieved https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20150202/98/397700/diplomasi-maritim-ri-ratifikasi-seluruh-perjanjian
[5] Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2015). *Pernyataan pers tahunan menteri luar negeri Republik Indonesia 2015*. Retrieved from https://www.kemlu.go.id/Documents/PPTM%202015/PPTM%202015%20indo%20final.pdf

[6] Setiawati, D. S. (2013). Relevansi politik luar negeri Indonesia bebas aktif dalam tatanan arsitektur perubahan tatanan politik internasional. *Refleksi 65 Tahun Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia Bebas Aktif*, 11. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Institute of International Studies.
[7] Brown, C. (2001). *Understanding international relations*. London, England: Palgrave.

kepentingan nasional yang ditujukan keluar.[8]

Politik luar negeri dapat didefinisikan sebagai suatu kebijakan yang diambil oleh pemerintah dalam rangka hubungannya dengan dunia internasional dalam usaha untuk mencapai tujuan nasional. Melalui politik luar negeri, pemerintah memproyeksikan kepentingan nasional ke dalam masyarakat antar bangsa.[9] Rosenau, mengatakan bahwa politik luar negeri pada hakekatnya merupakan suatu mekanisme untuk Negara-bangsa beradaptasi terhadap perubahan-perubahan dilingkungannya.[10]

Dapat disimpulkan bahwa pelaksanaan politik luar negeri pun dengan sendirinya diarahkan dalam upaya mengamankan serta meningkatkan kerja sama dan dukungan negara-negara lain serta badan-badan internasional.

2. Diplomasi Maritim

Diplomasi digunakan sebagai alternatif hubungan antar Negara selain daripada perang. Diplomasi pada prinsipnya sangat berkaitan erat dalam pelaksanaan pelaksanaan politik luar negeri suatu negara. Diplomasi merupakan alat bagi negara untuk mencapai tujuan politik luar negerinya. Diplomasi sendiri adalah seni yang mengedepankan kepentingan suatu negara melalui negosiasi dengan cara-cara damai apabila mungkin, dalam berhubungan dengan negara lain. Apabila cara-cara damai gagal untuk memperoleh tujuan yang diinginkan, diplomasi mengizinkan penggunaan ancaman atau kekuatan nyata sebagai cara untuk mencapai tujuan.

Bentuk-bentuk penggunaan alat diplomasi oleh negara seperti kebudayaan yang kemudian disebut dengan diplomasi kebudayaan, *soft power*, kekuatan publik, ekonomi serta maritim. Dalam hal mencapai kepentingan untuk menjadi poros maritim dunia, Indonesia menggunakan diplomasi maritim.

Diplomasi maritim adalah manajemen hubungan internasional melalui domain kelautan, dalam artian menggunakan aset-aset kelautan yang dimiliki untuk mengelola hubungan internasional.[11] Diplomasi maritim dapat dibagi menjadi *cooperative, persuasive and coercive* diplomasi maritim.

Diplomasi maritim dapat dilakukan dengan memanfaatkan aset-aset kelautan maupun kekuatan kelautan. Diplomasi maritim dapat dilakukan dengan misi seperti mengunjungi pelabuhan, latihan bersama, pelatihan dan bantuan kemanusiaan dan bantuan bencana.[12]

Indonesia sebagai negara maritim terbesar dunia, memiliki aset-aset kelautan yang yang terpapar dari Sabang hingga Merauke. Aset yang dimiliki Indonesia lebih kepada sumber-sumber alam. Sumber atau kekuatan militer kelautan yang dimiliki Indonesia sendiri tidak dapat dipungkiri masih lemah. Untuk itu, Indonesia lebih condong dalam memanfaatkan aset-aset alam, jalur perairan serta kedaulatan maritim.

Metodologi

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dan dengan metode pengumpulan data *study literature*, yaitu penulis mengolah informasi yang terdapat disumber-sumber sekunder seperti buku, jurnal, penelitian

[8] Dawisha, A. (1983). *Islam in foreign policy.* London, England: Cambridge.

[9] Sabir, M. (1987). *Politik bebas aktif.* Jakarta, Indonesia: CV. Hji Masaung.

[10] Perwita, A. A., & Yani, Y. M. (2005). *Pengantar ilmu hubungan internasional.* Bandung, Indonesia: Remaja Rosdakarya.

[11] Le Mière, C. (2014). *Maritime diplomacy in the 21st century.* New York, NY: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203555590

[12] Le Mière, C. (2014).

terdahulu, berita dan sumber-sumber lain yang relevan dengan penelitian ini.

Pembahasan
1. Prinsip Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia

Politik luar negeri sejatinya dijalankan untuk mencapai kepentingan nasional. Dalam upaya pencapaian kepentingan nasional tersebut, pelaksanaan politik luar negeri setiap negara dilandaskan pada prinsip-prinsipnya masing-masing. Prinsip politik luar negeri merupakan pedoman bagi perumusan dan pelaksanaan politik luar negeri setiap negara.

Landasan Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia dibagi menjadi tiga ketegori, yaitu *pertama,* landasan Ideologi yang dalam hal ini adalah Pancasila. Mohammad Hatta memperkuat kedudukan Pancasila sebagai landasan Ideologi politik luar negeri. Kelima sila yang ada dalam pancasila memuat pedoman dasar bagi pelaksanaan kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara yang ideal mencakup seluruh sendi kehidupan manusia.[13] Pancasila sebagai dasar Negara bersifat mengikat seluruh kehidupan nasional bangsa Indonesia dalam kegiatan politik negara.

Kedua, Landasan Konstitusional yaitu Undang-undang Dasar (UUD) 1945. Pembukaan UUD 1945 memperjelas UUD 1945 sebagai landasan konstitusional. UUD memuat garis-garis besar kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia dan mengatur kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara. Pasal-pasal yang termuat dalam batang tubuh UUD yang mengatur kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara yang juga dapat dijadikan landasan dalam pelaksanaan politik luar negeri Indonesia.

Ketiga, adalah landasan operasional. Landasan operasional berkenaan dengan bagaimana landasan dan prinsip Politik Luar Negeri dapat diwujudkan sebagai realisasi dari sifatnya yang idealis menjadi normatif yang tertuang dalam bentuk ketentuan atau Undang-Undang. Perwujudannya sendiri akan berubah-ubah tergantung pada periode pemerintahan yang berkuasa sesuai dengan kepentingan nasional yang ingin dicapai pada masa tersebut.

Indonesia menetapkan prinsip politik luar negeri Indonesia dengan prinsip "bebas-aktif". Dalam pidato "Mendayung di antara Dua Karang", prinsip bebas aktif ini pertama kali diperkenalkan oleh Mohammad Hatta.

Pidato Hatta, memuat prinsip politik luar negeri Indonesia yang lahir ditengah pertarungan dua blok besar. Menyikapi pertarungan dua kekuatan besar tersebut, Indonesia mengusung prinsip politik luar negeri Indonesia 'bebas, aktif'. Menurut Mochtar Kusumaatmaja sendiri "bebas" adalah Indonesia tidak memihak pada kekuatan-kekuatan yang pada dasarnya tidak sesuai dengan kepribadian bangsa sebagaimana dicerminkan dalam Pancasiala. Aktif, berarti di dalam menjalankan kebijaksanaan luar negerinya, Indonesia tidak bersifat pasif-reaktif atas kejadian-kejadian internasionalnya, melainkan bersifat aktif.[14]

Prinsip Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia "Bebas, Aktif" ini juga telah tercantum dalam pembukaan UUD 1945. Pada dasarnya, prinsip politik luar negeri "Bebas, Aktif" tidak banyak mengalami perubahan ditengah perubahan pemimpin di Indonesia. Namun Implementasi dan penggambaran dari prinsip "Bebas, Aktif" yang mengalami transformasi dari setiap kepemimpinan. Masa pemerintahan Soekarno, "Bebas-Aktif" di gambarkan dengan "mendayung diantara dua karang", dimana "bebas"

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[13] Wuryandari, G. (2008). *Politik luar negeri Indonesia di tengah pusaran politik domestik.* Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pustaka Pelajar.

[14] Kusumaatmaja, M. (1983). *politik luar negeri Indonesia dan pelaksanaannya dewasa ini*. Bandung, Indonesia: Alumni.

diartikan dengan bebas dari penjajahan dan tidak memihak blok manapun dan "aktif" diartikan dengan aktif mengupayakan perdamaian dunia.

Makna bebas aktif mengalami transformasi, seiring dengan bergantinya pemerintahan. Masa pemerintahan Soeharto, "bebas" diartikan dengan tidak memihak kekuatan-kekuatan dunia dan "aktif" diartikan dengan melawan imprealisme dan kolonialisme serta aktif dalam Gerakan Non Blok, PBB dan ASEAN.[15]

Masa Habibie, Gusdur, Megawati hingga SBY, makna "bebas "aktif tidak banyak mengalami perubahan. "bebas" dimaknai dengan tidak terikat dengan ideology negara lain, dan "aktif" dimaknai dengan aktif dalam berbagai kerja sama baik bilateral maupun multiolateral. Prinsip "bebas-aktif" pada masa SBY digambarkan dengan *"Navigating in the Turbulance Ocean"* dan *"Thousand Friends Zero Enemy."*[16]

Prinsip politik luar negeri Indonesia yang telah dijalankan sejak lama tersebut masih dipertahankan di era pemerintahan Jokowi. Menteri Luar Negeri Indonesia juga menyatakan bahwa Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia masih menganut prinsip bebas-aktif. Bebas dalam artian komitmen Indonesia untuk bebas menentukan sikap atas masalah-masalah internasional dan terlepas dari kutub-kutub kekuatan dunia. Aktif dalam artian aktif berkontribusi dalam menyelesaikan berbagai permasalahan dunia.[17]

Prinsip politik luar negeri "bebas-aktif" dapat dilihat dalam rumusan visi dan misi hubungan luar negeri Jokowi, yakni "terwujudnya Indonesia yang berdaulat, mandiri, dan berkepribadian berlandaskan gotong royong". Berdasarkan visi mewujudkan kedaulatan, kemandirian, dan kepribadian nasional tersebut terlihat makna "bebas". Didalamnya juga termaktub sikap dan sifat "aktif" untuk dapat merealisasikan kemandirian nasional atas landasan kerja sama positif dan konstruktif yakni gotong-royong.[18]

Politik luar negeri Indonesia diimplementasikan untuk mencapai kepentingan nasional Indonesia. Salah satu kepentingan Indonesia yang ingin dicapai pada masa pemerintahan Jokowi ini adalah di sektor kemaritiman. Kemaritiman menjadi agenda khusus yang diusung oleh pemerintahan Jokowi. Hal ini terlihat ketika konsep nawacita yang digalakkan oleh Presiden Jokowi yang sedikit banyak menempatkan konsep kemaritiman dalam agenda pemerintahannya.

Salah satu bentuk implementasi nawacita yaitu konsep tol laut. Tol laut yang akan dibangun oleh Joko Widodo dapat memperkuat hubungan laut antar wilayah Indonesia yang merupakan negara kepulauan. Tol Laut ini diharapkan dapat menjangkau pembangunan infrastruktur antar wilayah laut yang selama ini banyak terbengkalai. Dengan demikian pembangunan ekonomi yang berbasis maritim banyak dapat tercapai dengan lebih tepat sasaran.

Pembangunan maritim Indonesia juga ditujukan untuk sektor perdagangan, dimana difokuskan pada pertumbuhan sektor perikanan yang selama ini masih kurang

[15] Yani, Y. M., & Montratama, I. (2017). *Quo vadis politik luar negeri Indonesia.* Jakarta, Indonesia: PT. Elex Media Komputindo.

[16] Setiawati, S. M. (2013). Relevansi politik luar negeri Indonesia bebas aktif dalam tatanan arsitektur perubahan tatanan politik internasional. *Seminar Refleksi 65 Tahun Politik Luar negeri Indonesia Bebas Aktif*, 1. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Institute of International Studies.

[17] Yani, Y. M., & Montratama, I. (2017).

[18] Situmorang, M. (2015). *Orientasi kebijakan politik luar negeri Indonesia di bawah pemerintahan Jokowi-JK.* Retrieved from https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/98738-ID-orientasi-kebijakan-politik-luar- negeri.pdf

digalakkan dengan serius oleh pemerintah. Indonesia sebagai negara kepulauan memiliki potensi besar dalam bidang perairan baik itu transportasi laut, perikanan, maupun industri kelautan lainnya. Untuk itu pemerintah dapat menggali lebih dalam tentang bagaimana pemanfaatan sumber daya yang ada. Hal inilah yang dilihat oleh Pemerintahan Joko Widodo sebagai "*abundant mines*" yang harus dieksplorasi dan ditingkatkan manfaat yang terkandung didalamnya karena dari sinilah potensi besar Indonesia dapat ditingkatkan. Sektor indusri maritim indonesia yang selama ini selalu mengaju pada industri perikanan luar negeri sudah saatnya beralih menjadi bentuk swadaya sendiri yang lebih menguntungkan bagi masyarakat Indonesia dan dapat mendatangkan devisa yang besar bagi negara.

Mengacu pada landasan operasional dimana pemerintah disini melakukan peningkatan kerja sama internasional yang bertujuan memanfaatkan secara optimal berbagai potensi positif yang ada pada forum-forum kerja sama internasional, maka fokus pemerintah saat ini dalam mengubah arah diplomasi menjadi diplomasi maritim. Diplomasi maritim ini sendiri bertujuan untuk meningkatkan pertumbuhan di bidang industri maritim seperti pengolahan sumber daya laaut, ekspor perikanan, pertahanan maritim dan lain sebagainya.

2. Kepentingan Indonesia di Bidang Kemaritiman

Indonesia sering diibaratkan sebagai *"Sleeping Giant"*. Hal ini karena potensi kelautan Indonesia yang besar belum dikelola dan dimanfaatkan dengan maksimal. Indonesia memiliki prospek ekonomi berbasis kelautan yang sangat potensial. Kekayaan laut Indonesia dapat dimanfaatkan sebagai basis ekonomi kelautan disepanjang wilayah pesisir Indonesia. Wilayah Indonesia juga menjadi tempat perlintasan jalur perdagangan internasional yang akan berdampak positif pada perekonomian Indonesia. Tiongkok merupakan salah satu negara yang kemudian berinvestasi terhadap infrastruktur maritim Indonesia. Infestasi Tiongkok ini tidak lain karena Indonesia merupakan jalur sutra perdagangan maritim bagi Tiongkok.

Pembangunan tol laut Indonesia dengan bantuan investasi dari negara luar berpotensi semakin memperlancar perdagangan baik domestik maupun internasional. Pembangunan tol laut ini menciptakan konektivitas yang tidak hanya meningkatkan interaksi ekonomi tetapi juga interaksi dibidang-bidang lain.

Pemerintahan Jokowi berupaya untuk menjadikan Indonesia menjadi poros maritim dunia dengan memanfaatkan aset kemaritiman yang dimiliki. Poros Maritim Dunia merupakan pengakuan dunia bahwa Indonesia merupakan negara maritim yang maju dan kuat. Menjadi poros maritim dunia, maka Indonesia dapat menjadi acuan bagi negara-negara lain dibidang kemaritiman.

Posisi Indonesia sebagai lintas perdagangan internasional, memungkinkan mengalami kemajuan ekonomi. Nilai perdagangan dunia yang ditransportasikan melalui wilayah laut Indonesia sebesar US$ 1.500 atau sekitar 70% dari total nilai perdagangan dunia.[19] Potensi kemajuan ekonomi melalui maritim kemudian mendorong pemerintahan Jokowi untuk terus mencapai kepentingan maritim. Pemerintah Jokowi sendiri menargetkan adanya kemajuan dari negara tingkat menengah bawah dengan penghasilan per kapita penduduknya tahun 2015 US$ 3.592 menuju negara tingkat penghasilan menengah atas dengan pendapatan per

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[19] Salim. (2017). *Konsep neogeopolitik maritim Indonesia abad 21, menjawab ancaman Zionis dan China.* Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Diandra Pustaka Indonesia.

kapita penduduknya mencapai US$ 10.000 pada tahun 2045. Dengan kata lain, jika kebijakan poros maritim dunia tercapai sebagaimana diharapkan maka Indonesia mampu berdaulat dari segi perekonomian.[20]

Menjadi poros maritim dunia selain akan memajukan bidang ekonomi juga akan memajukan bidang lain. Bidang lain yang akan maju melalui maritim adalah bidang pertahanan laut.

Penerapan Prinsip Politik Luar Negeri dalam Diplomasi Maritim

Diplomasi merupakan alat bagi negara untuk mencapai tujuan politik luar negerinya. Jika politik luar negeri dikategorikan sebagai 'subtansi hubungan luar negeri', sementara diplomasi adalah 'metode' nya.[21] Pelaksanaan politik luar negeri Indonesia dengan cara diplomasi maritim menjadi salah satu program penting pemerintah. Cara diplomasi maritim dilakukan dengan tujuan mencapai kepentingan Indonesia guna menjadi poros maritim dunia.

Potensi maritim yang dimiliki Indonesia, mendukung pencapaian poros maritim. Poros maritim dunia dapat mendorong Indonesia menjadi negara maritim yang besar, kuat, dan makmur melalui pengembalian identitas Indonesia sebagai bangsa maritim, pengamanan kepentingan dan keamanan maritim, pemberdayaan seluruh potensi maritim demi kemakmuran bangsa, pemerataan ekonomi Indonesia melalui tol laut dan melaksanakan diplomasi maritim dalam politik luar negeri Indonesia lima tahun kedepan.[22]

Keseriusan pemeritah dalam melakukan diplomasi maritim juga dapat dilihat dari pidato Jokowi:

"*Melalui diplomasi maritim, kami mengajak semua mitra-mitra Indonesia untuk bekerja sama di bidang kelautan ini. Bersama-sama kita harus menghilangkan sumber konflik di laut, seperti pencurian ikan, pelanggaran kedaulatan, sengketa wilayah, perompakan, dan pencemaran laut. Laut harus menyatukan, bukan memisahkan, kita semua". (Presiden RI, Ir. Joko Widodo, 2014). (Setiadji, 2018)*

Pada masa pemerintahan Jokowi, diplomasi maritim dilaksanakan dengan prinsip politik luar negeri bebas aktif. Hal ini terlihat dari aktifnya Indonesia terlibat dalam forum-forum internasional berbagai bidang. Politik luar negeri bebas aktif juga kemudian memberi peran terhadap upaya Indonesia menjadi poros maritim dunia. Prioritas Indonesia di bidang kemaritiman dicerminkan dalam rumusan Politik luar negeri. Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia yang mencerminkan identitas negara kepulauan ini diwujudkan melalui 5 (lima) agenda aksi:[23]

a. Diplomasi maritim untuk mempercepat penyelesaian permasalahan perbatasan Indonesia, termasuk perbatasan darat, dengan 10 negara tetangga Indonesia;

b. Menjamin integritas wilayah NKRI, kedaulatan maritim dan keamanan/kesejahteraan pulau-pulau terdepan;

c. Mengamankan sumberdaya alam dan Zona Ekonomi Ekslusif (ZEE);

d. Mengintensifkan diplomasi pertahanan, dan;

e. Meredam rivalitas maritim di antara negara-negara besar dan mendorong

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[20] Nainggolan, P. P. (2015). Kebijakan poros maritim dunia Joko Widodo dan implikasi internasionalnya. *Politica*, 6(2) 167-190.

[21] Roy, S. (1995). *Diplomasi.* Jakarta, Indonesia: Raja Grafindo Persada.

22 Rahmawaty, A. (2014, December 24). *Peran poros maritim dunia dalam meningkatkan pengaruh Indonesia di tingkat internasional*. Retrieved from http://www.fkpmar.org/peran-poros-maritim-dunia-

dalam-meningkatkan-peran-indonesia-di-tingkat-internasional/

[23] Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Kemaritiman RI. *Program strategis*. Retrieved from http://maritim.web.id/program-strategis

penyelesaian sengketa teritorial di kawasan.

Pelaksanaan diplomasi menggunakan aset maritim yang dimiliki Indonesia tetap dalam kerangka prinsip politik luar negeri bebas dan aktif. Instrumen dari pelaksanaan diplomasi maritim Indonesia adalah dengan kemitraan strategis dan kerja sama.[24] Kemitraan strategis sendiri memiliki pola yang sama-sama menguntungkan yang umumnya juga bersfat bilateral maupun multilateral. Kemitraan dan kerja sama strategis tersebut terus dilaksanakan Indonesia dengan bebas.

1) Kerja Sama bilateral
Kerja sama bilateral dilakukan sebagai bentuk diplomasi Indonesia baik dengan negara tetangga maupun mitra strategis. Kerja sama bilateral Indonesia dibidang kemaritiman diantaranya:

a. **Kerja Sama Kemaritiman Indonesia-Tiongkok**
Kerja sama maritim antara Indonesia dan Tiongkok merupakan implementasi visi kemaritiman kedua negara. Pada pertemuan antara Duta Besar China untuk Indonesia Xie Feng dengan Menteri Koordinator Bidang Kemaritiman Indriyono Soesilo di Jakarta pada 15 Juli 2015, kesepakan kerja sama dapat dicapai. Isu yang diangkat dalam kerja sama ini adalah pengembangan IPTEK maritim, peningkatan kunjungan wisatawan dari China, pembangunan pembangkit listrik, pembangunan galangan kapal serta kerja sama di bidang perikanan.[25]

b. *Plan of Action on Maritime Cooperation, Indonesia-Australia*
Kerja sama maritim antara Indonesia dan Australia dengan poin yang dibahas mulai dari ekonomi hingga penanggulangan terorisme.[26] Poin lain yang dibahas selain kejahatan transnasional juga mengenai penangkapan ikan secara illegal, mencegah serta merespon polusi lingkungan maritim dan manajemen risiko bencana maritim.[27]

c. *Japan-Indonesia Maritime Partnership*
Kerja sama Indonesia dan Jepang dibidang kemaritiman ditandatangani pada tanggal 21 Desember 2016. Dalam kerja sama ini fokus utamanya adalah kerja sama pembangunan infrastruktur, peningkatan konektivitas dan investasi di sektor maritim.[28] Dalam kerja sama ini, Jepang mendorong pengembangan enam pulau terluar Indonesia sebagai pusat perikanan sepert Biak, Moa, Morotai, Natuna, Sabang and Saumlaki."[29]

d. **Kerja Sama Maritim Indonesia-Selandia Baru**
Kerja sama Indonesia-Selandia Baru telah resmi ditandatangani pada 24 Juli 2015 di Jakarta. Kerja sama ini berfous pada isu energi panas bumi,

[24] Yani, Y. M., & Montratama, I. (2017).

[25] Junida, A. I. (2015, July 15). *Indonesia - Tiongkok rintis kerja sama maritim*. Retrieved from https://www.antaranews.com/berita/507288/indonesia-tiongkok-rintis-kerja-sama-maritim

[26] Mardiastuti, A. (2018, March 16). *Ini 9 poin kerja sama maritim Indonesia-Australia*. Retrieved from https://news.detik.com/berita/3919793/ini-9-poin-kerja-sama-maritim-indonesia-australia

[27] Mardiastuti, A. (2018, March 16).

[28] Lisbet. (2017, January). Peningkatan kerjasama bilateral Indonesia-Jepang. *Majalah Info Singkat Hubungan Internasional*, 9(2). Retrieved from http://berkas.dpr.go.id/puslit/files/info_singkat/Info%20Singkat-IX-2-II-P3DI-Januari-2017-238.pdf

[29] Hurst, D. (2018, June 29). *Japan, Indonesia strengthen maritime ties amid 60th anniversary*. Retrieved from https://thediplomat.com/2018/06/japan-indonesia-strengthen-maritime-ties-amid-60th-anniversary/

pariwisata bahari dan iptek kelautan.[30]

e. Kerja Sama Indonesia dan India
Pada tahun 2015, Indonesia dan India telah berhasil melaksanakan enam kerja sama maritime. Keenam kerja sama tersebut diantaranya latihan gabungan kemaritiman multilateral, latihan gabungan militer bilateral, patroli gabungan, kunjungan kapal. India ke Indonesia, kunjungan kapal Indonesia ke India, dan perjanjian pertahanan dan keamanan maritim.[31]

Selain kerja sama bilateral yang telah dijelaskan tersebut, masih ada beberapa kerja sama bilateral lain Indonesia di bidang maritim seperti Kerja Sama Indonesia-Korea Selata, Kerja Sama Indonesia- Rusia, Indonesia- Inggris, Indonesia- Italia, Indonesia- Belanda, Indonesia- Filifina, dan masih ada beberapa kerja sama dengan beberapaa negara lain terkait kemaritiman. Kerja sama Indonesia dengan berbagai negara tersebut bertujuan untuk turut memecahkan masalah-masalah internasional yang berkaitan dengan kemaritiman. Masalah-masalah yang dibahas dalam berbagai kerja sama tersebut seperti kejahatan transnasional diwilayah laut, penangkapan ikan secara illegal, potensi bencana, polusi lingkungan, dll.

2) Kerja Sama Multilateral
a. Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA)
IORA merupakan organisasi regional di wilayah Samudera Hindia yang memiliki peran strategis dibidang ekonomi yang menghubungkan perdagangan internasional dan Asia ke Eropa serta sebaliknya. Pilar kerja sama IORA terdiri dari ekonomi, keamanan dan keamanan maritim, dan pendidikan serta kebudayaan.[32]

b. Trilateral Maritime Patrol Indomalphi
Merupakan kerjasama trilateral atau tiga negara antara Indonesia, Malaysia dan Filipina. Dalam kerja sama ini isu utamanya adalah keamanan laut dimana ketiga negara tersebut melakukan patroli maritim bersama dimulai pada bulan Oktober 2017 yang mencakup patroli udara dan patroli kelautan.

c. International Coral Reef Initiative (ICRI)
Indonesia bersama Australia dan Monako dipercaya menjadi Ketua Bersama Sekretariat pada Desember 2017. *ICRI* merupakan kemitraan global terkait Terumbu Karang yang beranggotakan 38 negara termasuk Indonesia.[33]

d. Kerjasama Kemaritiman ASEAN-RRT
Presiden Jokowi menyampaikan tiga hal utama terkait kerja sama kemitraan ASEAN-RRT yaitu:[34]

30 Aurelio. (2015, July 27). *RI - Selandia Baru kerja sama bidang maritim khusus*. Retrieved from http://www.batasnegeri.com/ri-selandia-baru-kerjasama-bidang-maritim-khusus/

[31] Kurniawan, D., & Puspitasari, I. (2017). Hedging maritim Indonesia di tengah persaingan strategis India-China. *Indonesian Perspective, 2*(2), 85-103.

[32] Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. *Indian Ocean Rim Association*. Retrieved from https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/kebijakan/kerjasama-regional/Pages/IORA.aspx

[33] Rahman, M. (2018, July 3). *Menteri susi: Kepemimpinan ICRI bentuk diplomasi maritim*. Retrieved from https://www.antaranews.com/berita/723753/menteri-susi-kepemimpinan-icri-bentuk-diplomasi-maritim

34 Ditjen KSA. (2014, November 14). *Presiden Jokowi tekankan kerja sama ekonomi dan maritim dalam kemitraan ASEAN-RRT*. Retrieved from https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/berita/siaran-pers/Pages/Presiden-Jokowi-Tekankan-Kerja-Sama-Ekonomi-dan-Maritim-dalam-Kemitraan-ASEAN-RRT.aspx

- Pentingnya peningkatan kerja sama di bidang ekonomi. Kerja sama tersebut diharapkan dapat ditujukan pada peningkatan kesejahteraan bersama, pertumbuhan ekonomi yang seimbang, investasi yang berkualitas, dan pedagangan yang adil;
- Pentingnya pembangunan infrastruktur regional. Investasi dalam pembangunan jalan, *deep-sea port*, zona industri, serta pasar tradisional, sangat penting bagi pertumbuhan ekonomi ASEAN dan kebutuhan masyarakat; dan
- Pentingnya peningkatan kerja sama di bidang konektivitas, termasuk konektivitas maritim. Dalam kaitan ini, Indonesia menyambut baik Tahun Kerja Sama Maritim ASEAN-RRT 2015.
e. Indonesia memprakarsai dan memperkuat kerja sama regional di Asia Timur di bidang maritim melalui Konferensi Tingkat Tinggi (KTT) ASEAN di Kuala Lumpur pada 21-22 November 2015.
f. Indonesia mendorong kerja sama maritim dalam pertemuan D-8 yang diselenggarakan pada 20 Oktober 2017. D-8 merupakan kelompok negara-negara berkembang yang terdiri dari Indonesia, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Iran, Nigeria, Mesir dan Turki.[35]

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[35] Almanar, A. (2017, October 18). *Indonesia to push maritime partnerships at d-8 summit in Istanbul*. Retrieved from http://jakartaglobe.id/news/indonesia-to-push-maritime-partnerships-at-d-8-summit-in-istanbul/

Selain dari berbagai kerja sama diatas, Indonesia juga terlibat dalam berbagai kerj asama kemitraan yang bersifat multilateral di bidang kemaritiman lain seperti *Heads of Asian Coast Guard agencies Meeting (HACGAM), Indonesia Maritime Partnership Initiative* bersama Jepang, Tiongkok, India, Korea Selatan dan Singapura.

Kesimpulan

Indonesia sebagai negara maritim terbesar di dunia serta kepemilikan wilayah laut dan pulau yang luas menjadikan daya tawar tersendiri dalam hubungan internasional. Kepemilikan aset kelautan menjadikan Indonesia bertujuan untuk menjadi poros maritim dunia. Pengakuan dunia kepada Indonesia sebagai poros maritim tentunya memberikan berbagai keuntungan bagi Indonesia sendiri. Tujuan menjadi poros maritim dunia tersebut mendorong Indonesia melakukan kegiatan-kegiatan diplomasi dengan memanfaatkan aset maritim yang dimiliki. Diplomasi maritim Indonesia merupakan salah satu bentuk dari implementasi konsep politik luar negeri bebas aktif yang diterapkan Indonesia.

Prinsip Politik Luar Negeri bebas aktif dijalankan dengan diplomasi maritim yang tujuannya adalah menjadikan Indonesia sebagai poros maritim dunia. Implementasi tersebut kemudian terlihat salah satunya dari keaktifan Indonesia dalam forum-forum internasional yang bersifat kemaritiman. Prinsip yang telah ada ini di tengah era globalisasi justru mendorong pencapaian kepentingan nasional. Kerja sama kemitraan Indonesia baik bilateral maupun multilateral bebas dilakukan dengan negara manapun terlepas dari kutub-kutub kekuatan dunia. Kerja sama maritim yang dilakukan Indonesia juga turut aktif dalam penyelesaian berbagai masalah dunia seperti ekonomi, pertahanan dan keamanan.

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WHY ARE INDONESIANS PRONE TO SUPPORT THE ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ AND SYRIA?

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ABSTRACT

Negara Islam Irak dan Syam, atau lebih dikenal sebagai ISIS, mendeklarasikan dirinya sebagai sebuah khilafah, atau negara Islam, dengan Abu Bakar Al-Baghdadi sebagai Khalifah atau pemimpin atas segala umat Muslim, pada tahun 2014. Dalam aksinya, mereka membunuh banyak orang, merugikan harta benda, serta membuat kerusakan infrastruktur dari wilayah kekuasaannya di Timur Tengah sampai dengan Asia Tenggara. Kabar kekerasan ISIS terdengar melalui media massa, dari internet, dalam artikel berita, dan didiskusikan di media sosial. Namun, dengan segala informasi mengenai kekejaman ISIS, mengapa masih ada orang Indonesia yang mendukung ISIS? Apa yang membuat mereka membenci orang-orang kafir? Apa yang memotivasi mereka untuk berjuang demi ISIS, bahkan sampai rela untuk kehilangan nyawa? Penelitian ini, dengan mengaplikasikan teori konstruktivisme, mendiskusikan kisah sejarah Indonesia dan faktor sosial yang mendasari alasan orang Indonesia mendukung ISIS. Dengan metode penelitian kualitatif, data dikumpulkan melalui interview dan studi literatur dari buku dan artikel penelitian. Peneliti mendiskusikan total 6 (enam) faktor pendorong dan penarik, mulai dari kisah sejarah, radikalisme di Tanah Air, kecendrungan orang Muslim di Indonesia, dan generasi milenial.

Keywords: Radicalization, extremism, ISIS, Indonesia

1. Introduction

Since the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) became independent from al-Qaeda in early 2014, Indonesia has been witnessing many ISIS homegrown attacks over the years. The Thamrin attack in 2016, Kampung Melayu attack in 2017, and dozens of small lone-wolf style attacks that can be traced back to ISIS. Recently, a family of six detonated themselves in front of Santa Maria Catholic church, Surabaya Centre Pentecostal Church, and Diponegoro Indonesian Christian Church in Surabaya, killing church goers and four of their own children as young as nine years old in the process, in total 18 lives, including the suicide bombers, on May 13, 2018. The church attack was perpetrated by a family whose father linked to Jemaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), a local ISIS-supporter terrorist organization led by Aman Abdurrahman who was sentenced to death just days after the attacks.[1]

Indonesians, including women and children, have travelled to and from Syria where they lived under the ISIS-claimed "caliphate" territories.[2] They are recruited as Foreign Terrorist Fighter (FTF) or those who travelled to fight alongside ISIS against the U.S.-led coalition army, Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's armed forces, and other parties who oppose the group capturing territories to build a caliphate, even the al-Qaeda that ultimately cut ISIS off its jihadist franchise.

These facts show that Indonesians are susceptible to ISIS's radical ideology, even though they fully know the loss it has brought to the victims of Islamic Extremism. Looking throughout the Indonesian history, the socio-political circumstances in contemporary Indonesia, the spread of Islamic school of Wahhabism & Salafism,

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[1] Chew, A. (2018, May 18). Surabaya attack: Teen suicide bomber seen crying inconsolably before bombings, says witness. *Channel News Asia*.

Retrieved from https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asia/surabaya-attack-teen-suicide-bomber-seen-crying-inconsolably-10244778

[2] Chew, A. (2018, May 18).

the youth generation, and ISIS's attempts to take over Southeast Asia, may shed a light on the susceptibility of Indonesians to adopt ISIS's radical ideology that pushes them to carry out actions that cause the loss of life and damage to infrastructure.

2. Literature Review
2.1 Radicalism and Extremism

The term Islamic "radicalism" and "extremism" are often used interchangeably in journal studies or news articles, but seldom given deeper understanding as to how an individual or group qualify as either of those. According to Dr. Prinsloo in his study "The Etymology of 'Islamic extremism': A misunderstood term?" radical actors are those who seek fundamental change because they are dissatisfied with their place in the society within the context of contemporary political status, condition or value system. He pointed out that merely being radical or looking for political change does not automatically regard individual or group as being extreme.[3] There is difference between being radical and adopting radicalism as a worldview as stated by KH. Hasyim Muzadi (former leader of Nahdlatul Ulama) in a seminar in 2015 as recorded in a study by Abu Rokhmad. He claimed that when someone is radical, it is acceptable because s/he are merely adopting to a certain opinion, and having an opinion does not harm the society.[4] However, when someone adopts radicalism as a worldview, s/he follows the radicalism ideology faithfully and does extreme measures to achieve their own political goal.[5] In Islamic radicalism context, especially ISIS, it is to establish

Khilafah Islamiyah or a Sharia-based government and the extreme measures are violent in nature. Radicalism is no longer being radical as an opposing thought or disgruntled by current social and political situation, but an understanding, a life virtue or principle, that needs to be violently acted upon. Therefore, the term "radicalism" and "extremism" are used interchangeably because it refers to a stage where a thought becomes violent action.

Dr. Prinsloo and KH. Hasyim Muzadi's speech in a seminar in 2015, both agreed in the line between "being radical" and "taking it to extreme measures". Dr. Prinsloo, emphasizing on the depth, immediacy, and method of change of radical actors, concluded what constitutes as extremism does not only based on radicals carrying out violent action because the boundary that categorizes violence rests in the social law.[6] Thus, it is up to the state to determine what classified as radicalism or extremism. According to *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme* (BNPT) or National Agency for Combating Terrorism, radicalism is a political stance that seeks revolutionary overall change by flipping existing values drastically through extreme violent means. Radicalism becomes terrorism when it involves violence, target (the civilians), and purpose (spread fear and threats for socio-political change).[7] These are the basis of the definition of terrorism according to Indonesia as stated in Law No. 15 Year 2003 Eradication of Terrorism Criminal Act (*Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Terorisme*) which reads "Anyone who deliberately use violence or threat of violence inciting terror or fear towards

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[3] Prinsloo, B. L. (2018). The etymology of "Islamic extremism": A misunderstood term? *Cogent Social Sciences, 4*(1): 1463815. https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2018.1463815
[4] Rokhmad, A. (2012). Radikalisme Islam dan upaya deradikalisasi paham radikal. *Walisongo, 20*(1), 82-84. https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.20.1.185
[5] Rokhmad, A. (2012).

[6] Prinsloo, B. L. (2018).
[7] BNPT. (2016). *Strategi menghadapi paham radikalisme terorisme – ISIS*. Jakarta, Indonesia: BNPT. Retrieved from https://belmawa.ristekdikti.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Strategi-Menghadapi-Paham-Radikalisme-Terorisme.pdf

people or cause mass casualty, by depriving independence or loss of life and other's possession, or bring about the damage or destruction towards vital strategic objects or environment or public facility or international facility."[8]

Dr. Prinsloo's study "The Etymology of 'Islamic extremism': A misunderstood term?" is an easy-to-digest researcher's view of the definition of Islamic extremism by assessing the context for which the word is used the most; Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Dr. Prinsloo's study and KH. Hasyim Muzadi's speech in a seminar in 2015 as recorded in a study by Abu Rokhmad, both gives new perspective about the stages from radical to radicalism or extremism which is useful to define the meaning of those terms for this study. The paper by BNPT also helps researcher to study the meaning of terrorism according to Indonesia that is used as the basis of the counterterrorism law.

2.2. Radicalism in Indonesia

Indonesia, as home to the largest Muslim population in the world, surely holds a history of terrorism in the name of Islam. The earliest form of Islamic extremism in the archipelago is coined within the Darul Islam rebellion, also known as DI/TII in West Java at the beginning of 1949 until it was banned in 1962. Using chronological method to explain historical events, Chiara Formichi's book *Kartosuwiryo and Political Islam in Twentieth-Century Indonesia* focuses on explaining Kartosuryo's acts, including his Islamic beliefs and ideals, that motivated him to lead the Darul Islam and proclaimed caliphate in West Java. Formichi's study provides the historical background for this article to unveil the nation's struggle with Islamic extremism.

In modern day Indonesia, religious political parties still hold the belief that Indonesia should and must uphold Sharia as its foundational law. Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) is an Islamic political party who supports the implementation of Sharia in Indonesia. In his Islamising Indonesia chapter "A Vision of Shariah–Led Prosperity: PKS Attitudes to the Implementation of Islamic Law", Machmudi reveals PKS' aim to turn Indonesia as an Islamic state, ruled under Sharia law. First, Machmudi classifies the nature of Indonesians regarding implementation of Sharia law. He divides those for and opposed to Sharia, then gives examples of political and/or social organization in each classification. His study is important for this research to strengthen evidence that although Indonesia is a nation of six religions, many Muslims are eager to be dominant and override their majority status to rule above others.

2.3. Ideology of the Islamic State

Salafism is the core ideology of ISIS. It refers to a Sunni fundamentalist movement of returning to pure ways of Islam. Emphasizing the importance of "purity and oneness of God", Salafists seek to live solely based on God's absolute authority; meaning willing to live under strict religious practice to maintain one's moral integrity.[9] Currently, many Indonesians are following the Muslim ideology that is potentially radical since it promotes exclusivity, even within the Muslim community. Indonesians have witnessed growing radicalism in big and small cities alike. The role of understanding

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[8] BNPT. (2016).

[9] Hasan, N. (2017). *Salafism in Indonesia: transnational Islam, violent activism, and cultural resistance.* Retrieved from https://umj.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Salafism-in-Indonesia-Noorhaidi-Hasan.pdf

Salafism in Indonesia through Noorhaidi Hasan's study *Salafism in Indonesia: Transnational Islam, Violent Activism, and Cultural Resistance* is useful to shed light on how and why Salafism is sweeping the country and its influence in Indonesia.

Georges, using discourse method in her study ISIS Rhetoric for the Creation of the Ummah, interpreted the meaning behind the speech and the diction in Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi's sermon on July 4th, 2014 when he proclaimed a caliph of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. She analyzed the moral and ethical values of the ISIS leader and his method of convincing the ummah to share his cause. Georges' study gives clarity to ISIS ideology for both Arabic and non-Arabic speakers as it dives deep into the role of linguistics on public speaking.

2.4. Constructivisim

According to Christian Reus-Smit, Burchill, and acquaintances, constructivist believe that "ideas, beliefs, and identities of individuals and groups are key to understanding the nature and course of International Relations." It is important to bear the fact that the actor in the social world of International Relations according to constructivism theory does not only comprise of sovereign states, but rather the "world society" or a broader web of social relations that enmesh states, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), International Organizations (IOs), and other global social actors.[10] Constructivism put much emphasis on ideas, constructivists view "normative" or "ideational" structures as important as material structure. For example, Marxist theory highlights the material structure of global capitalist system, and neo-realist stress the material structure of balance of military power, but constructivist does not see all those as

highly important issue, whether that "systems of shared ideas, beliefs, and values (inter subjectivity) also have structural characteristics, and that they exert a powerful influence on social and political action."[11]

Christian Reus-Smit mentions, "Instead of treating actors' interests as exogenously determined, as given prior to social interaction, constructivists treat interests as endogenous to such interaction, as a consequence of identity acquisition, as learned through processes of communication, reflection on experience (history), and role enactment." Therefore, communication, experience or history, and role enactment are the means to construct identity. Identities form interests, which turns into action. Christian Reus-Smit, Burchill, and acquaintances give very insightful origin and definition of constructivism as an International Relations theory. Their definition of constructivism is used analyze the push and pull factors of why Indonesians support ISIS in this study.

3. Research Method

The research approach or method that the researcher used is qualitative. Qualitative method is the most suitable method as the researcher aims to explore a social context or phenomenon rather than confirming hypotheses. The researcher gathered data through field research and literature studies, in which the researcher collected primary data in the forms of direct interviews, or discussion, and secondary to tertiary data from books, journals, and articles. Interviews are conducted with International Crime Division staff member of NCB-INTERPOL Indonesia, a member of Indonesia Police Intelligence Agency (Badan Intelijen Keamanan Polri, Baintelkam), and Al-Chaidar writer of

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[10] Reus-Smit, C. (2005). *Theory of international relations.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

[11] Reus-Smit, C. (2005).

Pengantar Pemikiran Politik Proklamator Negara Islam Indonesia S.M. Kartosoewirjo and the Head of Anthropology Department of Malikussaleh University.

The research analyzes data using historical-comparative method by referencing the history of Indonesia and similar past cases local or elsewhere to explain recent phenomenon. The researcher also used interviews and online resources to find out the motives of ISIS's activity in Southeast Asia, and narrow down to Indonesia. The researcher classified ideologies of ISIS and examined the reason these ideologies are rooted in Indonesia and find ease to widespread in the Muslim community of Indonesia. Local news articles are also a data source to be used as evidence in ISIS radicalization attempts and attacks in Indonesia archipelago. The conclusion are the classification of whether any of these factors are push or pull factors for Indonesians to support ISIS. The analysis is correlated to constructivism theory, specifically on historical construction of ideas.

4. Background Analysis on Why Indonesians are Prone to Support ISIS
4.1. Indonesian Ummah and the Khilafah

Caliphate, also known as *daulah* or *khilafah*, is an Islamic state under a caliph. A caliph is a 'successor' who is elected by the *ummah* (Islamic community) or direct ancestor of Prophet Muhammad. Caliphate originally constitutes as Islamic leadership. Prophet Muhammad and his followers used to be in clash with other clans who do not accept the Islamic religion, therefore Muhammad fulfilled civil and religious duty along with his advisers.[12] The caliphate's

basic function was to inherit the political and administrative function of Islamic community, in order to protect Islam and maintain jurisdiction based on Sharia.

Since the beginning of Islamic religion in the 7th century, there were four major caliphates after Prophet Muhammad. The four major caliphates are the Rashidun Caliphate, Ummayad Dynasty, Abbasid Dynasty, and Ottoman Empire. Other caliphates such as Fatimids and Caliphate of Cordoba lasted very shortly due to internal issues and wars.[13]

Unfortunately, after the Prophet Muhammad died in 632, there were no available guidelines as to how the succession is maintained, rather than prophecy.[14] Two branches of Islam, Shia and Sunni, emerged during the Rashidun Caliphate. "Rashidun" is the collective name to address the first four caliphs. Some *ummah* who were later known as the 'Shia' insisted that only people from the Prophet's lineage should be a caliph. They insisted that Ali, the prophet's cousin and son-in-law, is the only legitimate successor of the prophet, whereas the 'Sunni' claims that the caliph can be anyone that has been unanimously elected by the *ummah*, therefore the prophet's friend, Abu Bakr, was to be the first caliph to lead the *ummah* after the prophet.[15]

The last known caliphate in the world is the Ottoman Empire, abolished in 1924.[16] During its golden era, Ottoman Empire territory reached as far as Greece, Hungary, Ukraine, and most present day Middle East countries; Iraq, Israel, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. After its

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[12] Pay, S. (2015).The journey of caliphate from 632 to 1924. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, *6*(4). Retrieved from http://www.ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol_6_No_4_April_2015/11.pdf

[13] Pay, S. (2015).

[14] Pay, S. (2015).

[15] Blanchard, C. M. (2010). Islam: Sunnis and shiites. *Congressional Research Service Reports*: 1- 6. Retrieved from https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc29736/

[16] Blanchard, C. M. (2010).

abolishment, the Turkish Republic replaced the authority of Ottoman Empire. Until present day, there is no recognized caliphate established after Ottoman Empire.

Caliphate can be in the form of nation-state, dynasty, or empire, as long as it reigns over a territory, implements Sharia law, and led by a caliph. A caliph is not the same with a king or dictator, caliph does not extend its power through coercive medium. A caliph must undergo *bai'at* or a political contract as a sign of its nomination as the head of a caliphate, the one who holds authority over all Muslim.[17]

Caliphate operates under Sharia law (or Islamic law based on the Islamic holy book, *Quran* or Koran, Sunnah, and the hadith). Therefore, it differs with republican form of government whose highest authority is given to the people that can elect their own representatives, either head of the state or the legislator, those who make and amend the law. The only law that exists in caliphate is Sharia law and no one, event its caliph, may be able to formulate or add to the law.[18]

Caliphate has an expansionist tendency. However, although it expands its territory, it does not behave so in order to take over resources and riches. A caliphate does that as a part of its foreign policy; to spread Islamic religion. Although a caliphate spreads Islam, it does not disregard and force minorities who refuse to convert to Islam. Minorities' activities and private possessions are protected under the Islamic state.[19]

A caliphate does not disregard minorities and force them to convert, however ISIS follows the concept of *takfiri*. *Takfiri* is Arabic for 'those who accuse others of apostasy'. In other words, pointing fingers to individuals who do not follow a certain school in Sunni as unbeliever or *kafir* and treating them as rightful enemies.[20] Therefore, fellow Muslims that do not follow ISIS's ideology are treated as *kafir*.

ISIS believes itself a true legit caliphate to fill the seat of the present caliphate *status quo*. ISIS captures cities in Iraq and Syria because of its expansionist tendency, making Mosul, Iraq and Raqqa, Syria its headquarters. ISIS territories also operate under strict Sharia law, where cutting off hands for punishment to stealing and public whipping happens daily.[21] ISIS's caliph is currently Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. He is considered the leader of all Muslim in the world by the citizens of the ISIS caliphate, and those who pledge allegiance to ISIS, regards his sovereignty as the Head of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria and leader of all Muslims.

This is the major reason al-Qaeda broke its relationship with ISIS. Back in 2013 and early 2014 before ISIS was disavowed by al-Qaeda, ISIS ignited infighting with fellow Islamist rebels in Syria. ISIS kidnapped fellow rebels, assassinating their leaders, detonated suicide bombs that killed members of Tawhid Brigade and Suqour al-Sham both groups whose motive is to topple Assad regime and replace it with an Islamic state, later cooperate with Jabhat al-Nusra (al-Qaeda franchise in Syria) whom ISIS also fought for their unwillingness to merge with them.[22]

[17] Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. (2010). Apa itu khilafah? *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia*. Retrieved from http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/2010/11/18/apa-itu-khilafah/

[18] Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. (2010).

[19] Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. (2010).

[20] Blanchard, C. M. (2010).

[21] Malm, Sara. (2017, October 16). ISIS brings its barbaric 'justice' to Egypt as a thief has his hand hacked off with a cleaver for stealing. *Daily Mail UK*. Retrieved from https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4984672/Thief-hand-chopped-orders-ISIS.html

[22] DeYoung, K. (2014, January 23). Al-Qaeda leader Zawahiri seeks to end infighting among Syrian militants. *Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://tinyurl.com/yafhzz3u

In Indonesia, there are several theories regarding the spread of Islam in Indonesia, it is difficult to determine which one is the truth because of the lack of historical evidence. At least two theories claimed that the existence of caliphate in the Middle East directly affected the Indonesian history since the period of ancient kingdoms. One theory claimed that Islam was first spread in the era of the third Rashidun caliph, Uthman, in the 6th century. Evidence found many Muslim traders in China in that era, thus Muslim merchants from Yemen and Persian Gulf passed through Indian Ocean and landed in Sumatra and Java on their way to China.[23]

Another theory claimed that the spread of Islam in Indonesia is a consequence of a conflict within Abbasid Dynasty in the 11th century. When Abbasid Dynasty was attacked, its Muslim practitioners collaborate with traders to fund their journey of introducing Islam to rural areas. They rode far enough to reach Indonesia as one of its destination. Thus, people in the archipelago, especially in Sumatra and Java, whether the common folk or the ruler, has some sort of connection with the caliphate in the Middle East throughout the caliphate.[24]

In Sumatra, these merchants spread Islamic teachings and married the locals. During the next few centuries, they spread the teachings further into Nusantara, reaching further Java, Borneo, and Sulawesi. Until the 13th century when the North Sumatran city of Pasai become the center of Islamic teachings in Malacca, a local ruler Meurah Silu, later known as Sultan Malik al-Saleh, established the first Islamic Kingdom in Nusantara, the Sultanate of Samudera Pasai.[25]

In Java, the pattern of Islamisation followed the bottom-top model of conversion whereas the people converted first and later the ruler, following the popular religion of the masses. The characters of *Wali Songo* (nine saints) were prominent in the process of Islamisation in the Java Island. The Wali Songo succeeded its missionary role by peaceful means, even accommodating local culture with religion without losing its identity.[26]

In the end of the 15th century, the Ottoman Empire deliberately sent its fleet to the Indian Ocean to secure the pathways of *hijrah*. The Ottoman Empire was the legitimate guardian of Mecca and Medina. It was also their responsibility to secure the pathways to and from the holy cities. The presence of Ottoman Empire's fleet at the far west of Sumatra since 1498 did not only secure the *hijrah* process of *ummah* in Nusantara, but also strengthened the trading activities that had been since centuries before.[27]

During the era where Muslim Kingdoms ruled the islands of Nusantara, many sultans sought to earn their legitimate title as a Muslim King or Sultan from the caliphate in Middle East. Sultan Agung of Mataram (1593-1645), for example, attained his 'Sultan' title directly from the *Khadim al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn* or Sharif of Mecca (custodian of the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina). Likewise, the Sultanate in Aceh, Palembang, and Makassar, all

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[23] Abdullah, A., & Wekke, I. S. (2018). Origins of Islam in Indonesia. *International Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics, 119*(18), 1149-1179. Retrieved from https://acadpubl.eu/hub/2018-119-18/1/85.pdf

[24] Abdullah, A., & Wekke, I. S. (2018).

[25] Abdullah, A., & Wekke, I. S. (2018).

[26] Abdullah, A., & Wekke, I. S. (2018).

[27] Anto, Septian. (2014). Nusantara dan khilafah dalam realita sejarah Indonesia. *Jejak Islam untuk Bangsa*. Retrieved from http://jejakislam.net/nusantara-dan-khilafah-dalam-realita-sejarah-indonesia/.

retained relations with the Sharif of Mecca, whom act on behalf of Ottoman Empire.[28] Therefore, the connection between Muslims in Nusantara with the caliphate in Middle East was vigorous and solid.

Over time, the caliphate began to lose its power. Little by little, the empire was shrinking until there was no more. What was left out of the empire once great and prosperous was only the idea of "pan-Islamism" for the sole purpose of unity of the *ummah*. Pan-Islamism is a political movement aiming for Muslim unity through Muslim civilization in a territory or nation-state (caliphate), using Islam as glue regardless of the *ummah's* ethnicity, to set them apart from the rest of the world so they may live in adherent to Muslim traditions. The impetus of pan-Islamism was ignited by the 34th Ottoman caliph, Sultan Abdul Hamid II, whom in the midst of the empire's steep decline in the beginning of 20th century, claimed that Muslims all over the world must unite, lest there would be no hope in the future for unity of the *ummah*. Severe debts, and the influx of Western ideologies such as nationalism and liberalism causing the great empire to lose support from its European territories, all these factors put the empire on the line. The message swept the entire Muslim community, touching the Muslims in the archipelago or *Dutch East Indies*, as the colonials would call it.[29]

The end offered by this political movement is a Muslim utopia of transnational Islamic state, noting the fact that Middle East is no longer the only region of Islamic center (Formichi, 2010).[30] In early 20th century East Indies, in order to promote pan-Islamism, the Ottoman Caliph sent his subordinates to give out copies of the Koran and Islamic theological books in Bahasa Melayu. One of those books discusses about Sultan of Turkey as Ruler of all Muslims. This action shows that the Ottoman Caliphate wanted the involvement of *ummah* in East Indies for his ambition to accomplish pan-Islamism.[31]

Meanwhile, Islamic scholars from Dutch East Indies who studied in Mecca and Cairo introduced Islamic reform at home. They sought to reform the local culture infused Islamic teaching with the pure ways of Islam with the spirit of Wahhabism. These modernist Muslims gave birth to some of the earliest Islamic organizations in Dutch East Indies. Modernist Muslims established organizations such as *Muhammadiyah, Sarekat Islam, al-Irsyad,* and *Persatuan Islam* based in Java and Sumatra. In 1922, Sarekat Islam hosted al-Islam Congress to discuss about Islamic unity and caliphate question. Al-Islam Congress comprised of Islamic organizations and individuals from both the traditionalist and modernist Muslims, despite the ongoing differences and disputes. It is worth noting that the traditionalist and modernist Muslims in Indonesia follow Sunni, thus their difference is not profound in nature, but still within the scope of Sunni. As quoted from Faisal Ismail, "The religious disputes between the modernists and the traditionalists dealt in fact with *furu* (detail, branch) questions and not with *usul* (root, principle) questions".[32]

Leading up to the Ottoman Empire's total collapse in 1924, there were Islamic movements in Egypt, India, and Saudi Arabia that strived for pan-Islamism. These

[28] Perpustakaan Nasional. (2016, August 8). Sultan Agung. *Kepustakaan Keraton Nusantara*. Retrieved from http://keraton.perpusnas.go.id/node/125/
[29] Anto, S. (2014).
[30] Formichi, C. (2010).

[31] Anto, S. (2014).
[32] Ismail, F. (2011). The Nahdlatul Ulama: Its early history and contribution to the establishment of Indonesian state. *Journal of Indonesian Islam, 5*(2), 247-282. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2011.5.2.247-282

movements manifested in several congresses to discuss the caliphate question. The al-Islam Congress established *Komite Khilafat* (Caliphate Committee) to coordinate the delegations to attend global Khilafat congress. The chairman of this committee was from Sarekat Islam, and the vice-chairman was K. H. Abdul Wahab who also served as the traditionalist's representative. Global Khilafat congresses took place in Cairo and Mecca. Besides these, *Komite Khilafat* also held several local congresses in Bandung and Yogyakarta for indie Muslims to discuss the caliphate question in 1926s. Delegations were also sent to connect with Khilafat organization in India in 1927.[33]

In 1926, Abdul Wahab resigned from the chair because he felt unequally treated as a traditionalist. In the following years, he and several traditionalist Muslims established *Komite Hijaz* (Hijaz Committee) and an organization called the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). The committee's task was to call on Ibn Saud, the future King of Arabia, to consider the traditional Islamic schools of the four *madhhab* in his ruling, despite Ibn Saud being a modernist by following the teachings of Wahhabism. This new committee was a compensation of the actions Abdul Wahab did not get the chance to do at the old committee because the predominantly modernist Muslim committee limited his aspirations and choices. Same goes for the NU organization, it serves as a platform for traditionalist Muslims. Therefore, the NU's founding father, Abdul Wahab, was ousted from the caliphate committee, but agreeing to be the vice-chairman in the first place shows his support to the caliphate and pan-Islamism through traditionalist way.[34]

None of the global Khilafat congresses bore any fruit to solve the caliphate question, evident by the fact that there is no caliphate established until today. The global Khilafat movement deteriorated following the Ottoman caliphate's abolishment in 1924. Despite the enthusiasm, Khilafat movements in East Indies and abroad lack political power and thus it ceased on its own by the end of 1920s. Differences and disputes between traditionalist and modernist Muslims, even among fellow modernist organizations bring about disunity among Indonesian Muslims. Sarekat Islam prohibited its members to affiliate with Muhammadiyah members and vice versa. Dispute also occurred between Sarekat Islam and Persatuan Islam, whilst the former avoided discussing religious controversies for the sake of unity, the latter insisted that those discussions are vital for Islamic reformation.[35]

In the end, some mainstream Islamic organizations, Muhammadiyah, al-Irsyad, and Persatuan Islam then shifted their attention from pan-Islamism to nationalism. When the former aimed for independence to form Islamic country based of Sharia law that can join the transnational caliphate project, the latter aimed for just independence from the colonials. Although brief, but the act of supporting caliphate and global pan-Islamism movement are deeply rooted within the Indonesian Muslim leaders' deed in the history. Despite, in the past and present, major Islamic organizations in Indonesia still oppose each other in many different aspects, but once in the 1920s they decided to join global pan-Islamism movement to revive the caliphate that they joined in al-Islam congress, and ultimately *Komite Khilafat*.

4.2. The "Darul Islam"

Sarekat Islam, formerly Sarekat Dagang Islam, is a political party established in 1912 under H. O. S. Tjokroaminoto and his second-in-command Haji Agus Salim. First established to be a bridge between

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[33] Formichi, C. (2010).
[34] Ismail, F. (2011).

[35] Anto, S. (2014).

Islam and socialism, but in early 1920s, Sarekat Islam ousted its hard line communist from its body and membership because of ongoing conflict of interest between the Islamic and communist members of the organization. Later in 1924, the party hosted al-Islam congress to rally support from East Indies' Muslims and balance its political influence against the secular communist and nationalist parties.

After *Komite Khilafat* brief fiasco, Haji Agus Salim maintained the party's core and purpose as religion and pan-Islamism. He did not seek to abandon the pan-Islamic cause (like other Islamic organizations).[36] In 1927, Kartosuwiyo joined Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (PSII). In several years after he arrived, he became the vice-president of the central board, journalist of the party's newspaper *Fadjar Asia,* chairman of West Java counterpart, and secretary of the party's executive board. Kartosuwiryo was dedicated to raising the issue on 'political non-cooperation with the Dutch and the establishment of a state based on Islamic principles and jurisprudence'. He argued in pages of *Fadjar Asia* that Indonesian Muslims had to "wake up" and join PSII, because "our movement dedicates each and every bone of its body to *pan-Islamisme*."[37]

By 1930, the party has purged any remnants of socialism element and fully committed to pan-Islam. It added to its manifesto an article about "Unity in the Islamic Community" that Indonesian Muslims' unity was a step towards national independence for unification of Islamic community across the world. Therefore, the party used pan-Islamism to ignite Islamic nationalism "as a step towards worldwide unification of the *ummah*."[38]

After the major split of its communist and Islamist wing in the 1920, the party split again shortly after Tjokroaminoto's death in 1934. Confrontation between two prominent central board members, Agus Salim and Kartosuwiryo, over non-cooperation policy further divided the party. Kartosuwiryo had published writing about *hijrah* policy that mainly expressed his view on anti-colonialism infused with Islamic teachings. Agus Salim did not agree with Kartosuwiryo's *hijrah* policy, stating that he wanted to avoid any confrontation with the colonial government. Agus Salim then left Sarekat Islam in 1936. The rest of the central board expelled Kartosuwiryo in 1937 because some of Islamic teachings in his writings were controversial.[39]

Kartosuwiryo and his followers, typically Sarekat Islam's West Java counterpart, split and became *Komite Pertahanan Kebenaran*-PSII (Committee for the Defense of the Truth, KPK-PSII). For the most part, Kartosuwiryo's writing content had been persistent about pan-Islamism and implementing Sharia law. He added some points about PSII ultimate goal being *darul Islam*, meaning 'abode of Islam'.[40]

This goal further strengthened when the Japanese landed in the archipelago in 1942. The Japanese propaganda of building the Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere through *Hakko Ichiu* (the world one house) and *doenia baroe* (new world) seen as a step closer to create Islamic state in East Asia. Kartosuwiryo interpreted these propaganda with his pan-Islam lens and encouraged all Muslims to support and cooperate with the Japanese because "the establishment of a *Keloearga Asia Timoer-Raya* (Greater East Asia Family) was to be pursued as the final step of the gradual Islamization of the whole

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[36] Formichi, C. (2010).
[37] Kartosuwiryo, S. M. (1928, September 26). Aniajaan dan siksaan. *Fadjar Asia*.
[38] Formichi, C. (2010).

[39] Formichi, C. (2010).
[40] Formichi, C. (2010).

of society, a process that began with the family, and reached up to the neighborhood, the village, and the world." He seemed uninterested with the fact that the Japanese and most of East Asian population did not follow Islamic religion per se.[41]

On June 22, 1945, just a couple of months leading up to Japan's surrender to the Allies, the *Panitia Sembilan* (preparatory committee) drafted and signed the Jakarta Charter to be the basis of Indonesian constitution or Pancasila. After Sukarno forcefully declared independence on August 17, 1945, the *Panitia Sembilan* met up again to discuss about seven words "*dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariah Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya*" (with the obligation for its Muslim adherents to carry out Sharia) in the first principle of Jakarta Charter that may stir controversy between the diverse communities in Indonesia. Muhammad Hatta decided that only if the Charter did not show immoderate favor to one specific group that Indonesia would have the chance to truly unite and be independent.[42]

The Jakarta Charter version, the one that included the seven words, did not make it to Indonesian constitution's preamble. Sukarno appeased the Islamic nationalists by claiming that the constitution was "temporary", "quick", and only for the sake of the revolution (*sementara, kilat, revolutiegroundwet*). He also promised, "Later in the future [...] if we live in a safe and orderly state, we will gather once again the elected representatives of the people, who will enable us to make a more complete and perfect constitution.".[43] Sukarno failed to follow-up to the "temporary" and "quick" element of the constitution. This would later

grow to become one of the motives Kartosuwiryo to lead Darul Islam that declared *Negara Islam Indonesia* (Islamic State of Indonesia, NII) four years later, in 1949.[44]

After the independence proclamation, still leading KPK-PSII in West Java, Kartosuwiryo was elected the executive committee of Masyumi in November 1945. Masyumi was a political party consisted of the union between major Islamic parties; NU, Muhammadiyah, and PSII were among all. The party sought the more dominant role of Muslim in the Republican administration in national level.

During the Independence War starting from 1945 against the Dutch, Islamic parties in Masyumi decided to release a decree of *Resolusi Jihad* (Holy War Resolution). Many Muslim youth joined Islamic paramilitary, the Hizbullah and Sabilillah, to take arms and fight against foreign presence. Hizbullah and Sabillilah were military training bodies for Muslim youths formed during the Japanese occupation as a subsidiary to *Pembela Tanah Air* (PETA).[45] Finally, with the U.S. as mediator, the Dutch and Indonesian Republic reached consensus to sign Renville Agreement in 1948, thus the Republican administration along with *Tentara Negara Indonesia* (Indonesian Military, TNI) must remove itself from Dutch occupied territories.[46]

Series of events over the course of 1948-1949; the Renville Agreement, the Dutch Aggression to Jogjakarta that led to Sukarno's exile to Bangka, and the formation of *Republik Indonesia Serikat* (United States of Indonesia, RIS) as a result of Round Table Conference in Den Haag, became momentum for Kartosuwiryo and his followers in West Java to proclaim

[41] Formichi, C. (2010).

[42] Formichi, C. (2010).

[43] Anshari, E. S. (1997). Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945: Sebuah konsensus nasional tentang dasar negara Republik Indonesia 1945-1959 (3rd ed.). Jakarta, Indonesia: Gema Insani Press.

[44] Formichi, C. (2010).

[45] Ismail, F. (2011).

[46] Formichi, C. (2010).

Negara Islam Indonesia (Islamic State of Indonesia, NII) in August 7, 1949. After several meetings in Cirebon and Tasikmalaya, Kartosuwiyo disbanded Masyumi's West Java branch, merged Hizbullah and Sabilillah fighters in the area and made *Tentara Islam Indonesia* (Islamic Army of Indonesia, TII), and then declared some areas of West Java a territory of NII through *jihad*. This historical tragedy is known as the DI/TII (Darul Islam/ Tentara Islam Indonesia) rebellion.[47]

In his manifesto, it was revealed that his vision of NII was not synonymous with a caliphate per se. If caliphate was a nation-state or kingdom that ruled over all *ummah* around the globe, Kartosuwiryo expected NII would be a Muslim nation-state based on Sharia law. Then as the next step, together with other Muslim nation-states, they would unite under an administrative body called *Dewan Khalifatullah Fil'ardi* (Council of the Representatives of God on Earth) which would be the caliphate central office. The form of the end-goal shifted from trans-nationalism to internationalism, from a single pan-Islamic borderless Islamic state to federation of Islamic nation-states. Therefore, when Indonesia and other Islamic nation-states have completed their independence, nation-states whom pledged allegiance with *Dewan Khalifatullah Fil'ardi* would be united with all *ummah* under the caliphate government.[48]

Kartosuwiryo insisted that God had provided the means of DI/TII as a mandate for him to implement "God's will on Earth". He perceived himself the *Khalifatullah dan Khalifatun Nabi* (Representative of God and Representative of the Prophet). His leadership title was not synonymous with the Muslim caliph title. Rather his follower and he believed that he was given *Wahyu Cakraningrat Sadar* or a godly revelation

that he was to bear a privilege to be the chosen caliph of Indonesia. Darul Islam continued its rebellion with its military wing TII in Java, Aceh, Sulawesi, and Kalimantan throughout 1950s. President Sukarno banned it for conducting rebellious and separatism activities in 1962.[49]

Although ISIS seeks to take over Syrian President Assad's rule and make the country a caliphate, they start by taking over cities and implement Sharia law in the domain. However, ISIS ideal caliphate does not need to undergo steps like Darul Islam, in which the Islamic nation-state must first be independent to be able to unite under a caliphate governmental body. ISIS's idea of caliphate is realized by forming cells or get as many as Islamic organizations to pledge allegiance with it, and then the next step is to declare a territory, usually a city, as part of ISIS's caliphate. Its nature is transnational, extending beyond borders with its headquarters in Iraq and Syria. So far, ISIS has declared territories of Iraqi's Mosul, Ramadi, and Fallujah, and Raqqa, Syria, and the most recently Marawi, Southern Philippines.[50]

Darul Islam spirit of jihadism and Islamic state of Indonesia still lives on until today. It embodied in *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* (MMI) and JI, both groups are the new Darul Islam with slightly different priorities and strategies. Both are listed in the U.S.' Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT). As a former Darul Islam member say, "The Darul Islam is a house with many rooms, enough for all the factions." For the government, Kartosuwiryo's DI/TII movement is labeled as terrorism, but for some, Kartosuwiryo's struggle made him hailed as a martyr: a man

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[47] Formichi, C. (2010).
[48] Prihantoro, M. (1982).

[49] Formichi, C. (2010).
[50] Bremmer, I. (2016, October 20). These 5 cities matter most in the fight against ISIS. *Time*. Retrieved from http://time.com/4538689/military-offensive-isis-territory-mosul-iraq/

who was brave enough and chosen by Allah to be the first to fight for change of the secular nature of Indonesia to be based on Islamic law.[51]

4.3. The Resurgence of Islamist Right

There are currently two types of ummah in Indonesia. After the fall of Suharto's dictatorial New Order era, in which any discussion about the country's being and decision-making may cost the lives of those involved, the repressed Islamist movements and activism came back stronger and bolder than ever before. Presently, Indonesian ummah are split in two general categories: those who oppose the implementation of Sharia and those who are in favor for the implementation of Sharia. The first group views sharia as an instrument of division, between not only the Muslim and non-Muslim or kafir, but also between the various Muslim communities or ummah that holds various teachings and practices. A Muslim figure stands up as the pioneer of con-sharia implementation, Ulil Abshar-Abdalla, the founder of Jaringan Islam Liberal (Liberal Islamic Network, JIL). He argues that not all Islamic law is made by Allah, "so that when it comes to human matters, religion is to be understood and formulated by human nature."[52]

Secular *ummah* opt Sharia law must only be implemented within the private sphere of family rule. In the society, every citizen and authority must respect all recognized religion and treat them equally. There are two types of con-Sharia *ummah*: first are those who are for total separation of religion and the state, and second are those moderate Muslims who only reject the legal

implementation of Sharia in Indonesian constitution. The former appreciates religious diversity, so Islamic religious ego must be set aside for the good of the broader community, while the latter attempt to spread the universal value found in Islam to the *ummah* and create a positive image of tolerant Islam to the society. The biggest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, if not in the world, the NU and Muhammadiyah are examples of moderate Muslim in Indonesia.[53]

The second category of ummah encompasses the pro-Sharia Islamist right, the ultimate version of this category is the Islamic extremists. These ummah strive for Sharia implementation at the fundamental governmental level. Pro-Sharia have the need to be treated special as the dominant population. Two types also divide this category, difference between the two is the immediacy. The "immediate" type are usually manifested in non-political Islamist organizations such as Front Pembela Islam (Islamic Defenders Front, FPI), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), and government-listed ISIS-supporting groups such as; Mujahidin Indonesia Timur, Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid, Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), Forum Aktivis Syariat Islam, Awhid wal Jihad, Forum Pendukung Daulah, Asybal Tauhid Indonesia, Mimbar Tauhid wal Jihad, Kongres Umat Islam Bekasi.[54] These "immediate" pro-Sharia groups view Sharia as solution to Indonesian crisis. Without Sharia, crisis prevails without any effective solution. Usually they act violently towards the minorities and liberal Muslims. "They see Sharia as a kind of 'generic medicine' to cure all social, economic and political ills in the country."[55]

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[51] Formichi, C. (2010).

[52] Machmudi, Y. (2008). A vision of shariah–led prosperity: PKS attitudes to the implementation of Islamic law. *Islamising Indonesia: The rise of jemaah Tarbiyah and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS).* Canberra, Australia: ANU E-Press.

[53] Machmudi, Y. (2008).

[54] BNPT. (2016).

[55] Machmudi, Y. (2008).

At least two of these organizations, HTI and FPI are openly supporting the establishment of *Khilafah Islamiyah* (Islamic caliphate) by casually teaching about it, spreading pamphlets in mosques all over Indonesia, holding monthly seminars and public forums. For those who want to know more may even find their websites or sermons posted in social media. They also organize student's wing, usually famous within college students. HTI followers usually put up signs that say, "Caliphate and *jihad* is the answer" or "we need caliphate, not democracy and liberal capitalism" when holding a rally. While Hizbut Tahrir has been banned by the Indonesian government for not being in adherent with Pancasila and threatening the unity, FPI still enjoys its freedom to operate although ironically its *imam* (leader) Rizieq Shibab, has been accused for violating multiple clauses of Law No. 44 Year 2008 regarding Pornography.[56]

Hizbut Tahrir, MMI, and Salafi groups aim to implement Sharia law through undemocratic means since they reject democracy. Judging from its website content, the Darul Islam-linked group, MMI, likely to spread xenophobic views about the growing Chinese communist ideology and U.S. incoming influence, especially when they just had been put in U.S.' global terrorist list for alleged connection with al-Qaeda.[57] For FPI, HTI, and MMI, their goal is to establish caliphate through pan-Islamism ideology. In Detik News interview with FPI, their statement's translation is the closest to: "Our goal is to unite. Then we will establish a caliphate, or OKI (*Organisasi Kerjasama Islam* or The

Organisation of Islamic Cooperation) we will turn into caliphate. Once the *ummah* unite, there will be no boundaries like Indonesia or Malaysia, we will all unite as one," Said Awit Masyhuri, FPI central office's Chief of Caliphate Establishment (*Ketua Bidang Penegakan Khilafah DPP FPI*).[58]

The "non-immediate" pro-Sharia groups are those who engage themselves in political parties. They adjust themselves in politics, following Indonesian current constitution and do not reject democracy. They aim to implement Sharia through benign and legal ways, by democratic means in harmony with the constitution. Rather than antagonizing Pancasila as a *kafir* ideology, they seek to bring back the Pancasila in the Jakarta Charter signed draft, the one containing seven words about *ummah*'s privilege to implement Sharia. Islamic political parties, *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP), *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (PKS), *Partai Bulan Bintang* (PBB) are included in this category.[59]

These local Islamist rightist strive and fight for their idealism to be realized in Indonesia. They attract the grassroots as well as the city people with global facts regarding the situation of *ummah* and why reaching the Caliphate state is important for all Muslims in Indonesia. These statements resonance well with Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi's sermon when he proclaimed himself as caliph of the ISIS on July 2014, through a translation and discourse by Amaryllis Georges, and further categorized by Al-Chaidar.

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[56] Taylor, G. S. (2017, October 5).

[57] Christiatuti, N. (2017, June 12). AS: Majelis mujahidin Indonesia masuk daftar teroris global. *Detik News*. Retrieved from https://news.detik.com/internasional/d-3529021/as-majelis-mujahidin-indonesia-masuk-daftar-teroris-global/

[58] Gumilang, Prima. (2017, August 18). FPI, khilafah Islamiyah dan negara yang lenyap. *CNN News*. Retrieved from https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/2017081516 1722-20-234929/fpi-khilafah-islamiyah-dan-negara-yang-lenyap/

[59] Machmudi, Y. (2008).

Al-Chaidar stated that ISIS's propaganda tool is by propagandizing people with three factors: theological, political, and global injustice.[60] The first factor, ISIS radicalizes a subject with its own theological interpretation of Koran. For example (translation by Georges, part in bold taken directly from Koran)

[21]   *By Allah, we will never be truthful as long as we do not sacrifice our lives and wealth in order to raise high the word of Allah and bring victory to the religion of Allah.*
[22]   *{Indeed, Allah has purchased from the believers their lives and their properties [in exchange] for that they will have Paradise. They fight in the cause of Allah, so they kill and are killed. [It is] a true promise [binding] upon Him in the Torah and the Gospel and the Qur'an. And who is truer to his covenant than Allah? So, rejoice in your transaction which you have contracted. And it is that which is the great triumph}* [Al-Tawbah: 111].
[23]   *So, take up arms, take up arms, O soldiers of the Islamic State! And fight, fight! Beware of becoming deluded and losing strength.*
[24]   *Beware, for the dunyā (world) has come to you reluctantly, so kick it down, trample it, and leave it behind you. Indeed, what is with Allah is better and more lasting.*

Excerpt [21] is an introduction to the next excerpt. In excerpt [22], Al-Baghdadi quoted Surah Al-Tawbah 9 verse 111, which also mentions Torah and Gospel along with *Qur'an*. The citing of other Holy Books adds to Al-Baghdadi's theological confidence in justifying his actions.[61] Al-Baghdadi connects this verse with persuasion to "take up arms", "fight", "kick it down" in excerpt [23] and [24], however, according to *Qur'an* interpretation by local *ulema* (Islamic religious leader) Ahmad Hatta in his book *Tafsir Qur'an Per Kata* or "*Qur'an* interpretation word-by-word",

Surah Al-Tawbah 9 verse 111 does not have any violent elements at all. In the interpretation, Ahmad Hatta expresses that the verse is about religious duties, such as avoiding idolatry, "guarding the Prophet as one guard themselves", and in exchange of obedience, one receives Paradise. No hint of violence in Ahmad Hatta's interpretation as opposed to Al-Baghdadi's sermon. Thus, Al-Baghdadi manipulated verses from the *Qur'an* to achieve his own political agenda.

Secondly is the political factor. Al-Chaidar stated that ISIS expresses that Muslims around the world are facing a moral torment by adhering to democracy as a political system. Also, they insist that Western Democracy and other ideologies do not solve the crisis of poverty, economic inequality, and lack of education.[62] For this issue, Al-Baghdadi preached:

[34]   *O ummah of Islam, indeed the world today has been divided into two camps and two trenches, with no third camp present: The camp of Islam and faith, and the camp of kafir (disbeliever) [...] being led by America and Russia and being mobilized by the Jews.*
Indeed, the Muslims were defeated after the fall of their khilafah (caliphate). Then their state ceased to exist, so the disbelievers were able to weaken and humiliate the Muslims, dominate them in every region, plunder their wealth and resources, and rob them of their rights.
They accomplished this by attacking and occupying their lands, placing their treacherous agents in power to rule the Muslims with an iron fist, and spreading dazzling and deceptive slogans such as: civilization, peace, co-existence, freedom, democracy, secularism, Baathism, nationalism, and patriotism, among other false slogans.

In excerpt [34], he insisted that there are only two options; Islam and *kafir*. Since the Caliphate is abolished, Muslims are forced to conform to the ways of the disbelievers, or forced to be *kafir*. Moreover the *kafir* also "plunder their wealth and resources, and rob them of their rights*"*. Al-Baghdadi also demonizes slogans such as

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[60] Al-Chaidar. (2017, July 12). Personal interview.
[61] Georges, A. M. (2016). ISIS rhetoric for the creation of the Ummah. *In Political discourse in emergent, fragile, and failed democracies* (pp. 178-198). Hershey, PA: IGI Global.
http://dx.doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-0081-0.ch010

[62] Al-Chaidar. (2017, July 12).

"civilization, peace, co-existence, freedom, democracy, secularism, Baathism, nationalism, and patriotism" making a point that Muslims these days fancy made up man-made laws over Sharia law.[63]

The last is global injustice; Al-Chaidar stated that Muslims all over the world are threatened and persecuted. They are suffering in Burma, Palestine, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, and so on. Muslims put themselves as a victim of global oppression in the hands of the *kafir*. They are unable to stand up for themselves because the caliphate that ought to protect the *ummah* are long gone.[64] For this factor, Al-Baghdadi claims:

[35]   *Those rulers continue striving to enslave the Muslims, pulling them away from their religion with those slogans. So either the Muslim pulls away from his religion, disbelieves in Allah, and disgracefully submits to the manmade shirk (polytheistic) laws of the east and west, living despicably and disgracefully as a follower, by repeating those slogans without will and honor, or he lives persecuted, targeted, and expelled, to end up being killed, imprisoned, or terribly tortured, on the accusation of terrorism. Because terrorism is to disbelieve in those slogans and to believe in Allah. [..].*

[36]   *But terrorism does not include the killing of Muslims in Burma and the burning of their homes. Terrorism does not include the dismembering and disemboweling of the Muslims in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Kashmir. Terrorism does not include the killing of Muslims in the Caucasus and expelling them from their lands. Terrorism does not include making mass graves for the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the slaughtering of their children. Terrorism does not include the destruction of Muslims' homes in Palestine, the seizing of their lands, and the violation and desecration of their sanctuaries and families.*

[37]   *Terrorism does not include the burning of* masājid *(mosque) in Egypt, the destruction of the Muslims' homes there, the rape of their chaste*

women, and the oppression of the mujahidin *(jihadist) in the Sinai Peninsula and elsewhere.*

[38]   *Terrorism does not include the extreme torture and degradation of Muslims in East Turkistan and Iran [by the* rāfidah*], as well as preventing them from receiving their most basic rights.*
Terrorism does not include the filling of prisons everywhere with Muslim captives.
Terrorism does not include the waging of war against chastity and hijab (Muslim women's clothing) in France and Tunis. It does not include the propagation of betrayal, prostitution, and adultery.

[39]   *Terrorism does not include the insulting of the Lord of Mightiness, the cursing of the religion, and the mockery of our Prophet (peace be upon him). Terrorism does not include the slaughtering of Muslims in Central Africa like sheep, while no one weeps for them and denounces their slaughter.*

[40]   *All this is not terrorism. Rather it is freedom, democracy, peace, security, and tolerance! Sufficient for us is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.*

[41]   ***{And they resented them not except because they believed in Allah, the Exalted in Might, the Praiseworthy} [Al-Burūj: 8].***

In excerpt [35], he reinstated what he said in previous excerpts about Muslim conforming to the ways of the disbelievers or else they will be "persecuted, targeted, and expelled, to end up being killed, imprisoned, or terribly tortured, on the accusation of terrorism...," which leads to him listing historical events of Muslims being persecuted because they choose to believe in Allah, rather than man-made slogans. In excerpt [36] to [41], Al-Baghdadi pointed out many examples of what constitute of terrorism and what constitute as "freedom, democracy, peace, security, and tolerance". He explained the definition of terrorism with irony of Muslim killings all over the worlds, including Indonesia, to point out that terrorism is actually a defense mechanism to protect fellow oppressed Muslim brothers and sisters. The Koran verse serves as a cherry-

[63] Georges, A. M. (2016).
[64] Al-Chaidar. (2017, July 12).

on-top to convince *ummah* that Muslims, in order to survive, are being antagonized by the *kafir* for believing in and submitting to Allah.[65]

Based on interview with INTERPOL, these propaganda tools have been openly taught in sermons all over Indonesia by homegrown Islamist rightist. According to JIL founder, Ulil Abshar-Abdalla, NU and Muhammadiyah moderate Islam influence are losing against far-right Islamist organization like FPI, HTI, and Salafi groups. These far-right organizations are penetrating well socially using NU and Muhammadiyah affiliated mosques, spreading rightist views and teachings. These sermons may lead to extremism.[66] The sermon spread by these far rights contains the reasons Sharia is the best way to achieve better living in this Muslim pre-dominated country. The police are aware about these "extremism seed" sermons, but they do not exert the power to intercept because, as mentioned, when someone is radical, it is acceptable because s/he are merely adopting to a certain opinion, and having an opinion does not harm the society. Moreover, what is merely on the mind does not break the law, and exerting authority over Islamic sermon will bring about negative label towards the police as the authority figure that they conspire against the freedom of religion.

In HTI's case, their sermon are directed towards the the middle-lower class, giving them answer that capitalism is to blame for poverty and inequality, democracy is un-Islamic, etc. During ethnic Chinese Christian Jakarta's Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) second-term campaign days, FPI was among the loudest to convince *ummah* in Jakarta that Muslims must not be led by *kafir*. For the middle-lower class, these groups use economic inequality as a fuel to strengthen stigma that the ethnic Chinese are greedy, elitist, and "trying to invade the country" (seldom added with conspiracy theory that the atheistic Chinese-affiliated communist party is roaming around and threatening the Muslim community), so a Muslim is not supposed to elect a Chinese as a governor.[67] Hence these groups, along with *Gerakan Nasional Pengawal Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (GNPF MUI) led by Bahtiar Nasir, arranged multiple colossal demonstration in Jakarta, mobilizing thousands from other cities and rural areas, to persecute Ahok when he was alleged blasphemy for his speech in Kepulauan Seribu.[68] So apparently, these groups are successful at influencing *ummah* in rural areas and many cities other than Jakarta.

In May 2017, during a parade to welcome Muslim Ramadan month, a video of hundreds of Indonesian Muslim children sang the words "kill Ahok, kill Ahok!" with the melody from a local child song *Menanam Jagung di Kebun Kita* gone viral in social media. The singing was similar to the singing Rizieq Shibab initiated during the multiple demonstrations. Many express their concern to Indonesian youth generation that has been influence with rather extremist ideologie.[69] In conclusion, besides having deep influence in rural areas and many big cities, Islamist rightist groups are successful in influencing *ummah* from various

[65] Georges, A. M. (2016).

[66] Handayani, M. S. (2017, September 21). Ulil Abshar: "soal FPI, sikap saya beda dengan JIL lain. *Tirto.id*. Retrieved from https://tirto.id/ulil-abshar-soal-fpi-sikap-saya-beda-dengan-jil-lain-cwZS/

[67] Handayani, M. S. (2017, September 21).

[68] BBC News. (2017, February 21). Aksi 212: Rizieq Shihab datang dan menyeru 'penjarakan Ahok'. *BBC News*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-39035135/

[69] BBC News. (2017, May 26). Teriakan anak-anak 'bunuh si Ahok' di pawai obor 'bisa berbahaya'. *BBC News*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/trensosial-40046557/

background and ages, including young children.

4.4. The Spread of Wahhabism & Salafism

The turmoil between the earliest Muslim organizations in Indonesia was mainly caused by the different role between the Muslim prominent figures. While some group, the modernist Muslims, decided to bring about Islamic reform in Indonesia, the rest decided to stay on the traditional Islam that has been practiced hereditarily. These modernist Muslims are inspired by the Islamic teaching of Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia and the Salafist movement in Egypt. The term 'Wahhabism' and 'Salafism' have been used interchangeably to refer to Sunni Islamic reform of returning to the pure ways of Islam. The characteristics of these puritanical and radical reforms are denying superstitious practices in Islam, such as praying to the spirit of ancestors, idolatry, praying to tombs (*ziarah*), blending local cultural or religion practices to Islam, also denying the teachings of saints and secondhand Koran interpretations by ulama, and the act of praying to Allah through a medium.[70]

During his life, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1792) would urge his followers, the Wahhabi, to deny deviant practices of Islam that was not in line with the Koran and hadith. This radical movement was openly accepted by the House of Saud and later become the official Islamic religion of Saudi Arabia. Salafism occurred a century later when Muhammad 'Abduh (d. 1905) in Egypt revived al-Wahhab's teaching by promoting a reformist movement to go back to the fundamental teachings and return to pure Islam. The latter movement is distinguished from the former by adding to its modern Islamic approach to

reject Western influences and scientific rationalization.[71]

The roots of the Islamic school of Wahhabism and Salafism in Indonesia can be traced back in 1800 when Islamic scholars from Mecca and Cairo arrived back home at Sumatra and Java. These scholars started modernist movement as mentioned earlier. The earliest Islamic organizations in Dutch East Indies such as Muhammadiyah, Sarekat Islam, al-Irsyad, and Persatuan Islam were products of these Islamic reformations in the archipelago. Though later these organizations deny being synonymous with Wahhabism, but their continuous confrontation with NU as traditionalist Muslims show their disagreement of traditionalist's teachings which accept assimilation to outside influence, like culture and mysticism.[72]

In the present, Indonesian government maintains good relations with Saudi Arabia. One of Saudi Arabia's foreign policies is global campaign for the Wahhabization of the *ummah*. This ambition was brought up under the context of Arab Cold War, "when Saudi Arabia tried hard to reinforce its position as the center of the Muslim world following the fading influence of Arab Socialist Nationalism developed by Gamal Abdul Nasser in post-Arab Israel War of 1967." The skyrocketing oil prices in 1970s gave positive impact to Saudi Arabia's economy, enabling it to fund its ambition reaching countries even further on the map. This way Wahhabism ideology reached *ummah* from other countries. This ambition later intensified when Ayatollah Khomeini brought down Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shah and monarch of Iran, who

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[70] Ismail, F. (2011).

[71] Ismail, F. (2011).

[72] Ismail, F. (2011).

at that time showed tendency to "a pro-Western foreign policy."[73]

Indonesia becomes Saudi Arabia's special interest for its strategic territory and being the country with most Muslim population. Saudi Arabia sponsors Indonesian Council for Islamic Propagation (*Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia*, DDII) est. 1967 and the Jakarta-based College for the Study of Islam and Arabic (*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab*, LIPIA) est. 1980. DDII funds the building of thousands of *madrasas* and mosques and provide scholarship for Indonesian youth to Middle Eastern universities. As an international branch of Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud University in Riyadh, LIPIA intensifies Saudi's campaign by also providing scholarship to thousands Indonesian Muslim youth and *madrasa* graduates. "Despite LIPIA's curricula and teaching materials imbued with Saudi anti-pluralistic Wahhabi ideology and political propaganda, the Indonesian government allowed the institution to operate as it is seen as helping Indonesia to solidify its bilateral relations with Saudi Arabia.".[74]

The allowing of Wahhabization campaign by the Indonesian government either directly and indirectly resulting in the establishment of several paramilitary groups, in which some affiliate with violent jihadism activities (Hasan, 2017):[75]

    a. *Laskar Pembela Islam* (Defenders of Islam Force)
      Laskar Pembela Islam is a paramilitary wing of FPI, founded by Rizieq Shibab, a graduate of LIPIA and Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud University in Riyadh. Though not directly associating to Salafism or Wahhabism, but it does act based on similar anti-Western & anti-pluralistic ideology, noting the fact that its founder and *imam* is a LIPIA and Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud University graduate, both institutes incorporate its curricula with Wahhabi ideologies. This group is known for its raids to Western associated places such as cafes, discotheques, bars, casinos, and brothels. *Laskar Pembela Islam* still operates until now.[76]

    b. *Laskar Jihad* (Holy War Force)
      Several men who identify as Salafist initiated *Laskar Jihad*, the leading figure, Ja'far bin Umar Thalib, is a scholar from LIPIA and Islamic Mawdudi Institute in Pakistan. During his stay in Pakistan in mid-1980s, he had the opportunity to visit Afghanistan and had notable experience in his encounter with Afghanistan *mujahidin* whom at that time was in a war against the Soviet. This group's notable success to dispatch paramilitary aid to the conflict in Moluccas (*Maluku*) in 2002 was fueled with the spirit of jihad. They used jihad as an excuse "for Muslims to protect their Muslim brothers from the attacks of belligerent infidels". Umar Thalib disbanded *Laskar Jihad* in 2003.[77]

    c. *Laskar Mujahidin* (Indonesian Holy Warriors Force)
      Under the umbrella of MMI, they associate with Salafi-Jihadism. During the Molucca conflict, they mobilized paramilitary aid along with *Laskar Jihad*. However, when *Laskar Jihad* deed was about

[73] Biography. (2014). Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. *Biography*. Retrieved from https://www.biography.com/people/mohammad-reza-pahlavi-9431856/
[74] Hasan, N. (2017).
[75] Hasan, N. (2017).

[76] Hasan, N. (2006). *Laskar jihad*. New York, NY: Southeast Asia Programs Publication.
[77] Hasan, N. (2006).

protecting, *Laskar Mujahidin* took a hardline turn by stating that Moluccas jihad is "just a preliminary action in a greater jihad against enemies attacking Muslims all over the world." As quoted from Hasan's study, "*Laskar Mujahidin*'s successful operations in Ambon convinced JI to strengthen their foothold in Indonesia." JI has been the loyal offshoot of al-Qaeda. For its cause, JI is believed to be the most ambitious to promote and disseminate Salafi-Jihadism in Indonesia and broader Southeast Asia. *Laskar Mujahidin* still operates in the present.[78]

ISIS's ideology is different from al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda follows Salafi-Jihadism, or purification of Islam through jihad. This explains their violence and hatred towards the Western presence in Muslim lands. As mentioned before, al-Qaeda plays big role in promoting Sunni terrorism and anti-Western sentiments. In Sunni dominated country Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden and other militants, volunteered for the war against the Soviets in 1980s. Later, bin Laden and friends established al-Qaeda. Following its success, al-Qaeda pioneered the term *jihad* or holy war against the Western. According to J. T. Carusso, a FBI's Counterterrorism Division Staff in 2001, "Trained *mujahedin* fighters from Afghanistan began returning to such countries as Egypt, Algeria, and Saudi Arabia, with extensive *jihad* experience and the desire to continue the *jihad*. This antagonism began to be refocused against the U.S. and its allies."[79]

Al-Qaeda's leader Al-Zawahiri's, decision to cut off ISIS from al-Qaeda body in 2014 is a proof that ISIS holds its own agenda different from al-Qaeda's vision and mission. As mentioned, al-Qaeda's main objective is to topple Bashar al-Assad and maintain peaceful relations with other rebels, whilst ISIS kidnapped other rebels, openly killing other rebel's leaders, and focusing more on seeking the control over Syrian territories.[80] Al-Chaidar explained this phenomenon by saying that ISIS follows Salafi-Takfirism, or purification of Islam by pointing fingers to individuals who do not follow ISIS's interpretation of Salafi as unbeliever or *kafir* and treating them as rightful enemies.[81]

In Indonesia, Wahhabism and Salafism are legal and being taught in various *madrasa* (Islamic school).[82] In Wahhabi ideology, there is a cosmography of *darul Islam* (Islamic state) and *darul kafir* (disbeliever state). Whoever does not come from *darul Islam* must be battled. This ideology and movement may lead to extremism. Although Noorhaidi Hasan argued that Wahhabi campaign is a failure in Indonesia, but the rise of Salafi groups with anti-Western sentiments argue otherwise.

4.5. The Millennial Generation

Ulil Abshar-Abdalla also mentions the problem with individualism, especially in the cities. Muslim youth who feel separated from social networking in the

[78] Hasan, N. (2006).

[79] Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2001). Al-Qaeda international. *FBI*. Retrieved from https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/al-qaeda-international

[80] Sherlock, R. (2014, February 3). Al-Qaeda cuts links with Syrian group too extreme even for them. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/10614037/Al-Qaeda-cuts-links-with-Syrian-group-too-extreme-even-for-them.html

[81] Blanchard, C. M. (2010).

[82] Hasan, N. (2010). The failure of the Wahhabi campaign: Transnational Islam and the Salafi Madrasa in post-9/11 Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, *18*(4), 675-705. Retrieved from http://jiis.uinsby.ac.id/index.php/JIIs/article/view/88

cities may seek the feeling of acceptance and security within communities. Usually religious community is the best facilitator for troubled and alienated youth. With the ever-increasing youth Islamist right activities in big cities, Muslim youth may seek acceptance and security from those communities. Moreover, they may be susceptible to extremist and radical views of Islam given and gain the will to contribute more to their religion by acting violently towards minorities and Western affiliated objects the way Islamist rightist do. Ulil emphasize the possibility of ISIS radicalization from this problem. He said the youth may resort to drugs, alcohol, and nightlife but also to radical ideologies.

Another problem that may push the millennials away from the spirit of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) is the low level of tolerance in cities. According to recent findings by Setara Institute, cities such as Jakarta, Banda Aceh, Bogor, Cilegon, Depok, and Jogjakarta score the lowest in Tolerant City Index 2017. The research was brought to 94 out of 98 cities in Indonesia, acknowledging the heterogeneity degree in cities than in regency (*kabupaten*). Setara Institute's tolerance level research uncovers that the bigger populated cities have tendency to be more intolerant than the less populated cities.[83]

With ISIS sophisticated campaign on social media that appeals to youngsters, Ulil Abshar-Abdalla is not the only person who is concerned with youth tendencies and radicalism. Lisa Blaker, from her study about "ISIS use of social media", dictated several reasons why ISIS is appealing to

Western youngsters. First, "ISIS typically preys on Western youth who are disillusioned and have no sense of purpose or belonging."[84] Just like what Ulil Abshar-Abdalla suggested earlier about individualism and communities, from Islamist right communities, Indonesian Muslim youth may be lured to get involved in the bigger picture of caliphate that has been successful in terrorizing the Western to have even bigger sense of purpose. The sermons delivered by Al-Baghdadi suggest that Muslims "should take up arms and fight against the *kafir* oppressors". Where Islamist right communities are not enough to channel anger towards the *kafir* oppressors, Muslim youth may look for the more extreme and radical groups, that may be ISIS. They may travel to Syria and Iraq or join their network in Indonesia.[85]

Aside from this, ISIS also operates a sophisticated propaganda machine targeting the Muslim youth specifically. With Hollywood-level propaganda videos with animation, catchy music, and exciting scenes and their easy-to-reach tactic in social media as explained in the previous chapter, ISIS may be the best choice for Muslim youth who have been exposed to radicalization whether online or in real life. The last is "a sense of religious obligation"[86] ISIS, through its sermon and internet propaganda use verses from the Koran, as if Allah orders their actions or they may go to hell dishonorably as a Muslim. It is written in the Koran to "fight in the cause of Allah", ISIS uses the verse as a justification for their

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[83] Setuningsih, N. (2017, November 16). Jakarta puncaki daftar kota paling intoleran di Indonesia. *Berita Satu*. Retrieved from http://www.beritasatu.com/nasional/463939-jakarta-puncaki-daftar-kota-paling-intoleran-di-indonesia.html/

[84] Haq, H. (2014, October 22). ISIS excels at recruiting American teens: Here are four reasons why. *The Christian Science Monitor*. Retrieved from https://www.csmonitor.com/USA/USA-Update/2014/1022/ISIS-excels-at-recruiting-American-teens-Here-are-four-reasons-why
[85] Blaker, L. (2015). The Islamic state's use of online social media. *Military Cyber Affairs*, *1*(1), 1-9. http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/2378-0789.1.1.1004
[86] Blaker, L. (2015).

killings and beheadings. Muslim youth may be misguided by the extreme interpretation of the Koran and radicalized. According to INTERPOL, in the *deradicalization* prison where many homegrown Islamic extremist are jailed, these extremist use verses from the Koran, *hadith*, and *sunnah* to justify their actions when interviewed. However, the verses are taken out of context or are in fragments, ignoring the whole verse and the actual messages.Therefore, Muslim youth may believe in ISIS propaganda using the Holy Koran.

4.6. ISIS Targets Southeast Asia

ISIS's recent loss of their main fronts in Raqqa and Mosul may not signal the death of ISIS.[87] With the headquarters loss, ISIS FTF from Southeast Asian countries may come back, especially when Indonesia deny the condemnation of FTF for humanitarian issues.[88] At home, INTERPOL and Indonesia Police Intelligence Agency said that the authority closely monitors them, however they may still be able to radicalize others while orchestrating a terrorist attack now that they have received training and networks from experienced jihadist in Syria and Iraq.[89] Self-radicalized lone wolves can be inspired to contribute by mounting attacks, although rare, but their attacks are unpredictable and deadly.[90] A

report by Jasminder Singh and Muhammad Haziq Jani claim that ISIS defeat in its headquarters may trigger ISIS homegrown counterparts in Southeast Asia, pre-existing Islamic extremist groups that have pledged allegiance to ISIS, to open up new fronts in the region since the global jihad are no longer focused on its beacon Syria and Iraq.[91]

Three months after the report was released, ISIS-linked Southeast Asian groups Abu Sayaff (led by Isnilon Hapilon) and Omar Maute group declared a caliphate at Marawi, Southern Philippines on May 2017.[92] Noting the fact that ISIS has been telling its sympathizers in Southeast Asia through a propaganda video released in June 2016 that for those who wished to join ISIS, if they could not travel to Syria and Iraq, they could go to Moro people in Mindanao, Southern Philippines.[93] During the course of 2017, ISIS has been silent in Indonesia. The biggest attack claimed by ISIS is the Kampung Melayu suicide bombing that left at least five dead and ten wounded dating one day after ISIS claimed Marawi. A report by Terrorism Research and Analysis Consortium (TRAC) explains the phenomenon that, "The [ISIS] narrative for Indonesians was to do hijrah in the Philippines, not commit attacks at home."[94] Since ISIS agenda is to expand its caliphate

[87] Wright, R. (2017, October 17). The ignominious end of the ISIS caliphate. *New Yorker*. Retrieved from https://www.newyorker.com/news-desk/the-ignominious-end-of-the-isis-caliphate/amp/

[88] Singh, J., & Jani, M. H. (2016). Coalition conquest of ISIS-held Mosul and Raqqa: Implications for Southeast Asia. *RSIS Commentaries*. Retrieved from https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/icpvtr/co16305-coalition-conquest-of-isis-held-mosul-and-raqqa-implications-for-southeast-asia/#.W3T4diQzaM8

[89] Indonesia Police Intelligence Agency. (2017, August 15). Personal interview.

[90] Liow, J. C. (2016, April 29). The ISIS threat to Southeast Asia: An assessment. *RSIS Commentaries,* 099. Retrieved from https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-

publication/rsis/co16099-the-isis-threat-to-southeast-asia-an-assessment/#.W3T3RSQzaM8

[91] Singh, J., & Jani, M. H.. (2016).

[92] Guiterrez, N. (2017, October 24). How the Marawi siege affected terrorism in Indonesia. *The Rappler*. Retrieved from https://www.rappler.com/world/regions/asia-pacific/indonesia/bahasa/englishedition/186283-marawi-siege-islamic-state-terrorism/

[93] Yunus, A. (2016, June 23). IS releases video declaring Philippines a caliphate. *The Star Online*. Retrieved from http://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2016/06/23/is-releases-video-declaring-philippines-a-caliphate/

[94] Guiterrez, N. (2017, October 24).

by taking over cities, not conduct terrorism per se.

Since Marawi, the Philippines became the third country with most ISIS-claimed attack besides Iraq & Syria. TRAC reports reveal that ISIS central body provided money, tactics, and fighters for ISIS-pledged groups in Marawi. Marawi became an option for ISIS global fighters if Middle Eastern fronts are too far away. "Therefore, Marawi was at once a testament to the power of the ISIS global communications network in its own right, and at the same time, a prime example of ISIS dependence on local groups and conditions," the TRAC report reads. President Duterte declared the liberation of Marawi on October 23, 2017.[95] Future ISIS beacon in Southeast Asia or elsewhere depends on the *ummah* in the region. Whether local *ummah* are comfortable under the ruling government or oppose the government using Islamist right ideologies that can evolve into extremism, especially when the government ignore *ummah's* aspiration, the way Islamic extremist captured a town in pre-dominated Catholic country, the Philippines, and left over 1000 dead.[96]

Marawi is not the first time Southeast Asia gains the spotlight as a notable actor in ISIS global caliphate jihad. Southeast Asian exclusive wing operating in Iraq & Syria directly under ISIS, the Katibah Nusantara, becomes an evidence for Southeast Asia's distinctive importance in ISIS agenda. About 30 pre-existing Islamic extremist groups that have pledged allegiance to ISIS signals the growing enthusiasm towards the global caliphate in the region. It makes the region arise as the second most important front for ISIS and influence ISIS's decision-making. Indonesia as the hegemony in the region with most Muslim population plays important role in Katibah Nusantara. The group's deceased *Emir* (leader) Bahrumsyah was an Indonesian. Bahrun Naim, the man behind Jakarta 2016 attack is also a significant member of the wing.

Katibah Nusantara has contributed to ISIS by providing translation for Dabiq magazine and making propaganda videos in Malayan/Indonesian language. Its fighting capability should not be underestimated, its major combat success in April 2015 when the Southeast Asian wing captured five Kurd-held territories in Syria signals the group's considerable fighting skill beyond any doubt.[97]

5. Analysis

Christian Reus-Smit, regarding constructivism, viewing of the origin of actor's interest mentions, "Instead of treating actors' interests as exogenously determined, as given prior to social interaction, constructivists treat interests as endogenous to such interaction, as a consequence of identity acquisition, as learned through processes of communication, reflection on experience, and role enactment." Focusing on the identity acquisition through processes of reflection on experience, the ideas of caliphate and jihadism are constructed deep within Indonesian history, thus among *ummah* in the present.

[95] Talabong, R. (2017, October 25). PH has most ISIS claimed attacks outside Iraq, Syria – report. *The Rappler*. Retrieved https://www.rappler.com/nation/186299-philippines-country-most-isis-claimed-attacks-outside-iraq-syria-trac-marawi/

[96] Remitio, R. (2017, November 4). Over 700 bodies unrecovered in Marawi. *CNN News*. Retrieved from http://cnnphilippines.com/regional/2017/11/04/Marawi-unrecovered-bodies.html

[97] Singh, J. (2015). Katibah nusantara: Islamic State's Malay archipelago combat unit. *RSIS Commentaries*, *126*. Retrieved from https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/icpvtr/co15126-katibah-nusantara-islamic-states-malay-archipelago-combat-unit/#.W3T4PSQzaM8

Since Muslim merchants under Abbasid Dynasty spread Islamic religion to Nusantara, Muslims in Indonesia maintain fair relations with the caliphate in the Middle East. As long as the caliphate still reigns, Muslim everywhere has a beacon to look up to, a caliph as successor of the deceased Prophet Muhammad. Sultans in Nusantara, as kings who ruled Muslim kingdoms, respected the caliph as leader of all Muslims. Many Sultans in Nusantara got their titles directly from Sharif of Mecca on behalf of Ottoman Empire. Since Islam religion was perceived positively, it becomes the dominant religion in Nusantara until now. When the Ottoman Empire deteriorated, Islamic organizations in Dutch East Indies gathered to establish caliphate committee in 1924. After some years, the ideas of caliphate and pan-Islamism were abandoned in Dutch East Indies and all over the world. Nation-states are now sovereign, secular doctrines trump religious ideologies. Kemal Ataturk's secular state ousted the last Ottoman caliph out of the newly adopted Western-style republican country.

The caliphate vanished altogether. This sparked a lot of disagreement within ummah who needs a leading figure, a successor of Prophet Muhammad. However, in order to bring about an Islamic state, there must be a territory, people, and sovereignty to fulfill the requirement of a "state". Kartosuwiryo saw his chances in the volatile newly established Indonesia nation-state.

Kartosuwiryo established Darul Islam with its army wing, TII, and carried out DI/TII rebellion to proclaim NII. After the rebellion's repressed, the remnants are still in the move until now. JI and MMI are still trying to proclaim caliphate in Indonesia. JI - thanks to *Laskar Mujahidin* that convinced it to have bolder impact in Indonesia - uses terrorism tactics such as bombings to various places across the country. JI has declared its link to al-Qaeda.

Whilst MMI has been put in the U.S.' SDGT list for alleged connection with the jihadist organization that once the umbrella organization of ISIS.

MMI, along with FPI, HTI, and Salafi groups are openly promoting *jihadism*, caliphate, and hate towards democracy, anti-pluralism, and anti-Western views to Muslims all around Indonesia from different backgrounds and ages. Along with Saudi Arabia's Wahhabization campaign that opens up the gate to Salafi movements and several LIPIA graduates who in turn establish *Laskar Pembela Islam* and the now-disbanded *Laskar Jihad*, which is known for resorting violence towards things considered un-Islamic. The moderate Muslims organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah have been idle concerning these matters, except when they supported the government's decision to disband HTI.

Though not all Indonesians support the establishment ISIS as new caliphate, but ISIS in its glory days had a territory as big as Britain, with ten to twelve million people under its control. It had approximately 200,000 jihadists from five continents and sophisticated social media campaign available in various languages designed to attract the millennial.[98] Given millennial grow up with the internet and 132.7 million Indonesians from any age and any location via any device use the internet mainly for social media.[99] Also noting the fact that the alienated youth in society of increasing individualism may fall back to radical

[98] Cockburn, P. (2014, November 16). War with ISIS: Islamic militants have army of 200,000, claims senior Kurdish leader. *The Independent*. Retrieved from http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/war-with-isis-islamic-militants-have-army-of-200000-claims-kurdish-leader-9863418.html/

[99] Weller, C. (2016, April 17). The internet is the best set of parents a millennial could ask for. *Business Insider*. Retrieved from http://www.businessinsider.com/the-internet-is-every-millennials-third-parent-2016-4/?IR=T

ideologies, the millennial may be more attracted in joining ISIS or ISIS-affiliate groups nearby if their identities are constructed in way that their interest is to join a jihadist struggle, thereby becoming a terrorist.

ISIS also seems to target Southeast Asia in particular. Its exported siege in Marawi was due to the group's effective globalization and local ISIS-pledge groups being proactive.[100] Considering Southeast Asia has a long history with generations of Islamic extremists, it is indeed a convenient region to focus on. These Islamic extremists or radicalized Indonesians are also eager to contribute to ISIS. Many have fled their countries to join ISIS in Iraq and Syria. Seeing the flourishing amount of Southeast Asian FTF, ISIS approved the establishment of Katibah Nusantara, an exclusive Malayan-speaking Southeast Asian wing under ISIS central command body.[101]

Therefore, Indonesians are prone to ISIS radicalization because Indonesia, as a member of the world society, are allowing extreme Islamist right, as exogenous influence, to communicate their views about caliphate, using theological, political, and global injustice approach, and bringing people along to support their cause. With the Indonesian history regarding caliphate from the era of kingdoms to Darul Islam movement, and the unfinished debates of the first principle of Pancasila as reflection on experience, it may rationalize the present emergence of caliphate establishment and ignite the feeling of comradeship that some Indonesians have been in the same struggle for caliphate. Ergo, these construct Indonesians' endogenous identities to accept the new caliphate establishment, ISIS, though it is no more than a terrorist group.

In the end, many questions ISIS's legitimacy as a caliphate, since its violence is rampant and barbaric, as opposed to core Islamic values of love and peace. A caliphate should be able to protect the minority and not force them to convert to Islam, and its purpose is to spread the Islamic religion.[102] In turn, ISIS action has stained public perception of Islam as a religion, further igniting widespread Islamophobia around the globe.

6. Conclusion

As mentioned, there are two classifications to the reason Indonesians support ISIS, the push and the pull. Push factors includes historical accounts; the Indonesian *ummah* and the *Khilafah* and the Darul Islam, and the Resurgence of Islamist Right. Push factors comes endogenously. In the case of supporting ISIS, historical accounts and current social phenomenon in Indonesian are important to consider the push to join the notorious terrorist group. On the other hand, pull factors comes exogenously. The influence from other countries, ISIS's campaign that appeals to the Millennial, and ISIS's focus on Southeast Asia are important factors that pull Indonesians to support ISIS.

History of the Indonesian *ummah* and the *Khilafah* is a push factor for Indonesian to support ISIS. The historical evidence leading to the theory that Islamization in Indonesia was done during Rashidun era in the 6th century, and again during Abbasid era in the 11th century, also evidence of Indonesian sultanate's connection with the caliphate, these accounts may be used by ISIS sympathizers who wants to radicalize an Indonesian as a sentiment towards the empty status of the caliphate today. The fact that modernist Muslim introduced the earliest Islamic

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[100] Talabong, R. (2017, October 25).
[101] Singh, J. (2015).

[102] Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. (2010).

organizations that still exist until today, inspired by the puritanical Wahhabi movement, may also be used by ISIS sympathizers to persuade Indonesian *ummah* to go back to the purest form of Islam, carrying the spirit of the Islamic leaders of old but with new facts, and denounce everything else to follow ISIS. Lastly, the unresolved caliphate question that the Islamic leaders of old tried to answer in *Komite Khilafat*, now that ISIS claimed itself a caliphate, they may present themselves as the answer for the lost Islamic leadership successor.

With the Darul Islam case, one of the reasons Kartosuwiryo carried his pan-Islamism vision so far as to declare NII, is the final version of Jakarta Charter or Pancasila, which did not favor Islamic groups as initially planned with the seven words. As mentioned, the spirit of Darul Islam lives on, embodied within other Islamic extremist groups with ties to al-Qaeda and ISIS. Sukarno promised that when the political situation among groups within newly independent Indonesia is averted, he would bring back the seven words. The promise never delivered. Now, ISIS sympathizers may use this fact to rationalize their way of thinking using the conflict of the first principle in Pancasila, that it should show favoritism to the *ummah*. Then when the fact did not turn out that way, it becomes the reason many Islamic groups retaliate against the government because the government discriminates against the Muslim since day one. They can also use this historical account to incite the feeling of brotherhood, that the struggle have been fought before, and is being fought now to defend Islam. Moreover, since this case is included in school history textbook, one can find out about the rest through the Internet and become radicalized online. Masyumi's *Resolusi Jihad* may also be used as an example that it used to be legal to use

violence under the flag of Islam to fight against the colonials for the means of independence, but now that the government does not give the Muslim their independence to live under Sharia law, the government becomes the target.

In the resurgence of Islamist Right, groups like FPI, HTI, and MMI are using the propaganda factors to preach about the importance of bringing about caliphate in Indonesia. Since the moderate Islam, NU and Muhammadiyah's, influence are losing against far-right Islamist organization like FPI, HTI, and Salafi groups that spread rightist views and teachings, they are successful in influencing *ummah* from various background and ages, including young children. This phenomenon may lead Indonesians to the road of extremism, and ultimately support for ISIS.

On the other hand, pull factors for supporting ISIS are all obvious. In the spread of Wahhabism and Salafism, the government's acceptance of financial aid from Saudi Arabia hints a few bad side of the result, the graduates of LIPIA and the spread of Wahhabi anti-Pluralistic teaching. When exposed to the teaching, an Indonesian may find that it is in line with ISIS's ideology, thus they may be radicalized to join them. The individualistic nature in the city and sophisticated ISIS campaign from social media may attract millennial to join the cause. Lastly, ISIS's interest in making Southeast Asia their second front, and the exclusive Malayan facility inside ISIS's organizational wing makes it easier for them to lure Indonesian to recognize ISIS as a caliphate.

Constructivism plays part on the identity building through history and communication. ISIS's influence, particularly towards millennial in Southeast Asia, become endogenous when exposed to an Indonesian, because of historical accounts linking the ummah in the country

and the caliphate succession, the conflict of interest with the country's Pancasila, and the activism of Islamic Rightist to implement Sharia law and build a caliphate within Indonesia.   .

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DIGITAL CURRENCY LIKE BITCOIN WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM FIELD

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ABSTRACT

Berbicara Transaksi, saat ini tidak lagi hanya terbatas pada pola tradisional, melainkan sudah berkembang menjadi lebih jauh ketika Transaksi difasilitasi oleh system elektronik dengan menggunakan teknologi intrenet, sehingga kapanpun dan dimana pun transaksi dapat dilakukan tanpa bertatap muka langsung. Dalam hal metode pembayaran, teknologi ini juga berkembang. Baru-baru ini dikenal juga istilah mata uang digital. Salah satunya adalah Bitcoin. Ini adalah mata uang digital dengan nilai pasar terbesar. Ini adalah sistem pembayaran elektronik yang didasarkan pada sistem matematika. Idenya adalah untuk menghasilkan mata uang independen yang tidak terikat pada otoritas pusat tertentu, dengan biaya transaksi yang sangat rendah. Mata uang digital menggunakan konsep kriptografi untuk menyediakan fungsi keamanan dasar, seperti memastikan bahwa Bitcoin hanya dapat digunakan oleh mereka yang memilikinya dan tidak dapat diduplikasi. Munculnya mata uang ini menimbulkan kontroversi di banyak negara karena sifatnya yang tidak diatur. Studi ini meneliti Bitcoin apakah dikategorikan sebagai uang berdasarkan konsep uang dan bagaimana tiga lembaga moneter internasional utama (*IMF*, *WTO*, Bank Dunia) merespons kehadirannya dengan analisis dasar menggunakan konsep cyberpolitik. Akhir dari penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa Bitcoin belum sepenuhnya memenuhi kriteria sebagai mata uang dan tidak ada aturan khusus mengenai keberadaan mata uang digital.

Keywords : Currency, digital currency, cyberpolitics, international monetary system, Bitcoin

Introduction

Electronic business transactions using internet media lately have grown so rapidly. Not only about the various type at process of transactions, but also the type of alternative payment instruments are increasingly varied not only using fiat money. In recent years, payment tools in the virtual world called digital currency have begun to emerge. This kind of money applies universally and does not follow the currency of certain countries which are controlled by central banks. Digital money sales market is on demand from its users so that the exchange rate of it is very volatile. One of these has been present a digital currency such as bitcoin which can be -one of - solutions of payment without incriminate user with high cost transaction.[1]

Bitcoin is a digital currency which can be used to transact electronically. Beginning in 2009, bitcoin was created by a software developer named Satoshi Nakamoto. It's an electronic payment system based on mathematical systems. The idea is to produce an independent currency that is not tied to a particular central authority, with very low transaction costs. This kind of digital currency uses a database that distributed and spread to the nodes of a Peer-to -Peer (P2P) network to a transaction journal and uses cryptographic concepts to provide basic security functions, such as ensuring that it can only be spent by people who have it and cannot duplicated.[2] Digital currency is also called cryptocurrency because the security system over this currency uses cryptography[3]

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[1] Pura, R. N. (2015). *Cybercrime melalui bitcoin*. Surabaya, Indonesia: Perpustakaan Digital Universitas Airlangga.

[2] Pura, R. N. (2015).

[3] Learning how to keep data confidential to be safe when sent from the sender to the recipient.

Bitcoin provides several benefits to its users. The potential increasing value because limited number of it and provide investment benefits to its users. In addition, the use of bitcoin is very practical and does not need high cost transactions from users. Bitcoin circulatory mechanism doesn't have centralized authority, it is free for users to transact anything and whenever they want. Until now, the use of bitcoin as a digital currency has been done by many online businesses as a means of payment. The advantages of using bitcoin is that there is no limit or standard rule in buying and selling business, but both sellers and buyers will be very difficult to track their existence or called anonymous.[4]

Bitcoin is trying to revolutionize the next financial landscape by turning it into a purely digital decentralization. It changes the concept of currency by no longer printed by a country, no longer guaranteed by anything, but purely created and guaranteed by its own users. The price system is no longer based on interfere government but purely based on supply and demand. Bitcoin created systems based on mathematics and can't be influenced by any government or any parties. The nature of the technology that requires the majority consensus when need a system changes makes it very similar to the democratic system.[5]

The spread of bitcoin is now almost all over the world. Some countries have flatly rejected it as an online transaction tool. These countries' rejection reason is because they think it is unsafe. Besides it's also feared it will have a negative impact on the stability of electronic in domestic transactions. But like the two sides of the coin, behind the controversy in the presence of this digital currency, support for it was not exactly small. A study from the European Central Bank in 2012 shows that the use of digital currencies such as bitcoin can grow in the near future. The financial crisis that occurred at that time in Spain has caused the price of bitcoin tapered, causing concern the government to transfer the euro to bitcoin.

The demands of bitcoin in Europe are increasing and some have proposed installing Bitcoin ATMs. As the world struggles to recover from the recent global economic crisis, more and more people are losing confidence in traditional currency and turning to bitcoin as an alternative form of payment that offers privacy and ease of use.[6] Even Liberland, an area that calls itself a small country in Europe, makes bitcoin their national currency.[7] Meanwhile, in Den Haag (Netherlands) there's an area that uses bitcoin as the primary payment in every transaction they make; the region is known as *"The Hague Bitcoin Boulevard"*.[8] The Chief of Dutch central bank's research said they still researching that *De Nederlandsche* Bank is not in a "against position" to bitcoin.[9]

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4 Danella, T. D. (2015). Bitcoin sebagai alat pembayaran legal dalam transaksi online. *Jurnal Ilmiah Fakultas Hukum Brawijaya*. Retrieved from http://hukum.studentjournal.ub.ac.id/index.php/huku m/article/view/898

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[8] Kallgren, J. (2014, March 11). Dutch streets adopt cryptocurrency, become 'Bitcoin Boulevard'. *Coindesk*. Retrieved from https://www.coindesk.com/dutch-streets-adopt-cryptocurrency-   become-bitcoin-boulevard

[9] Rizzo, P. (2015, October 2). Dutch central bank research head 'not opposed' to bitcoin. *Coindesk*. Retrieved from https://www.coindesk.com/dutch-central-bank-research-not-opposed-bitcoin

Several studies have been conducted regarding the presence of bitcoin as a new technology in the financial system. However, until now there's no research that is specifically looking at bitcoin opportunities in terms of international regulatory aspects.

Literature Review

When talking about money, it is related to the concept according to the European Central Bank (ECB), money in any form must have 3 (three) main functions as the *medium of exchange, unit of account*, and *store of value*. "Money, whatever its form, has three different functions. It is a medium of exchange – a means of payment with value that everyone trust. Money is also a unit of account allowing goods and services to be priced, and it is a store of value. Only a portions of euro cash in circulation actually circulates, i.e. is used for processing payments. For example, many of the circulating €50 notes are hoarded."[10]

Also as a *medium of exchange,* the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia mentioned there are 6 characteristic of nature that must be attached to money: *Divisible, Portable, Acceptable, Scarce, Durable and stable.*[11]

In an effort to regulate the circulation of money, usually every country has policies and mechanisms to keep the value of money they used. In its circulation and its legality

form government then called currency. Currency is representation of all forms of money, either in the form of paper or coins. The difference in the value of currency from one country to another is called the exchange rate.

Every bitcoin transaction is done in electronic/virtual form and takes place in cyberspace. Cyberpolitics concept will be used in looking for how regulation of bitcoin currently and also is there any attempt by international monetary regimes to intervene to legalize digital currency in international electronic transactions.

According to Nazli Choucri, cyberpolitics is the relations between two processes: human interaction (politics) which refers to why get what, when and how, and the use of virtual space (cyber) as a new arena.[12] Here, "space" refers to domain of interaction that create potential sources, provide for an expansion of influence and leverage, enable new services, resources, knowledge, or market, and realize further potential when reinforced and sustained by technological advances.[13]

Connectivity provided by the cyber world provides an opportunity for the entire world community to engage in expanding influence, political relations, and national security. With the existence of the virtual/cyber world seen as a new arena for international relations, means cyberpolitics is the use of cyberspace that is used in matters relating to political interest between countries including the law. Law is one of subject resulting from a political policy that contains the regulation of society. This means that if current interactions can occur in the new arena (cyberspace), it would also naturally produce new legal/regulatory

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[12] Choucri, N. (2012). *Cyberpolitics in international relations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

[13] Choucri, N. (2012).

product that regulate connectivity in the new arena.

International Monetary Historical Context

The monetary or financial system of the world has existed since humans can get a source of food from nature, but not in money form that now we use as medium of exchange in everyday life. At that time humans exchanged basic needs which known as barter system. There's long history until we finally get the monetary system at this time whose function is not only to meet the primary needs of human beings, but also as investment and managed by banking so that the financial system now become more structured and more complex.[14]

From the period of 1870 to present, the period of international monetary system could be grouped into 3 (three) such the prewar world, world war, and the postwar period of the world. The grouping / periodization is based on the different characteristics of the international monetary system with its own characteristics, in accordance with the world economic-political situation of three different time periods.[15]

According to the historian of the world economy, the beginning of the development of global monetary system began in the 1870s, observing the British hegemony of the century and its role in the global economy. For example, in manufacturing / industry, Great Britain is a producer of about half of global reserves of iron and coal, and consumes less than half the cotton it produces.[16] In the financial field, in the period 1870 - 1913 Great Britain was the country with the largest global gold stock and financed about 60% of global short-term credit (Walter, 1991).[17] It made the world's financial system use the gold standard by British initiation followed by other countries. The gold standard system is that each countries guarantees the exchange of currency to a certain amount in gold (fixed weight) and vice versa (convertibility). That's mean country's currency is backed by gold. States must have sufficient gold reserves to meet the demand for currency exchange.

The determination value of currency to gold is carried out by the respective countries and then the banks within the country are exempted from buying and selling gold to the public based on a predetermined exchange rate. Such a stipulation shall state that the relevant country has sufficient gold stock in the currency it prints. This system can run well until the outbreak of World War I.

In world war period which began in 1914 causing the chain of relations between countries broken. An economy that in the past could be integrated, and the circulation of gold that previously could also freely move from one country to another stopped in August 1914. The global economy fragmented into a small unit of national economic units. Automatically, the gold standard that prevailed in the past was also untenable. During the world war period and especially during the Great Depression of 1929 until 1940, almost all countries of the world practiced the foreign exchange control system and protectionism policy[18]

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[17] Walter, A. (1991). *World power and world money: The role of hegemony and international monetary order*. London, England: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

[18] Freiden, J. A. (2006). *Global Capitalism: Its fall and rise in the twentieth century*. New York, NY: W.W Norton & Co.

After World War I ended, global economic activities focused on reconstructing the facilities and infrastructure of each country, as well as the improvement of economic institutions both domestically and internationally. Some European countries even try to restore the gold standard as before, such as Britain and France, although not achieve maximum results such as the period before the war. Another changes was that the financial center of the world that had existed in London, England then moved to New York, United States slowly.[19] Britain's pre-war world hegemon, then became owed much to the United States. The US then became the largest financial force of the time and became the world's creditor, especially over the devastated European countries due to world war.

Problems arising in this period that is related to the value of domestic currency specified in gold, due to the long disconnection of the monetary system and the system of pricing levels interstate because of the war. The determination of a currency exchange rate that is too high or too low can cause serious harm to all those involved. For example, when the Pound sterling is overvalued it will interfere with the balance of payments for the UK. The attempt to return the international monetary system to the gold standard that is not done simultaneously also becomes its own difficulty to find a balanced economic point (equilibrium) if there is a new state which then rejoin the gold standard system. This kind of situation that makes the effort to restore the gold standard as an international monetary system is difficult to realize so that in the period was applied the floating exchange rate system.

The world was devastated after World War II and the unenforceable gold standard encouraged allied countries, initiated by the United States and Britain, to try to find a new order in the global economy. The initiative was supported by many countries because of the spirit of liberalism and the damage caused by the world war. In July 1944 at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA, the wish was achieved. Over 700 representatives from 45 countries attended the conference, and produced the Bretton Woods system which has two main agendas; First is to encourage tariff reduction and international trade barriers, and secondly to create a global economic framework to minimize economic conflicts and prevent the recurrence of world war.[20]

In order to achieve these objectives, the Bretton Woods regime was created to regulate international cooperation on two main issues, in terms of the international payment system and international value of the payment medium.[21] In summary, the Bretton Woods regime produced three important policies, including:

1. Fixed exchange rate method;
2. US dollar or US $ replaces the gold standard and becomes the main reserve currency;
3. The establishment of three international bodies that oversee all global economic activities, International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (now World Bank), and the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (now the World Trade Organization / WTO).

[19] Gilpin, R. (2001). *Global political economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

[20] Malanczuk, P. (1997). *Akehurst's modern introduction to international law*. New York, NY: Routledge.
[21] Freiden, J. A. (2006).

Under the terms of the IMF, all currencies of its member States shall be determined at the price of the US Dollar or by the price of gold by its equivalent. While US Dollar own set convertible to gold price equal to 1 oz gold = US $ 35.[22] The US Dollar value set to this gold price should not be changed, except in very urgent circumstances, such as the financial crisis, stagflation, and economic depression.

After the currency of country is established, government should maintain that the prevailing exchange rate does not deviate from the specified limits, no less and no more than a plus-minus one percent (Pretowitz, 2003). While the US is free from the obligation to keep / supervise the value of parity of its currency against foreign currency. However, the US must maintain (as well as guarantee) sufficient gold reserves with the amount of US Dollar printed or circulated in the country and in foreign countries.

In 1950s, dilemma arose when the United States suffered a deficit for financing its military forces abroad. Other countries are beginning to counter this system because on the one hand they have to work hard to withstand deficits, but the other hand America is "entitled" to deficits. The rise in the American deficit after 1958 has also raised doubts for the international community whether America is able to hold its gold (providing gold instead of whatever US dollar is required). As a result, they tend to prefer gold over the US dollar.

The dilemma makes US trade continues to deficit and cause confidence of international community to USD declining. Some countries, such as France decided to accumulate gold which then causes the value of USD continues depressed.[23] These situation continued and finally in 1971 President Nixon announced that America is no longer able to maintain its commitment to buy and sell gold at a price of 35 USD per ounce. Thus, the Bretton Woods system is indefensible, and the floating exchange rate system takes effect.

After Bretton Wood stopped in 1971 there was an effort to maintain a fixed exchange rate system through the Smithsonian Agreement held in December 1971. This agreement was attended by the G10 with the agreement of the G-10 members fixing the convertibility of its currency to the USD. However, this commitment lasted only a few months. United States remained on its stand not wanting to convert USD to gold and allow its currency to float with other currencies. In the end, floating exchange rate system became the mainstream rate for the world's countries until now.

Bitcoin as Money

The previous literature review has discussed briefly how a commodity can be called money. There are 3 (three) fundamental things that must be attached to money, as a *medium of exchange*, *unit of count,* and *store of value.* As a condition of a commodity or object can be used as a *medium of exchange* of payment, it can be analyzed from general indicators as presented by the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia (2013): *Divisible, Portable, Acceptable, Scarce, Durable, Stable.*

Since the digital era, money can be represented in the form of bank account or virtual balances, currencies that have virtual environments and regulated and bound by services, such as games. Digital currency is

[22]Pretowitz, C. (2003). *Rogue nation: American unilateralism and the failure of good intentions*. New York, NY: Basic Books

[23] Copeland, B., & Taylor, M. (2005). *Trade and the environment: Theory and evidence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

a currency that has a digital form and can be used to transact with goods in the real world. Bitcoin is one of the first types of digital currencies use a peer-to-peer system in its distribution so that it is decentralized, without government interference. The smallest value of bitcoin called satoshis is a unit of numbers with a multiple of 1×10^{-8}. The following units Digital Currency like Bitcoin within International Monetary System Field 8 8 in bitcoin are (Bitcoin Indonesia, 2014):

1 BTC = 1000 mBTC = 1 000 000 µBTC = 100 000 000 Satoshi 1 mBTC = 0.001 BTC = 1000 µBTC = 100 000 Satoshi 1 µBTC = 0.000 001 BTC = 0.001 mBTC = 100 Satoshi 1 Satoshi = 0.000 000 01 BTC = 0,000 01 mBTC = 0.01 µBTC

International bitcoin consensus recommends µBTC units or also called bits as units used for daily transactions.

All transactions by bitcoin will be recorded in the general ledger (global ledger). This global ledger records all transactions made using bitcoins, from the minute bitcoins are mined all transactions are recorded, so this is what makes bitcoin not easy to forge. A peer -to-peer network in bitcoin allows users to transfer a number of bitcoin values, these transactions are stored in a file called a block, these blocks will be intertwined with each other to form a block chain, and miners solve complex mathematical formulas to prove ownership of bitcoin. Keep in mind, the amount of bitcoin circulation is limited to 21 million bitcoin. This is a step to maintain bitcoin value from inflation that usually occurs in conventional currencies.

Bitcoin requires a storage place called a wallet. A bitcoin account consists of a public key and private key. Wallet basically serves to store the private key code of bitcoin account that we have. Public key is the address that we give to others when we want to make transactions. Compared to conventional bank account, the public key is the account number of our savings, while the private key is an ATM card pin that should not be given to others because it means giving our entire savings to someone else. Wallet can be local-copy (installed on the computer) and eWallet online (using the wallet provide by website). Both have their respective advantages and disadvantages. In the computer-installed wallet, bitcoin will be stored on the hard drive which means any computer used to download this wallet software will be a bitcoin storage. If the computer is damaged then the bitcoin stored will be lost.

When we use *eWallet*, bitcoin files are stored online and access is available to use bitcoins anywhere using the internet. Not much different from online banking, with web wallet users can see the number of bitcoins stored anytime anywhere. This wallet has the same function as other conventional banks, that is protecting the property of customers or users from the threat of criminals, but the wallet also has a difference that is not borne by the government, if something happens to a user wallet such as hacking attacks then bitcoin stored in the wallet cannot be borne by the government.

The exchange rate of bitcoin is rapidly changing according to the demand and supply of its users.

Image 1:. Bitcoin rates
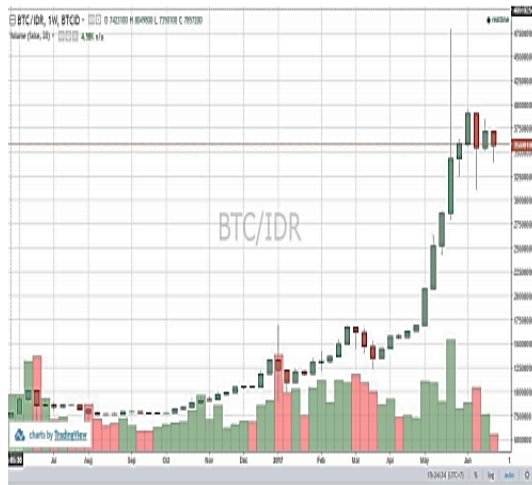
Source: bitcoin.co.id

From the graph it can be seen that the bitcoin exchange rate very quickly changed from the beginning of 2017 to mid-year. In January 2017, bitcoin's priced in the range of 11 - 12 million rupiah per 1 BTC. The value continued to jump until March nearly touching 17 million rupiah. Although it had dropped in April, the value of

	Indicator	Fulfilled
1.	*Divisible*	Yes
2.	*Portable*	Yes
3.	*Acceptable*	No
4.	*Scarce*	Yes
5.	*Durable*	Yes
6.	*Stable*	No

bitcoin's exchange rate reached 35 million rupiah at the end of May. One thing that needs to be observed is the spike that occurs after the outbreak of a computer virus with the type Ransomware named WannaCry in various countries that make the files in the computer affected by the virus is encrypted so inaccessible and requires that computer users pay a lot of money to get the file back. Interestingly, ransom money to the virus programmer should use bitcoin.

From those simple analysis, it can be analyzed bitcoin's indicator as a *medium of exchange i*n table below.

Table 1. Bitcoin as Medium of Exchange

From the table above, we can see bitcoin is not able to meet some indicators set to serve as medium of exchange.

By its users, bitcoin is more viewed as "gold digital". It's reasonable because gold and bitcoin are based on the principle of the trust of their users (the community) in determining the standard price and also the nature of its limited supply. The use of bitcoin in transactions can also be equated with barter trading systems, for example a set of computers paid with 0.1 BTC means there has been a barter between computer devices with bitcoins worth 0.1. From this we can conclude that bitcoin can be used as *unit of account* of a particular commodity.

If we see from the historical context of the pre-war period, the gold standard used by every country to guarantee the exchange of its currency to a certain amount in gold (fixed weight). The problem at the same time is the value influenced by external supply and demand, such as the discovery of gold mines in other regions will cause the value / price of gold will decline internationally. Furthermore, because of its similarity with gold makes most bitcoin users make it as a means of investment. The increasing number of bitcoin demand is not proportional to the increasing in supply which makes bitcoin's price increase in recent years. From this point can be seen bitcoin meet one of the functions of money as *store of value*, in this case store wealth. The use of gold as an investment medium is nothing new in the human civilization's history. Limited supply of gold compared to the demand to make the price of gold continues to rise steadily.

International Monetary Regulation

As we know, the distribution system and use of bitcoin exist in virtual space or better known as cyberspace. *Cyberspace* itself literally means "*the notional environment in which communication over computer networks occurs*". According to Chourci in the previous literature review, "*Space*" in the context of international relations refers to the interaction that creates a source of potential power and connectivity provided by "*Cyber*" provides an opportunity for more non-state actors to engage in broadening influence, political relations, and national security.[24] The presence of bitcoin as a new digital financial technology is a prove that virtual world as a space capable providing new potential sources of power. Its unregulated nature makes it in "grey zone".

Cyberpolitics as seen before is relations between two processes: human interaction (politics) which refers to who gets what, when, and how, and the use of virtual space (cyber) as a new arena. In case of determining rules of the game in international context usually facilitated by the establishment of a regime. The regime is a framework of the rules of the game that used to manage the power relations between various actors in a world that does not recognize supreme power (anarchy).[25] Regulatory type arrangements are the result of mutual consensus among various actors to minimize potential conflict from the relationships between the actors involved. Conflict occurs because there's disparity "*who gets what*" from interaction between the actors that occurred.

After the end of the Bretton Woods regime in the international monetary system, it doesn't stop the influence of monetary institutions born in the agreement. The legacy of the Bretton Woods regime's influence remains widespread even though there are some things in the treaty that are no longer run by the countries involved. When looking at structural approaches in the EPI initiated by Susan Strange, what hegemon did in forming an international structure, especially in the financial (monetary) sector has shaped the role model of international monetary system regulatory institution. Therefore, the discussion of international regulations is inseparable from the Bretton Woods institutions. As digital money circulating in the new arena (cyberspace) this section will seek regulation in three main international monetary institutions: IMF, World Bank, and WTO.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

IMF is a monetary institution in charge of ensuring the stability of the international monetary system by monitoring the exchange rate and ensuring that each country can transact with each other. Plassaras (2013) explains some negative effects related to unregulated digital currency. Specifically, in this case bitcoin has the potential to cause "*speculative attack*" to other currencies.

Speculative attack is an effort to exchange a weak currency with a stronger currency and then later if the weak currency continues to weaken (continues depreciate) the offender of the attack re-exchanges with the original currency and take advantage of the difference in value he swapped it before. Each country must have enough reserve currency to avoid it. In this case, if the country is experiencing a crisis with exhausted reserves of its currency, the IMF is tasked with assisting the disbursement of

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[24] Choucri, N. (2012).

[25] Makhasin, L. (2015). *Ekonomi politik internasional (Analisis sruktural tentang asal-usul dan perkembangan struktur keuangan).* Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Arti Bumi Intaran.

funds to restore the stability of the country's balance sheet.

Step taken to return the balance to equilibrium point (balance condition) is supplying bitcoin to keep the value of the weaker currencies. Here the problem arises if the state has no reserves in the form of bitcoin, even with the IMF. The IMF receives reserves of money from its member countries with a quota system. It is very difficult to collect bitcoins with a short time due to their limited number. Also, bitcoin not a part / member of the IMF. The IMF only opens nation-state membership.

Here, Plassaras looks at the use of the term *"Separate Currency"* in Article IV of section 5 IMF Agreement. In Article IV underlines every member country has the responsibility to implement domestic policies aimed at maintaining international economic stability in accordance with the guidelines established by the IMF. In the 5th section of the article, it describes the obligations of member states in treating the national currency and the separate currency or other currencies used in addition to the national currency in a balanced / fair.

To prevent potential threats from bitcoin, He feels need to broaden the meaning of the term "*separate currency"* by including bitcoins and other digital currencies as part of the term's use. This means that IMF may collect digital money by allowing member countries to pay membership fees to the IMF using bitcoin or other similar digital currencies and furthermore the member country is also entitled to receive assistance in the form of digital currency in accordance with the quota. So that potential threat of digital money can be controlled more. To implement it, IMF needs to amend its Agreement by incorporating bitcoin and similar digital money as part of the use of the term "*separate currency"*.

World Trade Organization (WTO)

According to Ed Howden (2015) in his publication "*The Crypto-Currency Conundrum: Regulating an Uncertain Future*" WTO concerned the exchange of *cryptocurrencies* or *cryptos* (another digital currency name) as trade transactions in the form of goods than currency exchange. Because basically there is no domestic currency that moves from one country to another.[26] If WTO saw the circulation of *cryptos* as a trade in goods, it is related to the WTO's most favored nation principle. In other words, cryptos will be the subject of that principle and each country should treat it mutually with each other.

As a goods commodity, there are rules in the WTO can be applied as a step to regulate the circulation or potential threat of bitcoin. WTO has a *Safeguard Mechanism* based on Article XIX GATT. This mechanism allows countries to adopt restrictive policies on the entry of products that could potentially disrupt domestic economic stability. Such restrictions may include termination of imports, quota restrictions, tariff additions, etc. Related to bitcoin, if it is perceived to threaten the domestic currency (with speculative attack attempts as example) the state can take action by stopping all transactions that use bitcoin or by imposing taxes on those businesses to prevent bitcoin circulating freely without control.

World Bank

Bitcoin's regulation specifically is also not found in the World Bank framework. From some of the literature found, there is no mention of bitcoin's

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[26] Howden, E. (2015). The crypto-currency conundrum: Regulating an uncertain future. *Emory International Law Review*, *29*(4). Retrieved from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2821358#maincontent

circulation associated with World Bank rules. This is reasonable because basically, the tasks and functions of the World Bank listed in the profile is as an assistance or an agency that accompanies developing countries to alleviate poverty. The vision of this institution is to reduce extreme poverty in the world. Compared to the previous two institutions with the role as regulator of international monetary and trade system, World Bank is more likely to play its role as a counselor of developing countries to guide domestic policies to reduce poverty by stimulating funds implemented as programs in areas such as education, health, governance, infrastructure, environment, finance, and agriculture[27].

Conclusion

The study shows that as *medium of exchange*, bitcoin has not met all the criteria or indicators to be called money. If we look at the nature and technology brought, bitcoin is more suitable to be treated as a commodity like gold. The transaction system is more suitable as the circulation of goods than considered as currency. Due to the independent nature and the price based on the belief factor, the existence of bitcoin depends on the users who are still limited to certain parties (not yet generally accepted).

In case of international regulation, there's no clear and specific rules regarding the existence of bitcoin. Regulation in this study are limited to thought or options that can be used either domestically by the state or globally by international institutions managing the monetery system and international trade to regulate the distribution of bitcoin. From the facts found, it can be concluded that bitcoin has not fully met the criteria as currency and there is no specific rules regarding the existence of

digital currency. The existence of bitcoin simply becomes an alternative electronic payment media in the international financial landscape.

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[27] See http://www.worldbank.org/en/about/what-we-do

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OLAHRAGA SEBAGAI SARANA PEMERSATU BANGSA DAN UPAYA PERDAMAIAN DUNIA

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ABSTRACT
As part of a national development benchmark, sports can play an important role as a means of unifying a nation. The sports achievements of a nation can foster a nation's spirit of nationalism. Values in sports, such as discipline, sportsmanship, unyielding nature, cooperative spirit, mutual respect, courage to make decisions, loyalty, pride, and honor, also help a nation's spirit of unity. The world's great nations are nations with great sporting achievements. In addition, sports can be used as a means of promoting world peace by building a sense of shared identity, including creating friendships among groups that would otherwise have a tendency to threaten each other with mistrust, hostility, and violence. This paper will focus on answering two issues, namely how sports are used as a means of unifying a nation and how sports can play a role in world peace efforts.

Keywords: Sports, nationalism, unification, world peace

1. Pendahuluan

Olahraga adalah bagian dari tolok ukur keberhasilan pembangunan nasional. Pembinaan dan pengembangan olahraga harus ditempatkan dalam pengarusutamaan berbagai kebijakan pemerintah dan pemerintah daerah pada semua lini dan tingkatan dalam kerangka *spirit of the nation*. Sejarah perjalanan bangsa Indonesia membuktikan bahwa olahraga tidak saja sarana peningkatan pola hidup sehat dan prestasi, tetapi sekaligus sebagai media perjuangan dan sarana menyatukan bangsa yang besar ini. Prestasi olahraga menjadi salah satu indikasi pembangunan nasional, sehingga pembinaan dan pengembangan olahraga harus ditempatkan sebagai alat pemersatu bangsa. Selain tentunya dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat, olahraga dapat dijadikan gaya hidup sehat dan bugar manusia Indonesia.[1]

Cikal bakal rasa nasionalisme bangsa yang besar dengan beragamnya suku bangsa yang tersebar dari Sabang sampai Merauke

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[1] Viva Borneo. (2011, September 9). Olahraga sebagai media perjuangan dan pemersatu bangsa. *Viva Borneo*. Retrieved from http://www.vivaborneo.com/?p=12475

harus digunakan sebagai alat perjuangan bagi pemersatu bangsa. Di tengah kemajemukan bangsa Indonesia dalam ras, suku, etnis, budaya dan agama tersebut, olahraga merupakan salah satu alat pemersatu bangsa. Dapat kita amati bagaimana masyarakat kita yang sangat majemuk ini berkompetisi dalam satu arena, baik saat berlawanan dengan sesama bangsa Indonesia, ataupun dengan bangsa-bangsa lain dari belahan dunia. Semuanya berbaur menjadi satu.

Itulah indahnya olahraga. Kompetisi dilakukan secara sehat, bahkan ketika pesertanya berasal dari ras, etnis, budaya, agama, latar belakang yang sangat berbeda sekalipun. Itulah pluralisme Indonesia, itulah Indonesia. Bayangkan bagaimana olahraga dapat menjadi sarana pemersatu yang sangat pas bagi kemajemukan tersebut. Olahraga tidak hanya menjadikan tubuh yang sehat. Namun, olahraga dapat menumbuhkan karakter yang baik bagi seseorang seperti jujur, adil, kompetisi yang sehat, sikap gotong-royong, memiliki rasa persaudaraan yang tinggi, serta dapat membawa terhadap timbulnya perdamaian,

seperti yang akan penulis bahas di dalam bagian terakhir dalam tulisan ini.

Hubungan nasionalisme dan olahraga secara kasat mata terlihat ketika sebuah cabang olahraga dipertandingkan dalam kejuaraan yang bersifat internasional. Bendera negara, sekaligus lagu kebangsaannya pasti dinaikkan dan diperdengarkan. Nasionalisme muncul ketika bendera merah putih dan lagu kebangsaan Indonesia Raya "*dikerek*" dan dikumandangkan di ajang olahraga tingkat internasional. Jangankan para atlet yang bertanding, setiap kita yang menonton pasti merasa terharu dan bangga, sampai jatuh air mata kita. Hanya ada dua kesempatan di tingkat internasional ketika bendera sebuah negara dinaikkan dan lagu kebangsaannya diperdengarkan, yaitu ketika presiden negara tersebut berkunjung dan ketika kontingen olahraganya bertanding. Jadi, bisa dibayangkan betapa *powerful* semangat nasionalisme yang bisa dihadirkan kepada masyarakat Indonesia melalui olahraga.

Tidak hanya itu, olahraga telah menumbuhkan rasa persaudaraan serta nasionalisme yang tinggi bagi masyarakat. Kondisi yang dapat kita jumpai ketika negara kita bertanding melawan negara lain, di cabang olahraga manapun. Kita menyaksikan bagaimana masyarakat kita dari seluruh pelosok negeri bersatu berteriak memberi dukungan pada para pemain Indonesia. Tidak peduli yang bermain dari ras, etnis, agama manapun, selama bermain menggunakan merah putih dan Garuda di dada, seluruh rakyat pasti mendukung.

Perasaan terharu, bangga, dan menangis tadi akan bertambah berkali lipat jika kontingen olahraga kita meraih kemenangan. Sebagai contoh, di cabang olahraga bulutangkis sejak tahun 1992 di Barcelona Indonesia selalu meraih medali emas Olimpiade (kecuali tahun 2012 di London). Momen tersebut menjadi "moment of magic" bagi Indonesia, di saat seluruh rakyat bersatu mendukung para atlet bulutangkis kita. Di saat itulah, bendera merah putih dan lagu Indonesia raya berkibar dan dinyanyikan sebagai negara peraih medali emas. Banggaanya luar biasa, karena tidak semua negara yang berpartisipasi di Olimpiade dapat merasakan meraih medali emas.

Yang paling anyar adalah ketika seluruh bangsa dibuat tersentak oleh pasangan Tontowi Ahmad dan Liliyana Natsir yang berhasil meraih emas di Olimpiade Rio Brasil bertepatan dengan hari kemerdekaan kita yang ke-71, tanggal 17 Agustus 2016 lalu. Sebuah kehormatan yang luar biasa dapat meraih prestasi tepat di hari yang sangat bersejarah bagi bangsa ini. Owi dan Butet tidak hanya membawa prestasi di tingkat olahraga bagi Indonesia, tetapi pasangan pebulutangkis ganda campuran ini menghadirkan semangat persatuan dan kesatuan bangsa, yang secara langsung pasti meningkatkan rasa nasionalisme bangsa ini. Berjuang tidak harus dengan mengangkat senjata. Owi dan Butet mengajarkan pada kita bahwa perjuangan demi bangsa dan negara itu bisa dilakukan siapa saja, dengan cara apa saja, asalkan merah putih menjadi harum namanya dan Indonesia Raya diperdengarkan ke seluruh penjuru bumi.

Contoh lain, di tengah mati surinya prestasi tim nasional sepakbola Indonesia, sebuah cerita tentang nasionalisme juga harus kita dengar. Sekalipun sepanjang sejarah belum mampu melahirkan prestasi dunia bagi Indonesia, tetapi kehadiran timnas sepakbola kita selalu mengundang atensi masyarakat yang sangat tinggi. Setiap kali timnas bertanding, tidak hanya di stadion utama Gelora Bung Karno di Jakarta, tetapi di seluruh Indonesia, penonton pasti berbondong-bondong menonton untuk memberi dukungan secara langsung kepada timnas. Secara serempak mereka menyanyikan lagu-lagu perjuangan, seperti "Garuda di dadaku" dan lain-lainnya,

tanpa dikomando atau dilatih terlebih dahulu.

Yang perlu digarisbawahi, *passion* masyarakat kita terhadap sepakbola sangat besar. Potensi ini sangat memungkinkan dijadikan energi positif menghadapi berbagai persoalan bangsa, terutama banyaknya konflik vertikal maupun horizontal di seantero nusantara. Kita masih ingin Piala Asia 2007, ketika Indonesia pertama kali menjadi tuan rumah. Dalam setiap kesempatan timnas kita bermain di Gelora Bung Karno, penonton selalu membludak. Kita pun masih ingat ketika euforia masyarakat membahana menyambut Timnas U-23 masuk final SEA Games 2011 di Jakarta. Terakhir, di Sidoarjo dan Senayan ketika Timnas U-19 bertanding, serta di Myanmar ketika Timnas U-23 kembali lolos ke final SEA Games. Ekspektasi masyarakat sangat tinggi, sekalipun kedewasaan tentunya harus diuji saat timnas gagal mewujudkannya.[2]

Tanpa dikomandoi, selama kurang lebih 2 jam, masyarakat terbuai oleh fanatisme dukungan yang tak henti kepada timnas kita. Politik, pemilu, korupsi, ekonomi, debat, kemiskinan, sampai konflik (yang biasanya menghiasi pemberitaan di media-media kita) sunyi senyap hilang tak berbekas. Semua seperti sepakat melepas baju perbedaan, lalu sama-sama mengenakan kaos persatuan dengan lambang Garuda di dada. Semua bersatu-padu demi 11 pemain yang ada di lapangan. Semua bersatu-padu demi berjayanya merah putih. Dan, semua bersatu-padu demi sepakbola, tak peduli kalah atau menang.[3]

Sepakbola menyentuh nurani kita sebagai sebuah bangsa yang satu. Timnas menggunakan simbol Burung Garuda, dengan jersey merah, dikenakan oleh anak-anak bangsa dari ujung timur sampai barat. Setiap orang Indonesia merasa memiliki timnas, dari mana pun ia berasal. Timnas menjadi simbol persatuan, sekaligus pelampiasan. Inilah budaya damai yang kita perlukan. Persatuan karena mampu menjembatani bermacam-macamnya identitas orang Indonesia (suku, agama, bahasa, domisili, dan lain-lain). Pelampiasan karena dengan semangat persatuan itu, sejenak kita mampu melupakan semua masalah yang ada. Masyarakat mampu mengonversi semua penderitaan dan kesulitan sehari-hari, menjadi energi positif, yang disalurkan secara positif pula. Masalahnya, selama ini energi yang dihasilkan masyarakat adalah energi negatif, yang berujung tindak kekerasan dan konflik.[4]

Pelampiasan model ini menjadi positif untuk semangat perdamaian di Indonesia, karena tidak bersifat liar, tidak terkotak-kotak, dan pastinya tidak membawa maut. Semua pelampiasan masyarakat disimpan dalam sebuah wadah besar bernama Timnas Indonesia, dan digunakan sebesar-besarnya untuk mendukung mereka. Konflik terjadi karena ada kebutuhan yang tidak dipenuhi dan perlu penyaluran agar kebutuhannya tetap didapatkan. Kita tidak butuh suguhan gontok-gontokan ala Menpora vs PSSI misalnya. Masyarakat butuh isu pemersatu.

Kekompakan para suporter bola ini terjadi karena kecintaan yang besar terhadap timnas sepakbola kita. Kecintaan yang nantinya melahirkan sebuah semangat nasionalisme yang dapat mempersatukan bangsa ini. Perbedaan warna kulit, ras, agama, geografis, dll bukanlah masalah ketika kita sama-sama mendukung merah putih bertanding. Nasionalisme yang menggebu-gebu adalah akibat dari kecintaan pada salah satu elemen bangsa yang bernama sepakbola. Sekalipun dalam

[2] Suara Karya. (2015, May 27). *Konflik, sepakbola, dan perdamaian*. Retrieved from http://www.suarakarya.id/

[3] Suara Karya. (2015, May 27).

[4] Suara Karya. (2015, May 27).

beberapa kasus di dunia, konsep nasionalisme dalam sepakbola sering terlihat berlebihan, tetapi semangat olahraga ini punya potensi besar bagi kemajuan sebuah negara.[5]

Atas dasar contoh-contoh heroik di bidang olahraga Indonesia itulah, maka penulis ingin membahas keterkaitan antara olahraga dengan nasionalisme, yang diejawantahkan dalam konteks olahraga sebagai alat pemersatu bangsa dan perdamaian dunia. Jadi, olahraga bukan hanya dapat menyatukan bangsa kita, tetapi dapat membantu dunia ini mewujudkan perdamaian abadi. Secara garis besar, tulisan ini akan berfokus pada upaya-upaya untuk mewujudkan dua hal tersebut.

2. Hasil dan Diskusi
2.1. Olahraga sebagai Pemersatu Bangsa

Olahraga terbukti dapat meningkatkan semangat nasionalisme bangsa, yang kemudian membawa bangsa ini kepada rasa persatuan dan kesatuan. Dua contoh dari cabang olahraga bulutangkis dan sepakbola pada bagian pendahuluan di atas menunjukkan bahwa ternyata olahraga dapat mempersatukan kita. Olahraga dapat membuat kita larut dalam suasana emosional yang dalam semangat yang membara dan menggelora, sehingga potensi-potensi terjadinya konflik diantara sesama anak bangsa pun hilang. Yang muncul adalah semangat persatuan demi membela bangsanya.

Selain menjadi penonton dan pendukung tim olahraga Indonesia bertanding, sebaiknya masyarakat pun harus berolahraga di dalam kehidupannya sehari-hari. Terbukti bahwa olahraga adalah sarana yang memegang peranan penting dalam memupuk semangat nasionalisme bangsa melalui budaya, semangat, dan nilai-nilai di

dalam olahraga itu sendiri. Hal-hal tersebut harus ditumbuhkembangkan dalam setiap lapisan masyarakat agar dapat menjadi sarana untuk memupuk semangat nasionalisme tadi. Hal ini karena dengan olahraga masyarakat dapat belajar mengenai kedisiplinan, sportifitas, sifat pantang menyerah, semangat bekerjasama, saling menghargai, berani mengambil keputusan, kesetiaan, kebanggaan, dan kehormatan.

Suatu bangsa akan menjadi bangsa yang besar jika mampu membangun seluruh aspek kehidupannya, diantaranya adalah nasionalisme, sumber daya manusia dan kedisiplinan. Hal tersebut dapat diapresiasikan melalui dunia olahraga baik yang bersifat nasional maupun internasional. Dengan prestasi yang diraih dalam dunia olahraga tersebut, tentu akan mampu membangkitkan kebanggaan dan rasa nasionalisme sebagai suatu bangsa. Olahraga adalah unsur penting dalam cikal bakal nasionalisme bangsa karena melalui olahraga segala perbedaan dapat ditepis. Olahraga juga merupakan kegiatan positif yang dapat menghindari pertentangan sosial dan mempersempit perselisihan. Itu semua dapat dicapai tentunya jika pelaku olahraga menjunjung nilai-nilai positif yang terkandung dalam berolahraga, seperti disiplin, pantang menyerah, dan sportivitas dalam bertanding.

Nasionalisme sendiri berasal dari kata "nasional" dan "isme", yaitu paham kebangsaan yang mengandung makna kesadaran dan semangat cinta tanah air. Rasa nasionalisme juga identik dengan memiliki rasa solidaritas. Nasionalisme juga mengandung makna persatuan dan kesatuan. Dari beberapa makna tersebut, pengertian nasionalisme adalah paham yang menciptakan dan mempertahankan kedaulatan sebuah negara (*nation*) dengan mewujudkan satu konsep identitas bersama untuk sekelompok manusia. Pengertian nasionalisme dapat juga diartikan sebagai

[5] Foer, F. (2006). *Memahami dunia lewat sepakbola: Kajian tak lazim tentang sosial-politik globalisasi*. Tangerang, Indonesia: Marjin Kiri.

formalisasi (bentuk) dari kesadaran nasional berbangsa dan bernegara sendiri.[6]

Nasionalisme lebih merupakan sebuah fenomena budaya daripada fenomena politik karena dia berakar pada etnisitas dan budaya post-modern.[7] Karena fenomena budaya itulah olahraga sangat pas untuk dikaitkan dengan nasionalisme. Olahraga pasti terkait dengan budaya dan kebiasaan suatu masyarakat atau bangsa. Semangat nasionalisme membuat seseorang merasa memiliki bangsa dan negaranya (*sense of belonging*) sehingga memacu atlet atau olahragawan untuk berusaha sekuat tenaga demi kemajuan bangsa dan negaranya. Rasa cinta tersebutlah yang membuat olahragawan menjadi merasa ringan berkorban untuk bangsa dan negaranya. Melalui nasionalisme, seorang olahragawan akan termotivasi untuk memberikan yang terbaik bagi bangsa dan negaranya yang nantinya akan berpengaruh terhadap prestasi olahraga di suatu negara.

Sejak lama olahraga telah menjadi simbolisasi dari semangat jiwa manusia. Hal ini penting dan *real* karena dalam berolahraga akan timbul kesadaran dalam diri kita untuk berorientasi pada satu tujuan. Jika kita amati dalam skala kecil, ia akan menjadi usaha manusia untuk menjaga kesehatan, meningkatkan raga dan pikiran, sekaligus cara yang ampuh untuk melawan penyakit. Dalam skala yang lebih besar, ia mengandung makna yang terkait dengan kemanusiaan, persaudaraan, dan semangat hidup, sehingga lima lingkaran dalam bendera Olimpiade pun melambangkan hal tersebut.

Berbagai riset ilmiah hingga awal abad 21, menemukan bahwa olahraga dapat membentuk karakter seseorang. Olahraga dengan formula "*virtues and absence of vices*", misalnya, dapat melahirkan tanggung jawab, disiplin, kejujuran. Olahraga jenis ini melahirkan suatu moral-universal, empati, merawat tradisi atau budaya melalui olahraga permainan (*play*), mengembangkan pengetahuan dan keahlian. Maka peran negara, pemerintah, tim-kerja, pelatih, orangtua, guru, dan pemangku kepentingan olahraga sangat penting dalam rangka pembentukan karakter melalui pendidikan dan pelatihan fisik.[8]

Olahraga apabila dilakukan secara baik dan teratur, maka dapat mendorong, membangkitkan, membina potensi-potensi jasmaniah dan rohaniah seseorang yang tinggi. Juga ditanamkan sikap mental yang baik, seperti kejujuran, keberanian, semangat juang, sportifitas dan kerjasama antarsesama. Nilai-nilai positif olahraga tersebut tentu bila diimplementasikan dengan pemahaman wawasan nusantara, akan semakin memperkokoh tali persaudaraan antara sesama anak bangsa, dapat bekerjasama membangun negeri dan menjaganya dalam bingkat keutuhan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia, sehingga tujuan nasional, seperti persatuan dan kesatuan bangsa yang diamanatkan dalam Pembukaan UUD 1945, dapat terwujud.

Olahraga juga telah mempersatukan bangsa ini sejak kemerdekaan. Salah satu upaya pendiri bangsa kita untuk mempersatukan Indonesia pasca proklamasi kemerdekaan adalah melalui olahraga, yaitu melalui diselenggarakannya PON tahun 1948 yang bertujuan mempererat rasa persatuan dan kesatuan bangsa. Setelah itu, Indonesia mulai berpartisipasi di ajang-ajang olahraga internasional, seperti Sea Games, Asian Games, Olimpiade, sampai Ganefo. Ajang tersebut belum termasuk ajang per cabang olahraga, seperti Piala Thomas dan

[6] Rahayu, M. (2007). *Pendidikan kewarganegaraan: Perjuangan menghidupi jati diri bangsa*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Grasindo.
7 Hutchinson, J., & Smith, A. D. (2000). *Nationalism: Critical concepts in political science*. London, England: Routledge.

[8] Suratman, T. (2015). *Strategi olahraga nasional abad 21*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Verbum Publishing.

Uber di cabang Badminton, Piala Davis di Tenis, Piala Asia, Piala AFF, dll di cabang Sepakbola, dan juga pastinya di cabang-cabang olahraga lainnya.

Indonesia juga melakukan kegiatan untuk mempersatukan bangsa melalui pembentukan perhimpunan olahraga. Dua contohnya adalah PSSI dan Pelti yang sudah lahir jauh sebelum kita merdeka, yaitu sekitar tahun 1930-an. Sekalipun saat itu belum berpikir untuk menyatukan bangsa ini, paling tidak upaya ini terus dilakukan sampai akhirnya Indonesia merdeka pada tahun 1945. Perhimpunan olahraga menjadi cikal bakal lahirnya induk-induk olahraga di Indonesia pasca kemerdekaan, yang nantinya digunakan untuk menjaring atlet-atlet berbakat di seluruh Indonesia.

Penjaringan atlet ini tentunya terkait masalah pembinaan atlit. Hal ini karena pembinaan atlit merupakan salah satu program penting pemerintah untuk melahirkan prestasi. Ini tentunya melibatkan berbagai upaya penelusuran, pembinaan, pengembangan dan pelatihan guna melahirkan atlet yang andal di masa datang. Induk olahraga adalah *stakeholder* yang sangat penting dalam konteks pembinaan ini.[9]

Upaya menjaring atlet ini adalah bagian dari kegiatan mempersatukan bangsa Indonesia. Inilah alasan mengapa penulis melihat bahwa olahraga dapat menjadi ajang pemersatu bangsa. Dengan luas wilayah 5.193.250 km dan lebih dari 17.000 pulau bisa dibayangkan betapa sulitnya bangsa ini untuk dipersatukan. Belum lagi ragam bahasa, budaya, adat, agama, dll yang yang sangat plural, semakin mempersulit upaya persatuan bangsa. Memang kita memiliki konsep Bhinneka Tunggal Ika dan semangat Sumpah Pemuda yang secara konseptual

mampu mempersatukan bangsa, tetapi tanpa tataran implementatif dan tindakan yang jelas di lapangan, semua konsep-konsep mulia tadi tetap akan sulit dijalankan.

Olahraga dapat digunakan menjadi sarana implementatif tadi. Dalam kasus menjaring atlet tadi, selain kita mengadakan ajang-ajang olahraga nasional, seperti PON tadi, untuk mempersatukan bangsa, penjaringan atlet-atlet berbakat di seluruh Indonesia juga adalah upaya positif untuk mempersatukan bangsa. Itulah tugas induk-induk olahraga untuk melakukan pembinaan di daerah, dan seterusnya mempersiapkan putra-putri terbaik daerah untuk disatukan di pusat dan berlaga atas nama merah putih. Bicara merah putih dan Garuda di dada, kita tidak lagi bicara primordialisme, tetapi semangat nasionalisme dengan satu kata, Indonesia!

Itulah mengapa olahraga menjadi sarana penting untuk mempersatukan bangsa. Semua konsep-konsep indah bangsa ini yang dirumuskan para *founding fathers* tidak akan efektif tanpa pengejawentahannya. Olahraga menjadi bahasa yang sangat pas dan sesuai untuk hal itu. Olahraga dapat diterima semua lapisan masyarakat di Indonesia, serta secara tradisional pasti dikenal. Setiap wilayah dan daerah di Indonesia pasti memiliki olahraga tradisional dalam bentuk apapun. Jadi, tidaklah sulit untuk mempersatukan bangsa ini melalui olahraga.

Semangat universal dan partikular yang ada dalam olahraga dapat memperkuat rasa nasionalisme dan kebanggaan kita sebagai bangsa, seperti yang sudah disinggung sedikit sebelumnya. Pembuktiannya dapat kita lihat dengan fakta bahwa prestasi di bidang olahraga mampu mengangkat derajat, harkat, dan martabat suatu bangsa meskipun dalam keadaan yang terpuruk. Penulis ingin mengambil contoh di cabang olahraga sepakbola, saat timnas Argentina pernah berhasil mempecundangi

[9] Diskominfo Kaltimprov. (2014, March 13). *Olahraga sebagai alat pemersatu bangsa*. Retrieved from https://diskominfo.kaltimprov.go.id/sigit-olahraga-sebagai-alat-pemersatu-bangsa/

timnas Inggris di Piala Dunia Sepakbola tahun 1986 yang dianggap sebagai pembalasan dengan cara lain atas kekalahan Argentina oleh Inggris di Perang Malvinas, beberapa tahun sebelumnya, yang berakibat jatuhnya Kepulauan Malvinas ke Inggris. Argentina kemudian berhasil menjadi juara pada perhelatan turnamen empat tahunan tersebut.

Penulis pun masih ingat ketika menyaksikan Piala Asia tahun 2007 yang diselenggarakan di Jakarta, di mana saat itu timnas sepakbola Irak berhasil menjadi juara dengan mengalahkan Arab Saudi di final. Irak adalah negara yang tercabik-cabik karena perang berkepanjangan sejak era Saddam Husein jatuh oleh kekuatan pasukan koalisi AS. Akan tetapi, keberhasilan dan perjuangan timnas Irak sepanjang turnamen menyatukan rakyat Irak dalam sebuah keadaan yang sulit dipercaya. Masyarakat Irak yang dilanda konflik, dengan bom-bom dan serangan-serangan yang hampir terjadi setiap hari, ternyata sepanjang timnas Irak bertanding sampai final dan menjadi juara, suasana di Irak berubah menjadi damai. Tidak ada serangan atau ledakan bom terjadi sepanjang timnas Irak bermain. Ini adalah sebuah hal yang luar biasa, yang menunjukkan bagaimana olahraga mampu menyatukan sebuah negeri yang hancur karena perang.

Untuk itulah, olahraga menjadi hal yang sangat penting untuk terus dilakukan karena dengan mempraktekkannya, kita tidak hanya mendapat manfaat secara pribadi, tetapi rasa kebangsaan, nasionalisme, dan semangat persatuan kita pun akan meningkat. Dengan demikian, upaya-upaya mempersatukan bangsa akan semakin mudah karena sarana untuk melakukan itu sudah tersedia, yaitu berolahraga. Tidak hanya tersedia, tetapi tersedia dengan sangat mudah karena praktis akses untuk berolahraga sangat terbuka luas.

Berolahraga tidak hanya memainkan sebuah permainan yang datang dari luar, tetapi banyak permainan tradisional Indonesia yang sudah dipertandingkan sebagai cabang olahraga resmi. Bahkan, beberapa olahraga tradisional sudah dimainkan di ajang nasional dan internasional, seperti di PON. Contohnya adalah Pencak Silat dan Sepak Takraw. Pencak Silat sejak tahun 1987 telah dimainkan di Sea Games, sedangkan Sepak Takraw malah sudah dimainkan di ajang Asian Games (termasuk di Indonesia tahun 2018 ini), selain tentunya di *Sea Games*. Dua olahraga ini juga sudah dimainkan secara mandiri di level internasional dan memiliki induk olahraga internasionalnya sendiri.

Budaya olahraga di Indonesia pada dasarnya sudah mengakar di masyarakat. Sebagaimana masyarakat Indonesia yang majemuk dalam budaya, etnis, ras, macam olahraga yang berkembang di masyarakat juga sangat berwarna. Tidak hanya bulu tangkis, basket, renang, voli serta cabang olahraga pada umumnya, namun juga olahraga tradisional-tradisional tadi. Olahraga-olahraga seperti ini harus dilestarikan karena membawa ciri khas bangsa kita di dunia internasional.

Kemudian, jargo Orde Baru terkait olahgara, "memasyarakatkan olahraga dan mengolahragakan masyarakat", harus dihidupkan kembali agar masyarakat Indonesia dibiasakan untuk berolahraga. Pemerintah juga harus fokus pada sektor olahraga. Jargon tersebut bisa bertumbuhkembang di era Pak Harto karena pemerintah menempatkan efforts yang luar biasa agar jargon tersebut berhasil. Untuk itu, pemerintah melalui Kementerian Pemuda dan Olahraga harusnya menjadi garda terdepan untuk kembali "memasyaratkan olahraga dan mengolahragakan masyarakat". Sebuah

tantangan yang sangat berat untuk pemerintah saat ini.

Untuk menjawab tantangan tersebut, penulis mengusulkan agar pemerintah membuat Gerakan Olahraga Nasional. Gerakan ini pada prinsipnya sama dengan jargon "memasyaratkan olahraga dan mengolahragakan masyarakat", dengan berfokus pada upaya meningkatkan partisipasi masyarakat untuk berolahraga. Salah satu contoh Gerakan Olahraga Nasional, misalnya pada setiap hari jumat, seluruh masyarakat di setiap instansi pemerintah, swasta, sekolah, universitas, sampai di rumah tangga melakukan olahraga bersama. Olahraga tersebut dilakukan secara serentak, misalnya jam 6 atau 7 pagi. Olahraga ini wajib dilakukan di seluruh Indonesia, seminggu sekali. Saat ini baru beberapa instansi pemerintah saja yang melaksanakan kegiatan olahraga pada jumat pagi, termasuk sivitas akademika UPN "Veteran" Jakarta, selaku institusi penulis.

Jika hal ini bisa dilakukan, maka akan membawa dampak yang luar biasa bagi kesatuan dan persatuan bangsa, termasuk sebagai bagian dari pembangunan bangsa. Masyarakat sehat berarti kita turut membangun bangsa. Kita pun ikut berkontribusi terhadap bangsa dan negara karena tidak harus lagi ke rumah sakit atau dokter, yang mana pasti akan menghabiskan anggaran negara untuk membiayai sakit kita tersebut. Sehat juga bisa diartikan prestasi di dunia olahraga. Semakin banyak orang sehat, maka potensi atlet-atlet berkualitas pun semakin bermunculan. Menjadi sehat sama dengan membangun bangsa. Bangsa menjadi besar otomatis membuat konflik berkurang dan semangat persatuan terjaga.

Karena itulah, setelah 71 tahun merdeka sebagai bangsa Indonesia, sudah seharusnya kita bangga dan mendukung olahraga sebagai sebuah alat pemersatu bangsa di tengah kemajemukan masyarakat Indonesia, mendukung olahraga sebagai alat untuk meningkatkan harkat dan martabat bangsa, mengenalkan serta mengharumkan nama Indonesia dengan prestasi-prestasi olahraga di dunia internasional.[10] Dengan berprestasi, maka dengan sendirinya bangsa ini akan menjadi bangsa yang besar dan berpotensi menjadi bangsa yang menentukan di kancah percaturan global. Ingat, semua bangsa yang besar di dunia ini pasti memiliki tim olahraga yang tangguh, yang sering berprestasi di tingkat dunia, seperti Olimpiade, dan ajang-ajang lainnya.

Bicara Olimpiade, ajang ini juga awalnya dibuat sebagai sarana pemersatu. Di Yunani abad 8 pra-Masehi (SM) hingga abad 4 Masehi (M), gagasan dan penerapan prinsip Republik, Kedaulatan Rakyat dan Negara-Hukum juga berkembang. Namun, Yunani tidak hanya menggunakan gagasan Republik, Demorkasi dan Konstitusi untuk menciptakan perdamaian atau menghentikan permusuhan. Meskipun gagasan Republik berasal dari Yunani. Yunani memusatkan perhatian pada penciptaan tata-masyarakat damai (*peaceable society*). Programnya antara lain adalah tradisi gencatan senjata dan penghentian permusuhan melalui olahraga, yang kemudian dinamakan Olimpiade.[11]

Orang Yunani memiliki dua tradisi. Pertama, adalah tradisi *Ekecheiria* atau gencatan senjata sebelum dan selama *Olympic Games*, kira-kira tiga bulan, guna menjamin kota Elis, tempat Olimpiade pra-Masehi, tidak diserang dan atlet-atlet, serta penonton aman berpergian ke Olimpiade dan kembali ke negaranya. Tradisi Ekecheiria menerapkan 4 (empat) jenis aturan-main atau ketentuan (*rules*), yakni kesepakatan resmi pihak bertikai menghentikan perang (*armistice*); tentara

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[10] Suara Jakarta. (2015, September 9). *Olahraga, unity in diversity*. Retrieved from http://suarajakarta.co/ekstra/jurnalis-warga/olahraga-unity-in-diversity/

[11] Suratman, T. (2015).

dilarang mengancam Olimpiade; sangketa hukum dihentikan; dan hukuman mati dilarang. Inti tradisi *Ekecheiria* yaitu *truce* (gencatan senjata), *armistice* (kesepakatan resmi berhenti berperang), dan *cessation of hostilities* (penghentian permusuhan).[12]

Kedua, tradisi Xenia. Orang-orang Yunani abad 8 SM–4 M bersaing dan bertanding secara damai, bahkan dengan lawan-lawan atau musuhnya. Spirit ini berakar jauh ke tradisi sangat tua Yunani. Yakni Xenia, tradisi istimewa zaman Helenik. Tradisi ini mengajarkan sikap ramah dan baik terhadap orang-orang asing atau tamu *(hospitality)*. Xenia mewajibkan orang-orang Yunani untuk menyambut ramah dan bersikap santun serta melayani kebutuhan dasar orang-orang asing, jauh sebelum mereka mengetahui apa pun tentang orang-orang asing itu. Ini seperti suatu kesepakatan dan perjanjian *(pacta)* tidak tertulis antara manusia tentang kewajiban kepada orang asing, seperti halnya para tamu, yang diyakini oleh orang Yunani, ditegakkan oleh dewa Zeus. Olimpiade diadakan oleh orang Yunani untuk menghormati dewa Zeus.[13]

Tradisi Xenia menunjukkan pentingnya mengatasi atau menanggulangi sentimen unik dan umum manusia seperti ketakutan dan curiga menyambut orang asing. Xenia melahirkan penghentian permusuhan antara-manusia. Menurut Immanuel Kant, pengusul "*universal hospitality*", untuk melahirkan perdamaian abadi (*perpetual peace*) di bumi, tradisi mulia ini tidak perlu hanya terbatas pada ruang dan waktu festival Olimpiade tetapi perdamaian abadi. Sebab semua manusia sama-sama memiliki dan hidup dari bumi dan menghirup udara yang sama.[14]

Ekecheiria (truce) menjamin keamanan dan keselamatan para atlet,

penonton, dan peserta Olimpiade di kota Olympia. Maka Olimpiade dianggap lebih bernilai dan lebih sakral daripada perang antara negara-kota. Pada zaman modern, Olimpiade disertai oleh dukungan dari PBB sejak 1993 agar para atlet mengesampingkan perbedaan pilihan politik guna mengikuti Olimpiade. Gencatan senjata singkat di Bosnia selama Lillehammer Games, misalnya, memungkinkan vaksinasi sekitar 10.000 anak. Selain itu, Atlet Korea Utara dan Korea Selatan dapat bertanding bersama pada ajang Olimpiade, termasuk ajang-ajang olahraga internasional lainnya.[15]

Mitos Olimpiade masuk ke kultur Eropa sejak era Renaisans. Istilah *olympien* sangat lazim bagi pemikir klasik Jerman seperti Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Kant dan Humboldt. Winckelma melihat sisi estetika dan kekuatan moral Olimpiade sebagai satu jenis seni klasik. Akhir abad 18, pelancong Eropa Utara mendatangi kota Ellis, Yunani. Arkeolog Jerman, Ernst Curtius, mendapat izin dari Pemerintah Yunani tahun 1875-1881 untuk menggali situs-situs Olympia, khususnya atlis, situs sakral di pusat Olimpiade. Hasil penemuan Curtius dirilis oleh jurnal-jurnal ilmiah Eropa dan Amerika Serikat tahun 1880-1890-an. Tahun 1892, Coubertin merilis gagasan revitalisasi *Olympic Games*. Ini hal baru masa itu, sebelumnya, *Costwold Games* diprakarsai oleh Robert Dover awal abad 17 M, disebut *Olympic Games*. Ini merupakan festival atletik modern pertama yang berkaitan dengan Olimpiade Yunani.[16]

Baron Piere de Fredi Coubertin, seorang warga Perancis, pada tahun 1890 terinspirasi untuk mendirikan Komite Olimpiade Internasional (*International Olympic Committee*/IOC). Coubertin punya ide untuk menyelenggarakan suatu ajang Olimpiade internasional setiap empat tahun sekali berdasarkan kegiatan Olimpiade kuno

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[12] Suratman, T. (2015).
[13] Suratman, T. (2015).
[14] Suratman, T. (2015).

[15] Suratman, T. (2015).
[16] Suratman, T. (2015).

yang hanya diselenggarakan di Yunani. Tujuan Coubertin menghidupkan kembali Olimpiade adalah untuk mempersatukan bangsa-bangsa di seluruh dunia. Coubertin memandang Olimpiade sebagai pola pikir (*a state of mind*) yang "*advocates a comprehensive sporting education accessible to all, braided with manly valour and chivalrous spirit, implicated in aesthetic and literary manifestations, serving as a motor to national life and a focus to civic life*." Olimpiade adalah proses edukasi dan kultivasi bakat seseorang melalui pendidikan dan pelatihan fisik, dalam frasa singkat Didon, yakni *Citius*, *Altius*, dan *Fortius*.[17]

Dewasa ini, olahraga merupakan praktek kegiatan fisik dan non-fisik sesuai aturan-main tertentu. Olahraga membutuhkan peralatan dan fasilitas. Olahraga juga membutuhkan aturan-main formal. Aturan-aturan tambahan merinci dan mengendalikan syarat-syarat olahraga. Ada pula ketentuan tentang peralatan dan fasilitas dan aturan main masing-masing olahraga. Manfaat dari aturan-main ini antara lain menciptakan keteraturan, ketertiban, dan perdamaian.[18] Olimpiade di Yunani kuno menjadi ajang perdamaian dan persekutuan antar bangsa. Untuk itu, tidak bisa kita pungkiri bahwa olahraga memainkan peran beragam dan penting di dalam sejarah pertumbuhan, perkembangan, dan pemersatu masyarakat di hampir seluruh dunia.[19]

2.2. Olahraga untuk Perdamaian

Definisi perdamaian memang cukup banyak dan memiliki perspektif yang beragam, akan tetapi terminologi "damai negatif" dan "damai positif" menurut penulis sesuai untuk dibahas di dalam tulisan ini. Damai negatif merujuk pada tidak adanya konflik yang diikuti oleh kekerasan, tetapi penyebab kekerasan (ketakutan, kebencian, dan intoleransi) dan struktur kekerasan (ketidakadilan, pengabaian hak sosial dan ekonomi, dan diskriminasi) masih terjadi sehingga kemungkinan terjadinya kekerasan masih terbuka. Kekerasan struktural dapat timbul karena tindakan atau kebijakan yang bersifat lokal, nasional, atau internasional, bahkan bisa juga sebagai akibat dari interaksi antar ketiganya.[20]

Sebaliknya, damai positif merujuk pada tidak adanya konflik yang diikuti dengan kekerasan, maupun kekerasan yang sifatnya struktural, serta menawarkan kondisi-kondisi yang optimal untuk pembangunan. Pembangunan perdamaian yang positif melibatkan peran negara untuk mengembangkan sistem demokrasi yang lebih adil, di mana kemiskinan, buta huruf, dan akar-akar konflik lainnya dapat dihilangkan. Secara ideal, konsep ini berarti menyelesaikan akar-akar konflik sebelum mereka bereskalasi menjadi konflik dalam skala besar.[21]

Olahraga adalah jembatan alami yang mempersatukan antara budaya, agama, kelompok etnis, dan negara. Olahraga juga menjadi dasar dari semua bahasa awal tentang apa yang disebut "permainan". Sekjen PBB Ban Ki-Moon pernah berucap dalam International Forum on Sport, Peace and Development di Markas Besar PBB, Geneva, Swiss, bahwa olahraga adalah sebuah bahasa universal, sebuah persamaan umum yang menghancurkan segala tembok dan penghalang, serta alat yang kuat untuk

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[17] Suratman, T. (2015).

[18] Suratman, T. (2015).

[19] Sports for Development and Peace International Working Group. (2008). *Harnessing the power of sports for development and peace: Recommendations to governments*. Canada: Right to Play. Retrieved from http://www.youthpolicy.org/library/wp-content/uploads/library/2008_Harnessing_Power_Sport_Development_Peace_Eng.pdf

[20] Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by peaceful means*. London, England: SAGE Publications.

[21] Galtung, J. (1996).

membawa perubahan dan pembangunan. Ban menambahkan, olahraga adalah sebuah industri yang mendunia dan memiliki dampak yang tersebar luas. Dengan menggunakan olahraga sebagai alat, PBB dapat mengimplementasikan berbagai kegiatan di seluruh dunia, seperti bantuan kemanusiaan, peacebuilding, pendidikan, kesetaraan jender, lingkungan hidup, dan perjuangan menghadapi bahaya HIV-AIDS.[22]

Ajang olahraga besar seperti Olimpiade juga dapat melahirkan sebuah warisan perdamaian dunia, termasuk melestarikan budaya damai yang lahir dari olahraga. Menjawab hal tersebut, PBB harus terlibat untuk memberikan akses bagi olahraga dan pendidikan fisik sebagai bagian dari indikator terhadap index pembangunan manusia; sarana evaluasi untuk mengawasi dampak olahraga terhadap perkembangan sosial dan ekonomi; dan juga PBB harus "memaksa" para anggotanya untuk bekerja sama mematuhi dan menjalankan kebijakan terkait olahraga ini. Olahraga harus berkontribusi terhadap kemajuan masyarakat dan memberi dampak yang signifikan terhadapnya.[23]

Perdamaian antar dan di dalam negara adalah aspirasi dasar dan tujuan utama dari komunitas pembangunan global. Komitmen internasional kepada perdamaian dan resolusi konflik tersebar luas dan secara jelas diartikulasikan di dalam Deklarasi Milenium (*Millennium Declaration*) yang diterapkan oleh PBB sejak 8 September 2000: "*kami akan terus berupaya untuk membebaskan manusia dari penderitaan perang, baik di dalam maupun antar negara, yang telah merenggut lebih dari 5 juta nyawa manusia selama dekade*

terakhir"[24] Pernyataan tersebut menguatkan resolusi Majelis Umum PBB sebelumnya yang menyatakan bahwa pemerintah-pemerintah negara memiliki peran penting dalam memajukan dan menguatkan budaya perdamaian"[25]

Di tahun 1999, Majelis Umum PBB mengeluarkan sebuah resolusi tentang hak untuk mendapatkan perdamaian, menegaskan perdamaian sebagai bagian dari hak asasi manusia, dan menyerukan kepada setiap negara dan organisasi internasional untuk melakukan yang terbaik dalam upayanya membantu implementasi hak untuk mendapatkan perdamaian, dengan melakukan langkah-langkah yang tepat, baik dalam tingkatan nasional maupun internasional.[26]

Langkah-langkah di atas berakar dari pemahaman bahwa perdamaian, selain esensial dalam konteks keamanan dan kesejahteraan manusia, adalah sebuah kondisi yang diperlukan untuk pengembangan sosial, budaya, dan ekonomi manusia, dan juga sebuah bangsa atau negara. Kita juga harus menyadari bahwa konflik yang muncul bersama dengan kekerasan dapat dengan cepat menghancurkan pembangunan yang sudah dilakukan selama puluhan tahun.

Di dalam negara-negara yang terkena dampak konflik bersenjata di wilayah perbatasannya, banyak institusi-institusi masyarakat yang berhenti beroperasi, pelayanan kesehatan dan sistem edukasi tak

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[22] The World Games. (2012). *Peace through sports*. Retrieved from https://www.theworldgames.org/news/The-World-Games-17/Peace-Through-Sports-1135
[23] The World Games. (2012).

[24] United Nations. (2000, September 8). *United Nations General Assembly, United Nations millennium declaration*. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm
[25] United Nations. (1999, October 6). *United Nations General Assembly, declaration and program of action on a culture of peace*. Retrieved from http://www.un-documents.net/a53r243.htm
[26] United Nations. (1984, November 12). *United Nations General Assembly, right of peoples to peace*. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/39/a39r011.htm

berjalan, infrastruktur hancur, kegiatan pertanian terganggu, pasokan makanan menjadi langka, perdagangan dan kegiatan bisnis menyusut, kemiskinan meningkat, masyarakat kehilangan tempat tinggal, epidemi penyakit menyebar, diskriminasi terhadap masyarakat marjinal meningkat, dan kekerasan, serta kejahatan menyebar luas.

Akibatnya, banyak orang kehilangan nyawa karena kekerasan, kelaparan, atau penyakit; penyintas mengalami luka psikologis yang permanen dan terkadang mengalami cacat fisik; anggota keluarga saling terpisah; masyarakat kehilangan mata pencaharian; dan tak terhitung banyaknya anak-anak yang menjadi yatim piatu. Saat ranjau darat digunakan, warga sipil terus menerus terbunuh, luka berat, dan tidak dapat kembali ke tanah mereka karena sudah tidak lagi produktif, bahkan jauh setelah perang berakhir.

Tidak semua konflik berskala nasional. Banyak kelompok-kelompok masyarakat yang harus menghadapi ketegangan-ketegangan lokal dan konflik yang terjadi antara faksi politik yang berbeda, diantara kelompok etnis yang berlainan, dan antara warga asli melawan warga pendatang. Sekalipun belum, atau tidak mengakibatkan terjadinya kekerasan dalam skala besar, secara tidak langsung kondisi ini melahirkan polarisasi di dalam masyarakat, yang memelihara dendam, permusuhan, ketidakpercayaan, serta merusak kerjasama yang dibutuhkan antar masyarakat untuk melakukan pembangunan.

2.3. Membangun Hubungan antara Individu dan Masyarakat

Setelah kita melihat bahwa dunia ini dipenuhi oleh konflik yang beraneka ragam, yang perlu dipikirkan adalah bagaimana mengatasi masalah tersebut. Seperti yang sudah disebutkan, konflik tidak hanya menganggu tataran kehidupan manusia di

hampir setiap tingkatan, tetapi konflik membawa kekerasan yang berujung pada hilangnya nyawa manusia. Olahraga menurut penulis dapat menjadi sarana yang efektif untuk menjawab masalah tersebut. Sekalipun, memang sulit untuk benar-benar menghilangkan konflik dari muka bumi ini, namun kehadiran olahraga dapat menjadi alternatif positif yang dapat digunakan siapa saja yang berkomitmen untuk melestarikan perdamaian di dunia.

Dalam konteks olahraga sebagai sarana membangun perdamaian, olahraga dapat bekerja terutamanya dalam membangun jembatan hubungan melintasi perbedaan-perbedaan sosial, ekonomi, dan budaya di dalam masyarakat. Olahraga juga dapat bekerja untuk membangun rasa identitas bersama, termasuk menciptakan persahabatan diantara kelompok-kelompok yang jika tidak akan memiliki kecenderungan untuk mengancam satu sama lain dengan ketidakpercayaan, permusuhan, sampai kekerasan.

Lederach memandang proses membangun hubungan sebagai komponen sentral dalam perdamaian. Ia pun menggarisbawahi pentingnya intervensi yang secara eksplisit fokus pada strategi jaringan untuk membangun hubungan. Secara ideal, proses perdamaian menciptakan sebuah jaringan hubungan-hubungan yang mampu menopang kerusakan lokal tanpa kehilangan seluruhnya. Hal ini berarti pola hubungan masyarakat tidak semuanya terkait, atau bergantung pada satu individu tertentu atau sekelompok kecil individu-individu saja. Hal ini juga mencakup hubungan horisontal antarsesama kelompok, komunitas, dan institusi dalam masyarakat, seperti halnya hubungan vertikal untuk mempengaruhi pemimpin-pemimpin dan para pengambil

keputusan di luar kelompok masyarakat tersebut.[27]

Salah satu lembaga yang dapat melakukan hal tersebut adalah Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) atau yang secara internasional lebih dikenal sebagai Non-Government Organization (NGO). LSM berada dalam posisi yang baik untuk memfasilitasi proses membangun hubungan antarmasyarakat dengan mengajak mereka untuk terlibat bersama dalam dialog-dialog dan kegiatan-kegiatan lintas batas. Jika didukung secara tepat, kegiatan-kegiatan olahraga dapat berperan penting dalam proses-proses menuju perdamaian tersebut dengan menciptakan kesempatan lebih untuk menjalin hubungan sosial. Contohnya adalah dengan membangun organisasi olahraga berbasis komunitas dengan partisipasi sukarela dari masyarakat. Kondisi ini dapat membangun ikatan sosial dan infrastruktur komunitas yang dapat membantu menciptakan perdamaian dan stabilitas.[28]

Olahraga dapat berperan sebagai alat untuk mempercepat upaya demobilisasi dan perlucutan senjata, termasuk mendukung upaya yang terkadang cukup menyulitkan, yaitu untuk melakukan reintegrasi terhadap para mantan kombatan, terutama mantan kombatan anak-anak, agar dapat kembali diterima ke dalam lingkungan mereka. Kegiatan olahraga yang reguler dapat membantu menyembuhkan trauma perang karena berolahraga dapat menyediakan ruang berkegiatan yang aman bagi para korban perang dalam upaya memberikan kembali perasaan aman dan kondisi normal bagi mereka. Di dalam ruang berkegiatan

yang aman, para korban akan mampu membangun hubungan yang positif, termasuk meningkatkan kembali rasa percaya diri mereka.

Melalui popularitas dan jangkauannya yang universal, olahraga juga menawarkan sarana untuk menjangkau dan melibatkan kelompok-kelompok yang terabaikan. Dalam kasus ini, kegiatan-kegiatan olahraga terkadang adalah penghubung awal yang membuka pintu terhadap kesempatan-kesempatan untuk menghubungkan masyarakat terhadap upaya-upaya bantuan bagi kelompok-kelompok ini.[29]

Selanjutnya, olahraga-olahraga yang dimainkan oleh para elit negara juga bisa digunakan untuk membuka pintu bagi dialog perdamaian, serta untuk meredakan ketegangan politik antar negara. "Diplomasi Ping-Pong" yang sangat terkenal antara Republik Rakyat China dengan AS diluncurkan pada tahun 1971 saat pemain nasional tenis meja AS ketinggalan bus untuk menuju tempat pertandingan, tetapi kemudian diundang untuk ikut ke dalam bus para pemain China. Salah satu pemain China menawarkan lukisan dari sutra kepada pemain AS tersebut sebagai ucapan salam. Pemain AS tersebut kemudian memberikan sebuah baju kaus bertuliskan simbol perdamaian dan kata-kata "*Let it be*" sebagai balasan. Peliputan media terhadap peristiwa ini berujung pada undangan bagi delegasi AS untuk mengunjungi China.[30]

Selain peristiwa antara AS dan China tersebut, istilah "diplomasi kriket" telah digunakan untuk menjelaskan peningkatan hubungan antara India dan Pakistan, sebagai hasil dari undangan informal dari Perdana Menteri India Manmohan Singh kepada Jenderal Pervez Musharraf dari Pakistan

[27] Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
[28] Norwegian Minsitry of Foreign Affairs. (2005). *Strategy for Norway's culture and sports cooperation with countries in the South.* Retrieved from https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kilde /ud/rap/2005/0022/ddd/pdfv/265661-culture.pdf

[29] Sports for Development and Peace International Working Group. (2008).
[30] Sports for Development and Peace International Working Group. (2008).

untuk menyaksikan pertandingan kriket internasional antara kedua negara. Karena itu, olahraga di tingkat elit mulai sering digunakan dalam berbagai bentuk, untuk mencegah konflik dan membangun perdamaian di negara-negara maju dan juga negara-negara berkembang.

2.4. Olahraga untuk Mencegah Konflik dan Membangun Perdamaian

Dukungan olahraga untuk pembangunan dan perdamaian berakar dari pengakuan bahwa olahraga memiliki sifat-sifat unik yang memungkinkannya membawa nilai-nilai tertentu terhadap perkembangan dan proses perdamaian. Olahraga yang dilihat dan dinilai sebagai penghubung sosial, adalah mungkin salah satu sifat olahraga yang terkuat dalam konteks pembangunan. Pada dasarnya olahraga adalah sebuah proses sosial untuk mendekatkan pemain, tim, pelatih, sukarelawan, dan penonton secara bersama. Olahraga menciptakan jaringan hubungan horisontal (mendatar) yang ekstensif di tingkat masyarakat, dan juga jaringan vertikal (tegak lurus) kepada pemerintah, federasi olahraga, dan organisasi internasional untuk mendapatkan pendanaan atau bentuk-bentuk dukungan lainnya.

Jaringan olahraga seperti itu adalah sumber penting bagi jaringan sosial karena dapat membantu melawan penolakan terhadap masyarakat tertentu dan juga membantu kapasitas masyarakat untuk bekerja secara kolektif, melihat kesempatan-kesempatan baru yang tersedia, dan menghadapi tantangan-tantangan yang menghadang. Kegiatan-kegiatan yang menggambarkan nilai-nilai terbaik dari olahraga, seperti *fair play*, kerjasama tim, menghormati lawan, dan bersifat terbuka (inklusif), menguatkan proses-proses ini dengan membantu para partisipan untuk mendapatkan nilai-nilai dan keterampilan yang konsisten dengan membangun

hubungan sosial yang baik, bekerja sama, dan saling mendukung satu sama lain. Jika masyarakat yang terlibat secara umum bersifat terbuka (inklusif), dimensi dari olahraga dapat membantu menyatukan masyarakat dari latar belakang dan perspektif yang berbeda, kemudian dapat membangun ikatan bersama yang akan berkontribusi secara positif bagi terciptanya kohesi sosial antarmasyarakat.[31]

Untuk alasan ini, olahraga telah lama digunakan sebagai sarana untuk memajukan semangat persatuan nasional dan harmoni di dalam negeri, dan juga antarnegara. Selama beberapa dekade terakhir, olahraga telah muncul sebagai hiburan global dan telah menjadi salah satu panggung komunikasi yang kuat dan memiliki jangkauan yang sangat luas. Pertandingan olahraga global menawarkan kemampuan untuk menjangkau orang-orang di seluruh dunia. Karena itulah, mereka adalah panggung yang sangat efektif untuk melakukan edukasi publik dan mobilisasi sosial. Sebagai tambahan, atlet-atlet profesional yang berprestasi telah menjadi selebritis dunia, seperti Maria Sharapova di tennis; Tiger Woods di golf; Cristiano Ronaldo di sepakbola; Michael Jordan di basket; dll, sehingga mereka dapat berperan sebagai duta, juru bicara, atau panutan yang sangat efektif untuk mengkampanyekan pembangunan dan langkah-langkah perdamaian.

Kemudian, olahraga dapat menjadi jalan pintas bagi pengembangan sarana-sarana perdamaian. Penggunaan olahraga untuk mempromosikan hidup sehat dan mencegah penyakit; memperkuat daya tahan anak; perkembangan dan pendidikan kaum muda; membina keterbukaan sosial, termasuk mengajak orang-orang yang mengalami keterbatasan untuk berolahraga; membuka lapangan pekerjaan dan perkembangan ekonomi; dan tentunya

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[31] Sports for Development and Peace International Working Group. (2008).

sebagai alat pencegahan konflik dan membangun perdamaian sudah semakin banyak dilakukan di seluruh dunia.

Selanjutnya, bicara konflik pasti bicara kekerasan. Kekerasan memiliki beragam sebab, seperti kurangnya kesempatan sebagai akibat peminggiran (*exclusion*) sosial dan ekonomi. Populasi masyarakat yang dipinggirkan biasanya berjumlah cukup besar, akan tetapi masyarakat yang dipinggirkan biasanya juga terdiri dari penduduk asli, masyarakat adat, kelompok etnis minoritas, pencari suaka dan pengungsi, perempuan dan anak-anak, orang dengan keterbatasan, tuna wisma, dan kaum muda yang tidak sekolah dan menganggur. Semua masyarakat yang hidup di dalam kemiskinan yang ekstrim umumnya mengalami peminggiran sosial yang bisa berujung pada terjadinya konflik di dalam atau antarkelompok tersebut.

Dalam konteks ini olahraga dapat menjadi sarana yang tepat dan penting untuk mengurangi ketegangan sosial dan konflik di tingkat masyarakat, maupun tingkat negara, dengan menghadapi masalah-masalah yang terkait peminggiran kelompok masyarakat tertentu dan juga menyediakan kesempatan bagi siapa saja untuk terlibat di dalam kegiatan sosial dan ekonomi. Banyak faktor yang mengarah pada peminggiran, baik dalam tingkatan individu atau masyarakat, mengakibatkan banyak individu atau kelompok tertentu mengalami masalah-masalah yang beragam.

Masalah dan kesulitan yang beragam ini saling terkait satu sama lain, serta merupakan hasil dari sumber daya dan modal sosial manusia yang kurang. Sumber daya manusia adalah keterampilan, pengetahuan, dan ciri khas pribadi (kepercayaan dan keyakinan terhadap diri sendiri, pendidikan, keterampilan ketenagakerjaan, dll) yang dimiliki setiap individu. Modal sosial adalah jaringan sosial, koneksi, dan rasa memiliki terhadap lingkungan masyarakat yang lebih luas, yang memungkinkan setiap individu untuk mendapatkan akses terhadap sumber daya yang mereka butuhkan untuk menghadapi tantangan, serta meraih kesempatan dalam kehidupan mereka.[32]

Kurangnya sumber daya dan modal sosial manusia adalah akibat dari struktur dan dinamika sosial ekonomi yang membatasi pilihan-pilihan yang tersedia. Bagi sekelompok orang, kondisi tersebut mengakibatkan terjadinya peminggiran sosial di semua tingkatan dalam masyarakat. Olahraga dapat digunakan untuk meningkatkan taraf hidup masyarakat. Karena popularitas universalnya, olahraga secara khusus dapat menjadi alat yang efektif untuk menghubungkan kelompok-kelompok yang terpinggirkan, yang umumnya sulit untuk dijangkau.

Di level individu, olahraga dapat membantu kesehatan dan kesegaran tubuh, termasuk kesehatan mental untuk mengurangi stres, kegelisahan, dan depresi. Di dalam istilah psikologi, olahraga dipercayai memiliki potensi untuk meingkatkan empati, toleransi, keterampilan sosial, dan kerjasama seseorang. Keuntungan-keuntungan ini dapat membantu individu-individu untuk meningkatkan sumber daya dan modal sosial mereka, termasuk mengurangi sikap kekerasan dan intolerans.[33]

Jika penyelenggaraannya diatur sedemikian rupa, olahraga dapat membantu kaum marjinal untuk mendapatkan keterampilan dan kepercayaan diri yang dibutuhkan untuk mengatasi batasan pribadi dan juga menghilangkan batasan struktural

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32 Sportanddev. (2005). The roles of sport and education in the social inclusion of asylum seekers and refugees: An evaluation of policy and practice in the UK. *Sportanddev*. Retrieved from https://www.sportanddev.org/sites/default/files/downloads/the_roles_of_sport_and_education_in_the_social_inclusion_of_asylum_seekers_and_refuge.pdf
33 Sportanddev. (2005).

agar mereka dapat berpartisipasi juga di dalam masyarakat. Pengaturan dapat dilakukan dengan mengintegrasikan olahraga dengan kegiatan-kegiatan masyarakat, seperti menghubungkan masyarakat dengan pelayanan kesehatan, pendidikan, kesempatan bekerja, bahkan bisa membantu masyarakat yang ingin menjalankan usaha kecil-kecilan.

Peran olahraga dapat memajukan jaringan-jaringan sosial dan kesadaran untuk aktif dalam kegiatan masyarakat adalah hal yang sangat penting. Penelitian menunjukkan bahwa olahraga memiliki potensi untuk mempromosikan identitas, koherensi, dan integrasi suatu komunitas. Mereka yang secara aktif berolahraga akan lebih banyak terlibat di dalam kegiatan-kegiatan masyarakat. Karena itulah, olahraga dapat digunakan sebagai alat untuk membangun komunitas dan modal sosial.[34]

Modal sosial adalah elemen penting untuk menanggapi masalah-masalah peminggiran sosial karena ia melayani tiga fungsi penting, yaitu mengikat, menjembatani, dan menghubungkan. Mengikat dapat diartikan sebagai upaya untuk membantu masyarakat terikat satu sama lain secara sosial, yang biasanya melibatkan keluarga, teman, dan tetangga. Fungsi menjembatani melibatkan jaringan-jaringan yang menghubungan kelompok-kelompok yang berbeda di dalam masyarakat, lalu menciptakan jembatan diantara mereka. Terakhir, menghubungkan berarti membangun jaringan kepada organisasi-organisasi dan sistem-sistem yang dapat menolong masyarakat mendapatkan akses sumber daya.[35]

Saran untuk pemerintah, karena olahraga memiliki dampak yang strategis, harus ada upaya strategis untuk lebih mengintegrasikan olahraga ke dalam agenda pembangunan. Upaya ini, seperti menggabungkan olahraga ke dalam program-program kesehatan, pendidikan, pembangunan dan perdamaian, serta memanfaatkan olahraga sebagai alat untuk membangun bangsa. Olahraga untuk semua harus menjadi dasar bagi pemanfaatan yang sistematis dalam olahraga untuk perdamaian. Para *stakeholder* dituntut untuk menetapkan hubungan yang jelas antara kesempatan untuk berpartisipasi dalam olahraga dan pencapaian yang lebih luas dalam pembangunan berkesinambungan, serta perdamaian.

Untuk memaksimalkan pengaruh positif olahraga, maka pemerintah didorong untuk mempromosikan olahraga melalui legislasi dan kebijakan yang inklusif dan koheren, termasuk langkah-langkah untuk meningkatkan partisipasi orang-orang dengan keterbatasan. Pemerintah juga harus menginvestasikan pembangunan olahraga dan infrastruktur, termasuk institusi olahraga dasar, area bermain, relawan yang terampil dan persediaan dana untuk membantu para inisiatif lokal.

Dari konteks nasional, pemerintah harus mendukung atlet-atlet muda berbakat agar menyadari potensi mereka dan melindungi mereka dari eksploitasi. Atlet-atlet yang bertanding di tingkat internasional dapat membantu memperkuat persatuan nasional, mempromosikan dialog lintas budaya, memberi inspirasi pada generasi yang lebih muda agar bisa melampaui dan menciptakan rasa kebanggaan nasional. Terakhir, dari konteks internasional, pemerintah harus terlibat lebih aktif dalam inisiatif dan kemitraan internasional untuk memajukan olahraga untuk perdamaian. Indonesia dapat berperan signifikan dalam hal ini karena kita selalu terlibat dalam ajang-ajang olahraga internasional, termasuk keterlibatan mengirimkan kontingen dalam misi-misi perdamaian PBB di seluruh dunia, sehingga eksistensi Indonesia diakui oleh komunitas internasional.

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[34] Sportanddev. (2005).
[35] Sportanddev. (2005).

3. Kesimpulan

Suatu bangsa akan menjadi bangsa yang besar jika mampu membangun seluruh aspek kehidupannya. Olahraga adalah unsur penting dalam cikal bakal nasionalisme bangsa karena melalui olahraga segala perbedaan dapat ditepis. Olahraga juga merupakan kegiatan positif yang dapat menghindari pertentangan sosial dan mempersempit perselisihan. Itu semua dapat dicapai tentunya jika pelaku olahraga menjunjung nilai-nilai positif yang terkandung dalam berolahraga, seperti disiplin, pantang menyerah, dan sportivitas dalam bertanding.

Olahraga telah mempersatukan bangsa ini sejak kemerdekaan. Salah satu upaya pendiri bangsa kita untuk mempersatukan Indonesia pasca proklamasi kemerdekaan adalah melalui olahraga, yaitu melalui diselenggarakannya PON tahun 1948 yang bertujuan mempererat rasa persatuan dan kesatuan bangsa. Setelah itu, Indonesia mulai berpartisipasi di ajang-ajang olahraga internasional, seperti Sea Games, Asian Games, Olimpiade, sampai Ganefo. Ajang tersebut belum termasuk ajang per cabang olahraga, seperti Piala Thomas dan Uber di cabang Badminton, Piala Davis di Tenis, Piala Asia, Piala AFF, dll di cabang Sepakbola, dan juga pastinya di cabang-cabang olahraga lainnya.

Itulah mengapa olahraga menjadi sarana penting untuk mempersatukan bangsa. Semua konsep-konsep indah bangsa ini yang dirumuskan para *founding fathers* tidak akan efektif tanpa pengejawentahannya. Olahraga menjadi bahasa yang sangat pas dan sesuai untuk hal itu. Olahraga dapat diterima semua lapisan masyarakat di Indonesia, serta secara tradisional pasti dikenal. Setiap wilayah dan daerah di Indonesia pasti memiliki olahraga tradisional dalam bentuk apapun. Jadi, tidaklah sulit untuk mempersatukan bangsa ini melalui olahraga.

Semangat universal dan partikular yang ada dalam olahraga dapat memperkuat rasa nasionalisme dan kebanggaan kita sebagai bangsa, seperti yang sudah disinggung sedikit sebelumnya. Pembuktiannya dapat kita lihat dengan fakta bahwa prestasi di bidang olahraga mampu mengangkat derajat, harkat, dan martabat suatu bangsa meskipun dalam keadaan yang terpuruk.

Olahraga adalah jembatan alami yang mempersatukan antara budaya, agama, kelompok etnis, dan negara. Olahraga juga menjadi dasar dari semua bahasa awal tentang apa yang disebut "permainan". Dengan menggunakan olahraga sebagai alat, PBB dapat mengimplementasikan berbagai kegiatan di seluruh dunia, seperti bantuan kemanusiaan, peacebuilding, pendidikan, kesetaraan jender, lingkungan hidup, dan perjuangan menghadapi bahaya HIV-AIDS. Ajang olahraga besar seperti Olimpiade juga dapat melahirkan sebuah warisan perdamaian dunia, termasuk melestarikan budaya damai yang lahir dari olahraga.

Dalam konteks olahraga sebagai sarana membangun perdamaian, olahraga dapat bekerja terutamanya dalam membangun jembatan hubungan melintasi perbedaan-perbedaan sosial, ekonomi, dan budaya di dalam masyarakat. Olahraga juga dapat bekerja untuk membangun rasa identitas bersama, termasuk menciptakan persahabatan diantara kelompok-kelompok yang jika tidak akan memiliki kecenderungan untuk mengancam satu sama lain dengan ketidakpercayaan, permusuhan, sampai kekerasan. Olahraga yang dimainkan oleh para elit negara juga bisa digunakan untuk membuka pintu bagi dialog perdamaian, serta untuk meredakan ketegangan politik antar negara.

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MAKNA STRATEGIS KAJIAN WILAYAH ASIA TENGGARA DARI SUDUT PANDANG HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL

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ABSTRACT
Although the promotion of Southeast Asian Studies is one of the main objectives in the establishment of ASEAN, most major works of Southeast Asian Studies that define this region emerge outside of Southeast Asia. From an international relations perspective, particularly constructivism, identity and knowledge construction have strategic meaning. By reviewing the literature, this paper will (i) explain what Southeast Asian Studies is as an academic field, and (ii) analyze the strategic meaning of Southeast Asian Studies from an International Relations perspective.

Keywords: Southeast Asian Studies, International Relations, constructivism, construction of knowledge

I. Pendahuluan

Pada tanggal 8 Agustus 1967 lima menteri luar negeri dari sebagian besar negara-negara di Asia Tenggara menandatangani sebuah deklarasi yang dikenal dengan Deklarasi Bangkok atau Deklarasi ASEAN. Momentum ini menjadi awal mula berdirinya *Association of Southeast Asian Nations* (ASEAN) atau Perkumpulan Bangsa-Bangsa Asia Tenggara. Kelima menteri luar negeri yang kemudian dikenal sebagai Bapak Pendiri ASEAN tersebut adalah Adam Malik dari Indonesia, Narciso R. Ramos dari Filipina, Tun Abdul Razak dari Malaysia, S. Rajaratnam dari Singapura, dan Thanat Khoman dari Thailand.

Diperlukan beberapa dekade untuk merangkul semua negara di Asia Tenggara untuk bersatu di bawah payung ASEAN. Brunei Darussalam bergabung pada tanggal 7 Januari 1984, Viet Nam pada tanggal 28 Juli 1995, Laos dan Myanmar pada tanggal 23 Juli 1997 dan Kamboja pada tanggal 30 April 1999. Hal ini disebabkan oleh proses panjang dekolonisasi dan konflik bersenjata antara di beberapa negara di kawasan Asia Tenggara yang belum selesai hingga akhir Perang Dingin.

Seperti yang tercantum dalam Deklarasi ASEAN tahun 1967, organisasi regional ini memiliki tujuh tujuan inti yang menekankan kerja sama dan percepatan pertumbuhan ekonomi, kemajuan sosial dan pembangunan budaya serta usaha-usaha stabilitas dan perdamaian regional serta penghormatan terhadap prinsip-prinsip Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa. Salah satu dari tujuh tujuan inti ini adalah butir keenam yang secara tegas mengamanatkan penggalakan Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara.

Sekalipun promosi atau penggalakan Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara merupakan salah satu mandat dalam pembentukan ASEAN, pengembangan Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara di kawasan ini sangat lambat dibandingkan usaha serupa di Amerika Serikat, Eropa dan Australia. Hal ini dibuktikan dari kurangnya institusi yang menawarkan Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara sebagai sebuah konsentrasi atau program studi di kawasan ini. Sebaliknya, negara-negara maju seperti Amerika Serikat sudah mengeluarkan dana yang cukup besar untuk membangun Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara sejak 1950an. Tidak heran, banyak kajian berbengaruh mengenai Asia Tenggara diciptakan dari luar kawasan Asia Tenggara itu sendiri. Akibatnya, pemahaman mengenai Asia Tenggara dan pembentukan identitas kawasan sangat dipengaruhi oleh pemikiran dari luar kawasan Asia Tenggara.

Untuk menggalakkan diskusi dan perdebatan ilmiah mengenai kajian wilayah khususnya Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara, makalah ini menyorot dua pertanyaan yang saling terkait: (i) apa itu Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara? dan (ii) apa makna strategis Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara dalam hubungan internasional khususnya dari sudut pandang konstruktivisme? Penelitian ini masih bersifat eksploratif dengan menggunakan metode studi kepustakaan.

II. Wilayah Asia Tenggara

Secara umum, kawasan atau wilayah dunia kerap diartikan sebagai sekumpulan negara yang berdekatan secara geografis dan memiliki interaksi yang intensif satu dengan yang lain, serta memiliki persepsi yang mirip mengenai berbagai fenomena dunia. Russet mendefinisikan kawasan atau wilayah berdasarkan kedekatan geografis dan homogenitas budaya serta sosial serta sikap dan institusi politik yang mirip. Wilayah juga bisa dilihat sebagai strategi utama yang dibentuk oleh koalisasi bangsa-bangsa yang hidup berdampingan.[1] Deutsch melihat faktor saling ketergantungan berbagai dimensi dari negara-negara yang berdekatan sebagai penentu terbentuknya wilayah.[2] Faktor-faktor saling ketergantungan ini dapat berupa transaksi ekonomi, komunikasi, dan nilai-nilai politis. Dengan kata lain, wilayah bukanlah sebuah entitas organik melainkan sebuah bentukan sosial dan politik.

Oleh sebab itu, perlu ada kesadaran kewilayahan yang dibentuk terus-menerus. Kesadaran ini merupakan persepsi dan rasa memiliki yang dibentuk bersama. Biasanya, kesadaran tersebut terbentuk atau dimungkinkan oleh faktor-faktor internal yang sama seperti budaya, sejarah, dan tradisi agama. Faktor-faktor eksternal juga dapat mendorong terciptanya kesadaran wilayah. Ancaman politik, sebagai contoh, dapat menyatukan persepsi dan membangkitkan kesadaran wilayah. Tantangan budaya dari luar juga dapat mendorong rasa kebersamaan.

Secara geografis, kawasan yang disebut sebagai Asia Tenggara merupakan wilayah yang berada di antara wilayah Asia Selatan dan Asia Timur. Wilayah Asia Tenggara dapat dibagi menjadi dua sub-wilayah yang memiliki beberapa ciri khas geografis yang mirip. Yang pertama, Asia Tenggara Daratan *(Mainland Southeast Asia)* yang meliputi negara Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Kamboja dan Vietnam. Wilayah ini menempati daratan benua Asia. Yang kedua, Asia Tenggara Kepulauan *(Islands or Maritime Southeast Asia)* yang meliputi Indonesia, Filipina, Malaysia, Brunei dan Singapura.

Akan tetapi, kawasan atau wilayah Asia Tenggara hampir tidak memiliki kesamaan budaya, agama maupun sejarah yang menyatukan sehingga layak disebut sebagai satu wilayah. Secara budaya, kawasan ini sangat beragam. Ada ribuan budaya lokal yang tumbuh subur dan berevolusi di kawasan ini. Pengaruh budaya Sanskerta atau India, Cina, dan Eropa juga kental di Asia Tenggara dan kerap kali telah mengalami pembauran sedemikian rupa dengan elemen budaya yang lain sehingga menciptakan kekhasan tersendiri. Rabindranath Tagore, penulis India yang terkenal, pernah melakukan perjalanan lintas Asia Tenggara untuk membuktikan sendiri pengaruh India atau budaya Sanskerta yang konon kuat sekali di kawasan ini. Setelah kunjungan tersebut, Tagore berkata, "*I see India everywhere but find it nowhere*" (Tagore, 2010. Lihat juga ISEAS, 2009).

[1] Russet, B. M. (1967). *International regions and the international system: A study in political ecology*. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally.
[2] Deutsch, K. W. (1957). *Political community and the North Atlantic area: International organization in the light of historical experience*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Akulturasi di kawasan ini telah terjadi selama ratusan tahun. Kawasan ini juga memiliki agama yang beragam. Indonesia merupakan negara dengan populasi Muslim terbesar di dunia sementara Filipina merupakan masyarakat Katolik terbesar di Asia. Thailand menjadi salah satu pusat perkembangan Therevada Budha sementara Vietnam menganut kepercayaan Budha dengan tradisi Mahayana.

Kawasan ini mungkin memiliki kesamaan pengalaman sejarah penjajahan. Semua bangsa di Asia Tenggara kecuali Thailand pernah dijajah oleh kekuatan-kekuatan besar Eropa. Perancis menguasai daerah yang dulu disebut sebagai Indocina. Bagian Asia Tenggara tersebut sekarang menjadi tiga negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat, Vietnam, Kamboja dan Laos. Inggris menguasai wilayah yang sekarang menjadi Malaysia dan Singapura sementara Myanmar dulunya menjadi bagian kekuasaan imperial Inggris di India dan sekitarnya. Belanda menjajah Indonesia sementara Spanyol dan kemudian Amerika Serikat pernah menduduki Filipina.

Keberagaman itu sendiri mungkin menjadi elemen yang menyatukan bangsa-bangsa di wilayah Asia Tenggara. Selain itu, solidaritas sebagai negara-negara kecil dan menengah yang pernah terjajah juga menjadi perekat yang lain. Pada dasarnya identitas Kawasan Asia Tenggara merupakan suatu konstruksi sosial dan politik yang pembentukan identitasnya berkembang lebih lambat daripada pembentukan organisasi regional ASEAN.

Ada beberapa alasan yang mungkin bisa dikemukakan. Pertama, usaha pengembangan identitas kawasan atau regional melalui pembentukan ASEAN pada tahun 1967 terjadi bersamaan dengan proses pembentukan identitas nasional semua negara di kawasan ini yang saat itu sedang melewati tahap dekolonisasi dan gerakan nasionalisme anti-penjajahan. Hal ini menyebabkan pengembangan dan penyebaran identitas nasional seolah-olah menjadi prioritas utama dibandingkan pengembangan identitas kawasan.

Kedua, negara-negara di Asia Tenggara cenderung memiliki hubungan ketergantungan dengan negara-negara di luar kawasan sedangkan hal serupa tidak terjadi dengan negara-negara sekawasan. Filipina, misalnya, memiliki hubungan khusus dengan Amerika Serikat dan negara adidaya ini tetap menjadi orientasi utama masyarakat Filipina. Orientasi ini mungkin juga bagian dari usaha perimbangan kekuasaan negara-negara kecil dan menengah dengan kekuatan besar. Negara-negara di Asia Tenggara pada dasarnya merupakan negara dengan kekuatan menengah bahkan kecil. Di sisi yang lain, karena letaknya yang strategis dalam jalur perdagangan dan pelayaran dunia serta geopolitik dunia, wilayah Asia Tenggara selalu menarik perhatian negara adidaya atau great powers. Dinamika ini sempat menciptakan relasi ketergantungan (dependence) antara negara-negara di Asia Tenggara dengan great powers dunia tersebut.

Ketiga, dunia pendidikan sebagai komponen utama pembentukan dan penyebaran ilmu pengetahuan di Asia Tenggara sangat lambat dalam menanggapi dan membangun Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara dari perspektif kawasan ini. Akibatnya identitas kawasan Asia Tenggara yang terbentuk lewat ranah pendidikan lebih banyak diasah oleh cendekiawan-cendekiawan Kajian Asia Tenggara yang berasal dari luar kawasan ini.[3] Selama beberapa dekade, pemahaman mengenai

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[3] Khudi, A. F., & Anugrah, I. (2013). Kajian Asia Tenggara: Antara narasi, teori, dan emansipasi. *Jurnal Kajian Wilayah*, *4*(2), 205-228. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/6229130/Kajian_Asia_Tenggara_Antara_Narasi_Teori_dan_Emansipasi

Asia Tenggara sebagai sebuah kawasan terbentuk dari studi yang dilakukan oleh berbagai pusat Kajian Asia Tenggara di Amerika Serikat yang memang menyediakan dana cukup besar.[4] Usaha ini tidak saja memperkaya pengetahuan mengenai Asia Tenggara tetapi juga membentuk ide dan identitas kawasan Asia Tenggara itu sendiri.

III. Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara

Pada awalnya, kajian wilayah seolah-olah hanya menjadi kebutuhan praktis angkatan bersenjata atau militer negara adidaya yang akan ditugaskan ke berbagai wilayah dunia selama Perang Dunia II.[5] Pasca perang tersebut, kebutuhan mereka yang memiliki pengetahuan spesifik mengenai suatu negara tetap ada bahkan semakin meningkat seiring dengan perkembangan Perang Dingin. Universitas Cornell, salah satu *ivy league* di Amerika Serikat, bahkan merintis proyek khusus yang mengunpulkan segala macam materi tentang Indonesia dan membuat berbagai kajian mengenai Asia Tenggara khususnya Indonesia.

Pada tahun 1952, UNESCO membentuk panel khusus para ahli untuk membahas apa itu kajian wilayah. Duroselle mendefinisikan kajian wilayah sebagai kajian ilmiah mengenai sebuah wilayah atau kawasan yang memiliki kesatuan sosial politik dengan tujuan untuk memahami dan

menjelaskan posisi dan peran kawasan tersebut dalam masyarakat internasional.[6] Hal ini hanya dapat dicapai melalui pendekatan interdisiplin yang relevan dan menyajikan penjelasan yang valid.

Hans Morgenthau menegaskan bahwa secara historis maupun analitik, kajian wilayah merupakan salah satu bagian pengetahuan dalam Ilmu Hubungan Internasional. Menurut Morgenthau, salah satu permasalahan utama pendekatan dalam kajian wilayah dibandingkan dengan ilmu hubungan internasional adalah pada ide universal versus spesifik. Sekalipun sebuah wilayah memiliki keunikan budaya tersendiri, fenomena yang terjadi pada kawasan tersebut dapat dijelaskan secara ilmiah dan memiliki pola universal yang dapat berguna dalam memperkaya ilmu hubungan internasional.[7]

Dengan mengambil pemahaman tersebut di atas, Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara dapat diartikan sebagai studi atau kajian interdisipliner mengenai kawasan Asia Tenggara dengan menggunakan metode-metode ilmiah yang relevan dengan tujuan membangun pemahaman dan penjelasan mengenai masyarakat, budaya, sistem sosial politik serta dinamika wilayah Asia Tenggara, baik dalam hubungannya dengan mereka sendiri maupun dengan kekuatan di luar wilayah tersebut. Penekanan atau sudut pandang kajian harus mengambil sudut pandang kawasan sehingga pemahaman mengenai wilayah tersebut menjadi semakin kuat.

Dalam hal ini, pemahaman budaya termasuk keterampilan bahasa Asia Tenggara menjadi modal dasar dalam pengembangan Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara. Menurut Joseph Nye budaya

[4] Acharya, A. (2012). *The making of Southeast Asia: International relations of a region*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.; Winichakul, T. (2014). Asian studies across academies. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, *73*(4), 879-897. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0021911814001065 ; Woo, P. S., & King, V. T. (2013). *The historical construction of Southeast Asian studies: Korea and beyond*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814414593-009

[5] Morgenthau, H. J. (1952). *Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace*. New York, NY : Alfred A. Knopf.

[6] Duroselle, J. B. (1952). Area studies: Problems of method. *International Social Science Bulletin*, *4*(4), 636-646. Retrieved from https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000059694

[7] Morgenthau, H. J. (1952).

merupakan sekumpulan nilai dan praktek yang memberikan makna bagi sebuah masyarakat yang biasanya termanifestasikan dalam sastra, seni, pendidikan, film, musik dan makanan.[8] Budaya akan selalu berimbas pada kebijakan yang dibuat sebuah negara. Jika budaya negara tersebut memiliki nilai universal, dan nilai tersebut dipancarkan oleh kebijakan-kebijakan yang dibuatnya, termasuk kebijakan luar negeri, negara tersebut akan mendapatkan simpati yang lebih luas dalam sistem internasional sehingga keluaran yang diharapkan dapat tercapai. Penyebaran budaya maupun nilai-nilai yang dapat diterima secara universal dapat terjadi melalui interaksi pribadi, kunjungan, perdagangan, maupun lewat ilmu pengetahuan.

Makna budaya ini diproduksi dan dipertukarkan. Menurut Stuart Hall ada berbagai cara produksi dan pertukaran makna budaya ini, seperti: (1) identitas kelompok dan perbedaan kelompok; (2) interaksi personal dan sosial; (3) media massa dan komunikasi-komunikasi global; (4) ritual-ritual dan praktikpraktik kehidupan sehari-hari; (5) narasi-narasi, cerita-cerita, dan fantasi-fantasi; dan (6) aturan-aturan, norma-norma, dan konvensi-konvensi.[9] Ilmu pengetahuan seperti Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara, dan lembaga pendidikan juga memainkan peran penting dalam produksi dan pertukaran makna tersebut.

Pada awalnya, Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara berkembang pesat di Amerika Serikat karena kepentingan Perang Dingin. Pemerintah Amerika Serikat mengeluarkan dana yang cukup besar pada tahun 1950an dan 1960an untuk menciptakan pusat-pusat Kajian Asia Tenggara dan mengembangkan

studi ini. Asumsinya adalah bahwa kepentingan Amerika Serikat dan negara-negara post-kolonial yang baru lahir di Asia Tenggara pada dasarnya bisa sejalan. Oleh sebab itu, pemahaman yang mendalam serta diiringi rasa simpati terhadap kawasan tersebut akan membawa Amerika Serikat dan kawasan tersebut lebih dekat sehingga kepentingan bersama dapat terwujud.[10]

Seiring dengan peningkatan intensitas arus globalisasi dan pergeseran dinamika kekuatan internasional pasca Perang Dingin, pengembangan kajian wilayah di dunia khususnya di Indonesia menghadapi berbagai tantangan. Yang pertama, pengembangan kajian wilayah di perguruan tinggi terbentur masalah pendanaan. Ini masalah klasik yang tentu saja tidak hanya menimpa nasib kajian wilayah tetapi juga disiplin ilmu yang lain. Hal ini tentu saja berimbas pada kehadiran masalah kedua yaitu sedikitnya ahli kajian wilayah. Situasi ini ibarat mempertanyakan mana yang lebih dahulu hadir, ayam atau telur. Ahli kajian wilayah tidak mungkin bertambah jika tidak ada program di perguruan tinggi yang mengembangkan kajian wilayah. Masalah yang lebih mendasar adalah pertanyaan mengenai relevansi kajian wilayah dewasa ini. Pertanyaan seperti sejauh mana kajian wilayah masih dianggap penting untuk menjelaskan dinamika regional dan internasional merupakan contoh dari sekian kegamangan pengembangan kajian wilayah.

Krisis ekonomi juga ikut memberikan dampak pada perkembangan Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara. Sebagian besar pusat Kajian Asia Tenggara di Amerika Serikat mengalami penurunan

[8] Nye, J. S. (2009). *Soft power: The means to success in world politics*. New York, NY: PublicAffairs.
[9] Hall, S. (Ed.). (2003). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London, England: SAGE Publications.

[10] McVey, R. (1995). Change and continuity in Southeast Asian studies. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, *26*(1), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022463400010432

jumlah kegiatan dan pengajar.[11] Penurunan di belahan dunia barat ini menciptakan peluang di belahan timur yang justru mengalami peningkatan ekonomi. Sebagai contoh, salah satu asosiasi Kajian Asia terbesar dunia yang berkedudukan di Amerika Serikat, merintis konferensi tahunan baru di Asia *(www.asian-studies.org).* Berbagai kalangan mulai melihat potensi pengembangan Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara di kawasan Asia Tenggara sendiri. Salah satu pusat kajian yang paling aktif dalam usaha pembentukan pengetahuan ini adalah Singapura.[12]

Ironisnya, Indonesia sebagai negara terbesar di wilayah Asia Tenggara, agak terlambat dalam membangun Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggaranya. Pada tahun 2017, Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) mengambil inisiatif untuk menyelenggarakan temu ilmiah nasional untuk membahas pengembangan kajian wilayah secara kritis dan mempertemukan semua pemangku kepentingan termasuk wakil dari pemerintah, khususnya departemen luar negeri, sejumlah perguruan tinggi yang mengembangkan kajian wilayah, dan lembaga penelitian independen serta *think tank* di Indonesia. Keprihatinan seperti yang dikemukakan di atas mengemuka dan dibahas dalam pertemuan tersebut. LIPI juga menyelenggarakan ceramah publik secara berkala selama satu tahun. Topik-topik yang dipilih berhubungan dengan beragam isu di Asia Tenggara. Para pembicara yang diundang merupakan ahli Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara.

IV. Makna Strategis Kajian Wilayah Asia Tenggara dalam Hubungan Internasional

Ilmu Hubungan Internasional lahir dari kebutuhan praktis sistem intenasional yaitu mencegah perang dan menjaga perdamaian dunia. Setiap negara memiliki kepentingannya sendiri yang belum tentu sejalan dengan yang lain. Setiap negara juga memiliki kekuatan atau kapasitas yang berbeda dengan negara lainnya. Situasi ini melahirkan kebutuhan untuk membangun pengetahuan mengenai makna kepentingan-kepentingan yang beragam ini dan berbagai kemungkinan mekanisme internasional yang yang dapat digunakan sehingga kepentingan yang beragam ini masih dapat hidup berdampingan secara damai.

Konstruktivisme merupakan suatu teori utama dalam Hubungan Internasional yang mampu menjelaskan bagaimana makna identitas dan nilai-nilai dibentuk dan disebarluaskan masyarakat internasional. Prinsip utama dari konstruktivisme adalah bahwa manusia menanggapi sebuah obyek, termasuk wilayah dan arti wilayah tersebut, berdasarkan makna yang dilekatkan pada obyek atau wilayah tersebut.[13] Ini artinya bahwa tidak ada makna obyektif dari sebuah obyek atau wilayah. Yang ada adalah pemaknaan dan proses pemaknaan terus-menerus oleh mereka yang berhubungan dengan sebuah obyek atau wilayah atau oleh mereka yang menemukan relevansi sebuah obyek atau wilayah dengan dirinya.

Prinsip kedua konstruktivisme adalah bahwa makna dibentuk dari proses interaksi antar manusia.[14] Proses penafsiran yang lahir dari interaksi ini membentuk makna intersubyektifitas. Jika proses ini diperkuat seiring berjalannya waktu, interaksi tersebut akan menciptakan

[11] Winichakul, T. (2014). Asian studies across academies. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, *73*(4), 879-897. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0021911814001065

[12] Chou, C., & Houben, V. (2006). *Southeast Asian studies: Debates and new directions.* Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. https://doi.org/10.1355/9789812306517-002

[13] Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics. *International Organization*, *46*(2), 391-425. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818300027764

[14] Wendt, A. (1992).

pemahaman tertentu mengenai satu dengan yang lain. Jika proses tersebut berulang dalam jangka waktu yang cukup panjang, mereka yang terlibat akan mulai memahami sikap satu dengan yang lain khususnya sikap terhadap sebuah isu tertentu. Hal ini akan mendorong penyesuaian perilaku antar mereka.[15] Dalam konteks hubungan internasional, konflik bahkan perang dapat dihindari jika masyarakat internasional terus membentuk dan mengkomunikasikan makna-makna universal yang relevan dalam kehidupan internasional bersama. Hal yang sama berlaku pada usaha menciptakan perdamaian.

Konstruktivisme memberikan penekanan pada unsur identitas. Identitas itu sendiri didefinisikan sebagai sebuah pemahaman tertentu mengenai diri sendiri dan peran serta harapan mengenai diri sendiri yang didapat melalui interaksi sosial dalam masyarakat. Identitas biasanya lebih stabil walaupun mungkin berubah seiring berjalannya waktu.[16] Melalui proses sosial atau sosialisasi, identitas mereka yang terlibat akan terbentuk dan dipahami oleh satu dengan yang lain.[17] Identitas bersifat "relational" karena identitas selalu berhubungan dengan konstruksi sosial tertentu.[18] Seorang individu memiliki banyak identitas yang berhubungan dengan peran yang dimainkannya dalam masyarakat. Misalnya, seseorang memainkan peran sebagai anak perempuan dalam hubungannya dengan orang tua, tetapi peran seorang kakak dalam hubungannya dengan adik-adik. Jika menikah, ia akan memiliki identias dan peran lain sebagai istri tanpa menghilangkan perannya yang lain. Dalam konteks kehidupan bernegara, ia

adalah seorang warga negara dengan segala atribut dan peran yang dilekatkan pada identitas tersebut.

Alexander Wendt berpendapat bahwa identitas merupakan basis dari kepentingan. Sebuah entitas tidak memiliki kepentingan yang sudah ada atau ditentukan sebelumnya yang terlepas dari konteks sosial. Menurut Wendt, kepentingan lahir dari konteks sosial.[19] Dalam konteks hubungan internasional, Martha Finnemore menjelaskan bahwa norma-norma masyarakat internasional mempengaruhi identitas dan kepentingan negara. Sementara norma-norma lahir dari ide mengenai keyakinan intersubyektifitas yang beredar secara luas antar negara.[20] Norma-norma ini dapat disebarluaskan oleh individu, negara atau organisasi internasional.[21] Norma-norma ini akan mengasah kebijakan yang diambil pembuat kebijakan sesuai dengan apa yang mereka percaya mengenai kepentingan negara.

Wilayah Asia Tenggara sudah membentuk diri sebagai sebuah kawasan yang memiliki identitas sendiri. Karena identitas kawasan ini tidak bersifat alami, penting sekali untuk terus berpartisipasi dalam pembentukan, negosiasi, maupun evolusi identitas kawasan ini. Seperti telah dikemukakan di atas, pembentukan identitas kawasan ini berlangsung lebih lambat daripada pembentukan berbagai institusi politik dan ekonomi di Asia Tenggara. Organisasi regional seperti ASEAN bahkan mencoba mempercepat proses regionalisme kawasan Asia Tenggara. Dengan kata lain, pembentukan ASEAN pada tahun 1967 dapat dilihat sebagai usaha awal

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[15] Wendt, A. (1992).

[16] Wendt, A. (1992).

[17] Berger, P. (1966). Identity as a problem in the sociology of knowledge. *European Journal of Sociology*, *7*(1), 105-115. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003975600001351

[18] Berger, P. (1966).

[19] Wendt, A. (1992).

[20] Jackson, J., & Sorensen, G. (2006). *Introduction to international relations: Theories and approaches* (3rd ed.). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

[21] Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International Organization*, *52*(4), 887-917. https://doi.org/10.1162/002081898550789

pembentukan identitas kawasan walaupun saat itu ASEAN hanya beranggotakan lima negara. Tentu saja, bagi mereka yang lebih pesimis, pembentukan organisasi regional ini sering dihubungan pada kepentingan Perang Dingin saat itu.[22]

Sekalipun demikian, ASEAN terus bertahan bahkan sampai Perang Dingin selesai. Setelah transisi dalam politik global tersebut terjadi, ASEAN bahkan mampu mengembangkan keanggotaannya dengan merangkul seluruh negara yang berada di kawasan ini. Walaupun demikian, identitas wilayah masih terus diupayakan misalnya dengan diluncurkannya identitas Masyarakat ASEAN yang salah satunya dengan usaha pembentukan Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN yang mulai berjalan sejak 2015.

Sekalipun terdapat berbagai kemajuan dalam ranah kebijakan, pengetahuan mengenai kawasan ini masih banyak terbentuk dari luar Asia Tenggara. Bahkan, selama beberapa dekade, pemahaman mengenai Asia Tenggara sebagai sebuah wilayah banyak terbentuk dari studi yang dilakukan oleh berbagai pusat Kajian Asia Tenggara di Amerika Serikat yang memang menyediakan dana cukup besar.[23] Usaha ini tidak saja memperkaya pengetahuan mengenai Asia Tenggara tetapi juga membentuk ide dan identitas kawasan Asia Tenggara itu sendiri.

V. Kesimpulan

Kajian Asia Tenggara tidak hanya membentuk pengetahuan mengenai kawasan Asia Tenggara tetapi juga membentuk identitas kawasan ini melalui proses interaksi antara akademik, pembuat kebijakan, dan masyarakat luas. Selama beberapa dekade, Kajian Asia Tenggara

banyak terpusat di Amerika Serikat, tetapi memasuki abad ke 21, sejumlah pusat kajian di kawasan Asia Tenggara khususnya di Singapura mulai secara aktif terlibat dalam pembentukan pengetahuan tersebut.

Untuk melengkapi penelitian ini, penelitian tahap kedua sebaiknya dilakukan dengan tujuan untuk menelusuri dan menelaah perkembangan Kajian Asia Tenggara di luar dan di dalam kawasan Asia Tenggara itu sendiri. Selain itu, penelitian tahap kedua akan mencari tahu mengapa perkembangan Kajian Asia Tenggara di kawasan Asia Tenggara tidak mengalami perkembangan semaju usaha serupa di kawasan lain.

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[22] Acharya, A. (2012). *The making of Southeast Asia: International relations of a region*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
[23] Winichakul, T. (2014).;
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