Rethinking the Position of Islam and Indonesianness Amid Hopes for the Emergence of Multipolar Powers

Baedhowi[1], Sigit Tri Utomo[1]*, Nur Alfi Muanayah[3]

[1] Institut Islam Nahdlatul Ulama Temanggung, Indonesia
[2] Institut Islam Nahdlatul Ulama Temanggung, Indonesia
[3] Institut Islam Nahdlatul Ulama Temanggung, Indonesia

Abstract: Globalization in the plurality of cultures and civilizations is a reality that cannot be denied in today's life. It's just that when the power played by the global world has been dominated by unipolar forces. What happens in it is an imbalance in various sectors of life, be it economic, political, socio-cultural, and physical-military. It is this unipolar power that, according to the author, is currently "forcing" the course of capitalistic-secularistic culture and civilization with the support of military power. From this kind of condition, it is necessary to create alternative multipolar energy to create global justice in the political, economic, and socio-cultural fields. In this short introduction, the author tries to reflect on and question our competitive position or our Islamic and Indonesian position during the siege of unipolar forces. This rethinking is a hope for the emergence of real multipolar power so that our position as a nation with the largest Muslim population can become a hope of contribution in offering culture and hope for the emergence of a new global ethic or spirituality for a new world order that is better for all parties.

Keywords: Multipolar Power, Democratization-civilization, Islam, and Indonesianness, Global Justice

Abstrak: Globalisasi dalam pluralitas budaya dan peradaban merupakan kenyataan yang tidak dapat dipungkiri dalam kehidupan dewasa ini. Hanya saja ketika kekuatan yang dimainkan oleh dunia global didominasi oleh kekuatan unipolar. Yang terjadi di dalamnya adalah di berbagai sektor kehidupan, baik itu ekonomi, politik, sosial budaya, maupun fisik-militer. kekuatan unipolar inilah yang menurut ini "memaksa" kekuatan budaya dan peradaban peradaban-sekularistik dengan dukungan kekuatan militer. Dari kondisi seperti ini, perlu diciptakan energi alternatif multipolar untuk menciptakan keadilan global di bidang politik, ekonomi, dan sosial budaya. Dalam pengantar singkat ini, penulis mencoba mencari dan mempertanyakan posisi kompetitif kita atau posisi

---

***Corresponding Author:** Sigit Tri Utomo (sigittriutomosukses@gmail.com), Institut Islam Nahdlatul Ulama Temanggung, Indonesia.

Islam dan Indonesia kita selama pengepungan kekuatan unipolar. Pemikiran ulang ini merupakan harapan akan munculnya kebangkitan multipolar yang sehingga posisi kita sebagai bangsa dengan penduduk muslim terbesar dapat menjadi harapan kontribusi dalam menawarkan budaya dan harapan munculnya semangat global baru untuk tatanan dunia baru. itu lebih baik untuk semua pihak.

Kata Kunci: Kekuatan Multipolar, Demokratisasi-peradaban, Islam, dan keindonesiaan, Keadilan Global

Introduction

The rethinking in this title is inspired by Mohammed Arkoun's Rethinking Islam: Common Questions, Uncommon Answers, trans. Robert D. Lee, (Colorado: Westview Press, 1994). Arkoun's work examines Islamic discourse critically and openly related to the contextualization of the times and contemporary situations that continue to roll and change. The polarization in military power between the NATO bloc (US, UK Cs.) and the Warsaw Pact (Soviet Union, East Germany Cs.) in the 1950-the 1990s provided a balance of power but also created a cold war and various anxiety. The supporting countries of these two blocs and the nations of the world, in general, are under threat of World War. This fact changed after the collapse of the supporting military forces (the Warsaw Pact). The NATO bloc, which Western Europe has heavily supported, has recently been driven by the US and others recently, further strengthening this superpower as a Unipolar power.

With this unipolar tendency, Western countries that were previously competitors to NATO encouraged and spurred the unipolar world trend and helped smooth the course of Western capitalism as a supporting force. This tendency slowly but surely also wants to "uniform" and accompany world countries in ideological containers and siege, global capitalism with unipolar militaristic support (Johan Galtung, 1981).

Capitalism as an economic ideology, although centered on the philosophy of individualism that has an impact on socio-political philosophy, is often associated with financial aspects in its further development. This aspect, with its various manifestations, is the core of modern Western civilization. The massive shift of several NATO bloc countries in the post-cold war period to a unipolar world has also destroyed the socialist bloc countries, the destruction of social order, and various episodes of violence (Macmillan, 1997). In this paper, the author hopes that the meaning of rethinking can be an opening study or an introductory discourse about our Islamic and Indonesian position in global reality, or at least it can be a reflective study while waiting for theoretical input to rethink our position further. about religious phenomena and the current global situation.

Arkoun also regrets this kind of situation with the phenomenon of the rise of best-selling books that are more supportive of ideological-political issues, as seen in the works "The Return of Religion," "The Awakening of Islam," and "The Reference of God." "The Defense of God" and the like. Rather than the philosophical issues that Arkoun is fighting for, here and there, it also strengthens Huntington's thesis about the clash of civilizations. See Mohammed Arkoun, "Clearing Up The Past to Prepare The Future" (Paper on ICCT, at UGM, 1995).

The strength of Huntington's thesis, for example, can be seen in works with a similar thesis, such as Buchana's, "Is Islam Enemy The United States" in New Hamshire Sunday New, ed. 25 Nov., (1990); The works of Daniel Pipe, "Muslims Are Coming, Muslims are Coming" and "Cold War against Islam" in FEER, ed, Juni, (1991). Huntington's work and similar and similar works, in the author's opinion, in addition to reflecting the anxiety of the West (US cs.) about the rise of Islamic ideology after the fall of the Communists, were also caused by the lack of adequate information about the Middle East and Islam, especially to Western academics, although such information has recently been published. Lately, there have been many changes.

The author needs to thank the people who love Islam and Indonesia in this paper. Because in the reality of Indonesia's condition as it is now, they still have ideals and the spirit of nationalism in thinking about their homeland with their respective roles in the global world and the strong dominance of Unipolar. Because after all and forever, the political reality will not disappear from the global system because even the dominated countries must have experienced sins in the past (such as China) will still be accepted as part of a cosmopolitan world. Therefore, no matter how bad the condition of the unipolar system is from the current global system, each with their profession and dedication must still have to work hard so that in the future, a world that is non-discriminatory and full of justice can slowly but surely prevent a bigger disaster. Alternatively, at least to stem what the Qur'an warns: "It is clear that all the damage on this earth is due to the actions of human hands." The above principle in Islam is a religious commandment in Amar al-ma'ruf wa nahi ani al-mungkar, which is highly recommended by the Qur'an (QS, 3: 110) and Hadith (idea ra'au munkaran fal yughayirhu biyadih ....al-hadith) Or philosophically, the argument is often used as a dictum in Islamic law by considering the decision between benefits and harms in "dar'ul mafasid muqadamun 'ala jalbil mahalih'; "al dzaruratu yuzalu" etc. In the context of the Soviet Union and China, for example, although they no longer play a military power in a unipolar world, China, after the Tiananmen massacre, has also been accepted as a cosmopolitan society. Even though the UN forum they are still trying to prevent a destructive unipolar world trend.

This study uses a literature study method, with data collection methods in the form of collecting notes, books, journals and others. The analysis uses the content analysis method, especially with regard to rethinking the position of Islam and Indonesianness in the midst of hopes for the emergence of multipolar forces.

Results and Discussion

Unipolar to Multipolar Shift

In the pre-colonial era (previously, there was the colonization of European countries to the continents of Asia and Africa.), the world seemed more multipolar, and its civilization still benefited various parties. At that time, exchanges in trade (economic matters) and cultural values were still taking place in a "healthy" exchange with a "win-win solution ."At that time, too – there must be wars – here and there, no country or civilization emphasized hegemony, nor was there any dictatorial power to continuously control and regulate other countries. The hegemonic relationship occurred in colonial and post-colonial times. In the current era of globalization, where US communism has been destroyed and the military power of the Warsaw Pact has disbanded, the global structure has become unipolar, and the patterns of relations have become very hegemonic. This kind of trend is mainly by looking at the terms

and conditions deliberately created by the superpowers of the US cs. and the military industry involved (Asghar Ali Engineer, 2004).

Global Capitalism and Unipolar System Hegemony Lameness

According to the author, the current "unipolar" power, the construction and conditions of the global world are not healthy, both in terms of universal humanity, ethics, and global spirituality. This unipolar tendency in this paper waits for a "messianism" or a new kind of spiritualism to balance the unipolar power and the "giant monster" called global capitalism. The logical reason is that capitalism as an ideology has various weaknesses, including 1. Capitalism creates inequality or economic inequality in society; although people also admit that capitalism encourages high productivity to multiply wealth, it still cannot eliminate inequality. , 2. Capitalism is an international economic system. It cannot stand alone in a particular country. International capitalism can only survive through the exploitation of Third World countries. Dementia theory has also proven that the Third World in the current international capitalist system is only as economic satellites in the periphery which are highly dependent and exploited by capitalist powers in the metropolis. 3. For its economic interests, capitalist powers always apply double - standards. Capitalism is directly or indirectly related to the international system of oppression for the survival of its economic interests. 4. Capitalism, with its jargon, "Produce to be able to produce more," has caused greed and the rise of materialistic and consumptive life. As mentioned above, the logical consequence of the way of production is also increasingly perpetuating a consumerist and hedonistic pattern of life.

Meanwhile, current Global Capitalism, although still derived from the old philosophical basis (individualism), has undergone a change in strategy due to external and internal pressures and conditions. The era of the 1970s shifts and internal contradictions of capitalism, fierce competition on a global scale, and soaring oil prices along with the formation of OPEC by Arab countries also gave birth to unemployment, inflation of more than 20%, and the expansion of the third world which failed to pay off its debts (including Indonesia).). The ideological shift of capitalism to the current context is often called Neoliberalism (Amin Rais, 1987). Policymakers such as Thacher and Reagan challenged the idea of government intervention in markets. They believe that markets can fail and do fail but that free markets can allocate goods and services more effectively than states. State intervention to combat market distortions does more harm than good. This is where the state's role begins to be eliminated in economic processes. The hope of the state to realize the welfare of the people is considered excessive because the guarantor of the welfare of the people is considered not the duty of the state. This is a new trend of right-thinking called Neoliberalism as an extension of Thatcherism and Reaganism.

The role of this new right (Neoliberalism) is presumably quite dominating in a unipolar world with the massive and global deployment of militarization (especially the US, UK, Italy, and Australia sporadically by the NATO bloc), the existence of military bases such as in Subik and Klak. (Philippines), Restrictions on weapons such as those carried out against China and Iran, military intervention against Iraq, the existence of global intelligence, and so on. These efforts are to smooth the road to Global Capitalism (New York: The Free Press, 1980). The dominance of Global capitalism, borrowing from Galtung's analysis, is indeed quite complex. However, the point is that there is a system that dominates other systems, namely a higher social fabric in which one society (capitalist) or collective can dominate

another; in the international context, it is also called imperialism. This discourse – must have changed a lot – in the present context is more often called neo-liberalism.

The implications of this kind of unipolar and hegemonic globalization are very influential in the global order and various sectors of life (political, economic, social, and cultural). The negative side, for example, is that we see how quickly and widely the culture of consumerism and hedonism, whether recognized or not, has been "deliberately" imposed by Western countries (US, UK cs.). This total commercialization of culture has also marginalized Asian and African cultures, so they increasingly lose their identity and identity (Edward, 1971). The dominance of neo-imperialism of Neoliberalism, on the one hand, has made the world smaller or become a global village; on the other hand, it has also shown and resulted in how vulnerable, and helpless developing countries are to stem the flow of westernization and foreign cultures that burst and have an impact. On the attitude of the Muslims, for example, with the phenomenon of religious "fundamentalism" in the Islamic world or the monolithic view of the Western (US) media, they are often stereotyped and classified as "Islamic terrorists."

Meanwhile, in the US itself, the Fundamentalism of the Christian splinter movement, "Born-again Christians," according to Ali Engineer, has smoothed George W Bush into the presidency and played a significant role in controlling US politics (Asghar Ali Engineer, 2004). The writer hopes that with the election of Barack Obama as the new president, the situation will be better at a more just political level. Meanwhile, the protest against the prohibition of the use of the hijab for Muslim women by the French government, for example, is an example of asserting self-identity that separates it from Islamic culture.

From Bipolar Reality to Multipolar

Actually, since the existence of bipolar forces (NATO and the Warsaw Pact), the countries supporting these two blocs are not monolithic in determining their views. However, because they want to balance the opposing forces, each bloc seems to unite itself for the realization of its goals and ideologies. The multipolar reality has existed for a long time; it is just that the current global current is heading towards a unipolar world. Multipolar reality politically can also be witnessed, with the non-uniformity of capitalist countries in Europe in supporting the US military policy under challenging ways except by Britain, Turkey, and Australia, as happened in the US intervention in Iraq. Non-uniformity between countries also appears in policies regarding the Palestinian dispute, US intervention in Iran's nuclear weapons, policies on terrorism issues from radical movements, etc. Iran's courage to oppose the US and the victory of the Hamas party in Palestine at this time will also expand multipolar forces. In the long run, it can also reduce US power in foreign policy with its Pax Americana imperial hegemony.

Economically, we are also witnessing the existence of economic forces that are not uniform between the capitalist blocs, for example, Japan, which has become its pole, Western Europe (besides Britain), and socialist blocs, such as the Soviet Union, China, North Korea, and developing countries that are currently developing countries. Strengthen its economic position through regionalism such as ASEAN as a form of regional solidarity. Although ideological affiliation is not uniform, the pursuit of economic independence can at least be a basis for thinking so that they are not easily manipulated by the mainstream of global capitalism, Neoliberalism, or socialism poles.

From the ripples of the waves of multipolar forces still weak and sporadic, we hope that new democratization will emerge in various sectors with a just order for the realization of world welfare and

peace. This kind of multipolar power, for now, cannot be expected only from world organizations, such as the United Nations, which has experienced a "manopause" period in creating a global justice system because the control of the veto power is dominated by the unipolar power of the Western bloc. The European Union (EU), which is expected to be an example of global democracy, also seems to be still in favor of a unipolar world. The case of Turkey, which has not been recognized in the EU group, also still reflects a biased political policy. Even though Turkey as a country in Europe is economically much richer/prosperous than the Balkan countries. The EU as a common European market has also raised ethnic groups in Eastern Europe, which led to the breakup of socialist countries such as Czechoslovakia, Yugoslovakia, and even the breakup of the Soviet Union into a network of capitalist blocs.

Quo Vadis Islamic Bloc?

Seeing the current pace of globalization, it is impossible to focus solely on global markets or economics, both in terms of causes and consequences. There are political, social, and cultural factors whose processes are irregular and fragmentary. Of all these forces, industrialized countries still dominate the roots (Antony, 1999).

According to (Ismail, 1982), the system of domination occurs almost all over the world, especially by Western countries against Islamic bloc countries that supply raw materials, especially oil. This system of domination has given birth to a center-periphery relationship structure. This kind of system is Islamic Arab countries to fight for fate and history to establish cooperation through various organizations, such as the OIC, Inter Arab non-government organization, and others. It's just that globally they put more emphasis on cooperation with the world's economic powers, especially the Western capitalist bloc countries. The tendency and dependence of Arab countries on the Western capitalist bloc in economic cooperation can be seen from the significant oil exports, which according to OAPEC statistics, reach 86% of the total production. In contrast, 14% is consumed by themselves.

It is ironic again that countries that experience a surplus, according to (Hamza, 1987) from oil sales, are not invested in their own country but are invested in European countries, America, and other Western countries so that they are also infected with being "peripheral capitalists." capitalism). Depending on the Western world, like that which the writer believes is finally ideologically or internationally oriented, Arab countries or Islamic blocs are not easy to unite.

Ideology and Orientation of Arab Countries

The ironic reality that needs to be regretted is that in the narrowing of the multipolar process, Islamic Arab countries have been dragged into a unipolar world and are under the domination of global capitalism. The lack of unity between Arab-Islamic countries in the Middle East is caused by various factors, including 1. Ideologically, they are very varied, and we are witnessing conflicts between Islamism, wathaniyah ("state nationalism"), and qaumiyah (nation's nationalism).) which has not been completed. People like the late King Faisal longed for Pan Islamism so that Muslim countries unite under the banner of Islam to build international power so that other international powers could respect and better channel the interests of the Muslim world itself. This idea was opposed by figures who instigated Arab nationalism (qaumiyah Arabiyah), such as Gamal Abdul Nasser (Egypt) and his successors and the Ba'ath Party in Syria and Iraq). Ironically again, the supporters of Arab nationalism are also not united. A new trend emerged, not Pan-Islamism or Arab nationalism, but wathaniyah in a narrow sense (a kind of

chauvinism). Egypt, for example, has different interests from Libya or Kuwait, so it is considered unrealistic on a global scale (Am, 1987).

Maxime Rodinson also describes the current ideology of the Arab world as colored by three models: a. Islamic model as exemplified by the Prophet (development of the concept of 3D unity: din, Dunya, and daulah), b. Model of Arab Nationalism (such as Pan-Islamism proclaimed by Gamal Abdul Nasser), c. universality of socialism ideology. These three forms of ideology have globally afflicted traditional and modern Arab society in a conservative or revolutionary sense (Maxime, 1991).

Arabs' interest in contemporary non-Arab ideologies is not only because of their civilization which has been under the domination of the West since colonialism, but also between Western and Arab-Islamic ideologies, which are mutually dependent and dependent on each other. See Abdullah Laroui's observations, chapter "conclusions" in L'Ideologie des Arabes Contemporain, (Paris: Desclee, 1967) .

2. Internally, Arab countries are still entangled by the crisis of legitimacy, especially monarchical countries such as Saudi, Jordan, or the Emirate countries, thus allowing the emergence of a strong opposition that can overthrow the existing power. The crisis of legitimacy is also experienced by republican and "democratic" countries such as Syria, Iraq, Algeria, and Egypt. 3. The third issue is about the international orientation of each Arab-Islamic country, which on the one hand, is related to the ideological orientation of the state; on the other hand, it is related to their respective national interests. In reality, many Arab Islamic countries have been dragged into the unipolar current driven by the US and Britain. The incident of the US army's attack on Iraq has received much support from Arab-Islamic countries such as Saudi Arabia, Emirati countries, and even Turkey (Europe), which was once a player in Islamic military power. With such a reality, it will be even more challenging to realize unity and independence between Arab-Islamic countries and weaken these countries' identities.

Learning from the Iranian Scientific Spirit

The case of the Iranian revolution is an exception from the mainstream of the independence of the Arab Islamic countries described above. In this case, it can serve as a symbol and spirit (a lamp of hope) for the Islamic world and the Third world, especially for oppressed and oppressed countries. This revolution is almost the same as the French revolution in the sense of resistance against the cruel monarchy regime, opposing the unequal social structure, in upholding freedom and brotherhood. This revolution is also supported by the masses who have long been oppressed by economic and social pressures and have to deal with foreign power alliances. The most exciting thing about this revolution is that it is driven by religious ideology, supported by prominent philosophers such as Sayyid Tabataba' i, Ayatullah Khumanini, Ayatullah Muthahari, and social-architect Dr. Ali Shari'ati. Religious ideology here is intended not to highlight its Shi'a position as an ideological force but rather to emphasize Islam as a source of solid values that are likely to become a source of revolution in the epistemic and axiological planes of civilization and science. Therefore, the emergence of the Shi'i ideology, in the author's opinion, is only part of a historical accident, especially the events after the Siffin war between Ali and Mu'awiyah, which gave rise to the Sunni, Shi'i, and Khawarij sects.

Apart from its Shia-Islamic ideology, what is interesting is that Iran has long developed Islamic philosophy. The development of this system of Islamic thought is crucial because it can be a reference for reform and even a "revolution" in science and civilization. Islamic philosophy, borrowing Musya Ash'ari's view, is a kind of totality of Islamic views in holistic thought, which has been practiced by the Prophet

(Musa, Ash'ari. 1997). The development of this philosophical tradition in Iran which in the Islamic world has surpassed various Sunni countries, and other Muslims (besides Turkey), especially after Ibn Rosyid (d.595H/1198 AD), making it possible for the progressive development of science and technology.

This kind of revolutionary thought, for example, can be seen from the point of view of the architect of the Iranian revolution, Ali Shari'ati, and practically practiced through speeches, articles, and books, which in the view of the American media, he is not a fundamentalist but has succeeded in mobilizing the revolution. (Asghar Ali Engineer, 2004). The author does not mean that the Iranian revolution is only the result of Shari'ati's thinking but is a collective result of religious leaders and various community components, especially his collaboration with Imam Khomeini. Unfortunately, the existence of Iran under Ahmadinejad's government, its fundamentalist tendencies are pretty strong, for example, by replacing state officials who are not in line with its conservative-fundamentalist ideology.

Therefore, the Iranian Revolution is a "catastrophe" for the US and a threat to the supremacy of Pax Americana and Western countries, as described by Boby Sayyid in Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism (1997). The challenge for Iran in a unipolar world is its independence in developing revolution and human resources. This will be a barrier and a threat to the perpetuation of global capitalism, especially the dominance of the US and Britain, which has made history in the oil processing of Iran and Arab countries in general. The roots of the feud between Iran and the US and others, apart from the ideological issues of Iran, which are more left-leaning, are also oil issues or political-economic issues. The history of the Iran-West oil cooperation began in the early 19th century when William Knox d'Arey drilled oil resources in the mosque. Soleyman, Iran. In 1914 under W Churchill, the British government also cooperated with Persian oil companies, which later became known as "The Anglo Persian Oil Company" (APOC). See, A. Miquel, in Islam et Sa Civilization, (Armand Collin, 1977). The disillusionment and disharmony between America and Iran are becoming more evident. For example, when an American secret agent CIA was proven to be involved in the plan to overthrow Iranian PM Mohammed Mossadeq (1953), who nationalized all foreign companies in Iran. America's and Britain's disappointment was healed when Reza Pahlevi became president and America's "puppet." American intervention in Iran has happened since Khomeini proclaimed the Iranian revolution (1979) until now.

This data is open to new inputs that are more up-to-date. For example, the US intervention provided financial assistance to the Iranian government's opponents in various projects such as TV stations, radio stations, etc., which were estimated to be worth 75 million dollars (approximately Rp. 228 billion). The US intervention and coercion on Iran was further proven by the statement by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad that the US had forced the UN in its resolution to "attack" Iran under the pretext that it was developing nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, this UN resolution was only vetoed by the Soviet Union and China (one of the five veto-wielding countries). If this plan of military aggression by the US cs. Against Iran in the future goes as smoothly as the invasion of Iraq. What happens will exacerbate the clash of civilizations and the speed of arbitrariness of the unipolar powers of the US cs. (NATO Block) with all its risks and effects in a destructive way.

Conflict Between Fundamentalists

Religious Fundamentalism – even though it was born from Christian history – should not have a bad connotation because it is an attempt by people to be obedient and loyal to the basics of its teachings.

Fundamentalism, born as a militant movement, usually arises because they want to return to their ideal past or what is seen as a lost paradise. It is just that the term becomes a "bad word" and has a negative-pejorative image when it is associated, for example, with bigotry, sectarianism, and the mindset of absolutism, in understanding Christianity in an ahistorical, apologetic, and emotional way so that the movement tends to become intolerant. Exclusive and even destructive.

Fundamentalism as a branch of evangelism in the Protestant movement places great emphasis on 1. The Bible is authoritative and reliable, 2. Eternal salvation is only possible by being "born again," including belief in Christ and his work, 3. A transformative-spiritual life must be marked with moral conduct, reading the Bible, praying, and doing missions. From here, Fundamentalism then uncompromisingly always fights against the theology of modernism which seeks to secularize culture. (Mercea Eliade, 1987).

Internally Fundamentalism is also the opponent of the Ecumenical movement or the Christian movement, which seeks to reunite Christians who are divided into many sects. (John A. Hardon, Book, 1985).

Fundamentalist views and tendencies like that - which should be more driven by internal conditions among Christians - are very likely to be born from his teachings, for example, generally described by James Barr with the following characteristics: 1. The powerful emphasis on the view that there are no errors in the Bible (ignorant), 2. Strongly anti-modern theology and its methods, the results and implications of a modern critical study of the Bible, 3. Viewing people who do not share their views as "untrue Christians" or "outsiders." This kind of complete view is hazardous and fragile in the form of conflict or violence when referred to in a multi-religious and multi-cultural society; it will be even more dangerous if it clashes with the views of other religious groups.

Therefore, if Ali Engineer's abovementioned observations are correct, the condition of the unipolar world will harden and lead to conflict. Because the arrogance of US power and militaristic power - in this hypothesis - is driven by the ideological power of ultra-fundamentalist (splinter Christianity). Meanwhile, other religious Fundamentalism, called "terrorist Islam," such as Iraq, al-Qaida group in Afghanistan, and Iran is also a victory. Hamas group in Palestine will only be highlighted negatively with a double standard measure. With this phenomenon, even though various conflict management and resolutions have been attempted, the clash of civilizations can become a factual reality if this kind of conflict between fundamentalists and ideological bases continues. Such conditions will eventually prolong the conflict because the tension in it is accompanied by ideological beliefs that include religion. This double standard is more due to the intertwined interests of the US & Israel in the Middle East so that the US always defends Israel, for example, in the Palestinian issue. Hamas's victory in Palestine is currently being treated unfairly and inhumanly, for example, by the US isolation policy stemming aid and economic flows to Palestine.

When referring to the Engineer's thesis - the significant influence of splinter groups - "Evangelical Christian fundamentalists" with their neo-conservatives against the Bush administration, it is confirmed as accurate. This thesis is strengthened by Hussein Solomon in State Sanction Religious Fundamentalism (2006). Meanwhile, the conservative-fundamentalist tendency of the Ahmadinejad government is also growing. Bush and Ahmadinejad are both from the lineage of ultra-fundamentalist groups. The US, as the world's police under the pretext of "war on terrorism," prefers a violent solution against countries that

hinder the pace of global capitalism. Meanwhile, Ahmadinejad, with his Shiite ideological beliefs, also shouted his party as the power of "Imam Mahdi" (messianism), which will soon be present in front of the UN forum. If the conflict between "fundamentalists" with religious spices continues, then the phenomenon of this conflict, in the author's opinion, is also like a series of hidden "crusades" that continues because rational reasons have been defeated by emotional reasons carrying the flag of religion.

Indonesia's Position: Affirmation of Islam and Our Nationality

Indonesia, as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, has the ideology of Pancasila and the 45 Constitution; theoretically, its economic system seems close to the socialist system. This can be seen, for example, from the fifth precept, in the state's desire to realize social justice for the entire Indonesian nation or the article "earth, water and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and used as much as possible for the prosperity of the people." This article is in line with the immorality of the Qur'an, namely, so that wealth does not only accumulate among the rich (Kaila yakuna bain al-aghniya' minkum). This beautiful and good concept is not effective enough in the reality of the life of the nation and state. For example, our economic architects (such as Wijoyo Nitisastro and his successors) in the New Order era. In my opinion, the author is more inclined to the capitalist system by choosing the pursuit of economic development rather than human resources (HR) that people like Sudjatmoko (late) want to fight for, on the grounds of the economic principle, the "trickle-down effect," if some groups prosper economically, then will automatically seep and spread evenly to the people (grass-root). This economic principle – in the New Order era – even though it had increased economic growth turned out to be "barren" and has not been proven to be effective for the prosperity of our nation; in fact, there have been many deviations, such as the culture of KKN and in the end, it weakens and makes us vulnerable in global competition. The successors of Nitisastro's economics during the New Order era were often ridiculed and referred to as the Berkley Mafia because they (mostly UI alumnus economists) also graduated from the US Berkley University.

Indonesia's weak economic competitiveness must be acknowledged at the global and regional levels; for example, in the 1997 World Competitiveness Report and the Swiss IMD results, Indonesia is ranked 41st. The Asian Tigers like Japan are pioneers, Singapore and Hong Kong are ranked 2nd & 3rd, Taiwan and China are ranked 18th and 36th, while Malaysia is ranked 23rd. Such weakness was indeed due to various factors, among others: 1 because the structure that panelists described in the 26th "Kompas" Discussion had more significant stakes than poles with various monopolies, oligopolies, and high levels of inefficiency.

Weaknesses in human resources are also evident in the field of academic human resources, where there is a surplus of "cheap" labor and a deficit of educated workers, and inadequate employment opportunities, so it is not surprising that the unemployment rate is said to reach 40% of the total workforce. Although it can be considered "out of date," this paper certainly does not deny the improvements that have been and are being pursued by the Reform Cabinet of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). 2. Weaknesses in science and technology capabilities. Our competitiveness ranking in science and technology is at 40 or the lowest compared to Asian countries such as Taiwan, South Korea, India, and the Philippines. 3. Weaknesses in "Business Ethics," so it is not uncommon for human rights violations and environmental destruction (natural and social). This is due to weak basic morality and ethical practices that are more concerned with the profit side. Cases of infringement of copyright or

intellectual property rights (HAKI) are conditions that have been entrenched so that Indonesia is a "paradise for pirates." Therefore, in eradicating this illegal imitation culture, it is not only the business actors who need to be addressed but also the patterns and behaviors of the consumer culture actors.

In the current global system, an economic system that is not comparable to a just and balanced political system between countries has made the world unipolar. Indonesia's position is still weak and challenging in this unipolar international arena. Economically, our condition is still very concerning, especially amid the global economic crisis. In politics, we are still in euphoria after being gripped by the New Order regime for a long time. The reformation era has indeed given hope for democracy, primarily through more democratic multi-party elections and openness and improvement in various matters. Among them are efforts to recover the economy amid the current global economic crisis and improve government cleanly (free of KKN), although the results have not been encouraging. In the current multidimensional "crisis" condition, where do we come from, and how should we start to improve ourselves?

In this challenging situation, we must also be involved in the global arena, which is currently more dominated by unipolar forces, so that for Indonesia, which is "learning" democracy and the policies that should be implemented by the state, is increasingly facing a big challenge in facing the large influx of unipolar forces hand in hand. Power, namely global capitalism. As the largest Muslim nation in the world, we are challenged to be able to develop Islam and diversity towards a democratic, tolerant, and inclusive nation-state modernity on the reality of the plurality of the nation and state without losing our identity. Therefore, according to the author, we also need to develop better relations multilaterally with the countries of the socialist bloc, even with a critical note, such as with China or the socialist Arab bloc, to balance out the unipolar powers.

Learning from the spirit (Thomas, 2003) of the Iranian revolution above can at least be an inspiration for us to reorganize the importance of our nationality, Islam, and diversity in the future, especially as the most significant "Muslim" nation. In such a weak and challenging position, the Indonesian nation, which is under the shadow of the unipolar-capitalist-secularistic hegemony, must at least maintain its dignity and identity. Because the struggle through the affirmation of Islamic identity and culture in a globalized world, borrowing JR Simon's thesis, is far more important than having to destroy power through violent clashes that are developed through certain ideologies (the ideology of "terrorism" with religion). Indonesia's moral support after Malaysia for Iran – of course, minus its fundamentalist-conservative tendencies – in the nuclear program for developing science and technology and peace goals is very appropriate. The development of this kind of science and technology indeed cannot be separated from the philosophical roots of culture and the spirit of inquiry in Iran. Meanwhile, learning from the disintegration of the Arab blocs can also be a reflective reflection of the weakness of Arab Islamic political ideology when dealing with the ideology of global capitalism and its pitfalls.

Intellectual culture and scientific ethos in Iran, according to the statements of the PP Muhamadiyyah group who had visited there, can be seen from the collection of books and books with various specifications at the houses of the scholars, even in the Qum Mosque, Theran there are two million and a half (2.5 million) titles. Books that have been computerized, and the retrieval is assisted by robots. This moral support for Iran also seems to be supported by eight countries with a majority Muslim population (Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, Nigeria, Malaysia, and Algeria), which recently held a meeting in Bali.

Meanwhile, the existence of Fundamentalist Muslim movements through "Jihad" with violent acts, such as bomb terrors in various areas (Bali, Jakarta, etc.) others in various parts of the world are more instant and reactionary solutions that will not solve global problems in a civilized way. Because jihad actions with such a narrow meaning are not solutions, which are merely sociological in a very complex crisis phenomenon. Terrorism is a violent ideology wrapped in religious discourse, not a complete and holistic Islamic substance. Islam is a religion of peace and compassion for the universe (rahmatan Lil 'Alamin).

Behind this phenomenon – like other religious fundamentalist movements – apart from social protests, an assertion of self-identity based on normative values, and misunderstanding of the root of the problem, the most important thing is the power strategy in preparing Muslim educated and intellectuals to enter the world front.

The defeat of Soedjatmoko's strategy in fighting for Indonesian human resources against the strategy of Wijoyo Nitisastro and his successors such as "Sri Mulyani, Anggito, and Mary Pangestu" in the sense that only for the sake of economic growth can also be a historical record as well as an afterthought for Indonesia's future. Because the problems of Islam and nationality here are not only about economics but also political, social, and cultural problems, which are much more complex (Oliver Roy, 2001).

In responding to this kind of challenge, the position of the largest mass organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah through their cadres is expected to continue to develop modern, moderate, and inclusive insights and thoughts in developing Islamic and Indonesian models in the global world arena.

Conclusion

In today's unipolar world system, we must develop democratization in various fields. Because in a democratic system, various meaningful and productive changes can be made. Among the prerequisites for a democratic order, there must be dialogue, or to borrow Arkoun's term, there is "munadharah" with an equal position and in an empathetic and non-hegemonic atmosphere. Me". While the reality is in the unipolar and capitalistic global ideology, the dominating group always wants to lead to a single interpretation and lead it to a unipolar world. Therefore, in such an ideology, it must be necessary to deconstruct a single interpretation and continue to strive for democratization in various fields. See and compare with (John B. Thomson, 2006).

A democratic system will survive if it continues to fight for and realize justice. In today's unipolar system, injustice is still very dominant. A-card holder countries, such as America and Western countries, with their economic-political power and military strength, apart from wanting to become the world's police, also practice a lot of double standards in various global policies.

In a unipolar world atmosphere, it is necessary to foster a dialogue of civilizations as an offer to develop a humanist and religious dialogue (Cf. QS, 30: 22, 5: 48, 3: 63).28 Current conditions and discourses This -sociologically- makes the situation even more difficult by highlighting political issues, such as Samuel Huntington's provocative issue, in "Clash of Civilizations." This kind of discourse can spill over and lead to a clash of civilizations and conflicts that lead to violence. Such a conflict in Abid al-Jabiri's thesis is more of a conflict of political and economic interests.

With the current condition of the domination of Unipolar forces, we can indeed be pessimistic because wise suggestions for conducting civilizational dialogue are offered by figures such as former

Iranian president Khatami, Arkoun, Engineer, Hans Kung, Anthony Giddens, and other figures. In order to build a global ethic, global spiritualism, universal humanity, and whatever the term is, it seems that the political and economic realities are more supportive and justify Huntington's thesis. However, we should not give up hope because in a unipolar condition, "heroes of civilization" are needed from various components of society to build and grow a new spirituality and global ethic that can emerge from various circles: statesmen, community leaders, religious people. Through hard work, dedication, and actual work, bureaucracy, scholars and intellectuals, academics, politicians, artists, and various other professions. They are expected to be able to shout "new spirituality" and unite their ideals with various moral supports in balancing unipolar inequality or fighting various hegemonic conditions, full of injustice and even often leading to violence, whether perpetrated by individuals, groups, or on behalf of the state (in the form of military aggression and warfare).

References

Abdallah, Ismail Sabri. 1982. "Development Strategy in Arab World" in Michio Negal, ed., Development in New Western World. Tokyo: UNU

Arkoun, Mohammed. 1995. Clear Up the Past to Prepare the Future. Yogyakarta: ICCT.

Asy'ari, Musa. 1977. Filsafat Islam Sunah Nabi dalam Berfikir, Yogyakarta: LESFI.

Baedhowi. 2004. "Memaknai Kembali Spiritualitas Islam dalam Peradaban Kontemporer" in *Millah*, Vol III, No.2.

Barr, James. 1977. *Fundamentalism*. London: SCM Press.

Bobby, Sayyid. 1997. *Fundamentals Fear: Eurocentrism and The Emergence of Islamism*. London: Routledge.

Buchana. 1990. "Is Islam Enemy The United States" in New Hamshire Sunday New, ed. 25 Nop.

Edward D. Said. 1978. *Orientalism*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Eliade, Mircea. 1987. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Vol VIII.

Engineer, Ali Asghar. 2004. "Globalization and Emerging Challenges to Islam in Asia" in Journal of Dharma, 29, 4, December.

Franz Fanon. 1967. *Pou rouge le masque blanc*. Paris: Minuit.

Giddens, Anthony. 2003. *The Third Way and Its Critics*. Cambridge: Polity.

--------------, 1999. *Runway World*. London: Profile.

Galtung, Johan. 1980. The True World, New York: The Free Press.

Hardon. John A. 1985. *Pocket Catholic Dictionary*. New York: Image Books.

Al-Jabiri, M. Abid. 1999. "*Clash of Civilization: Future Relations ?*" in Islam Modernism and West Cultural and Political Relations at The End of Millennium. London: Tauris & Co.

Laroui, Abdalla. 1987. *L'ideologie des Arabes Contemporain*. Paris: Descle.

Kaplan, Robert, D. 1997. *The Ends of Earth*. London: Macmillan.

Miquel, Andre. 1977. *Islam et sa Civilization*. Paris: Armand Albin.

Noorena Hertz, 2005. *The Silent Take Over, Global Capitalism and Death of Democracy*. New York: One Word.

Pipe, Daniel.1991. "*Muslim are Coming, Muslim Are Coming*" in FEER, ed. Juni

Rais, Amin. 1987. *Cakrawala Islam*. Bandung: Mizan.

Rodenson, Maxime. 1991. *Les Arabes*. Paris: PUF.

Roy, Oliver.2001. *Geneologie de l'islamisme*. Paris: Hachette.

Simons. JR. Thomas W. 2003. *Islam in Globalization World*. Leland: Stanford Junior University Press.

Solomon, Hussein, 2006. *State Sanction Religious Fundamentalism*. New York: Double Day.

Susanto, A.B. 1998. *Visi Global Para Pemimpin. Sinkretisme Peradaban*. Jakarta: Elex Media Koputindo.

Thomson, John, B. 2005. *Kritik Terhadap Ideologi Global*. Yogyakarta: Sipress.