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DONALD TRUMP; ISLAMIC WORLD AND GLOBALLY POLITICAL ORDER OF INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract - The victory for Donald Trump in presidential election on 8th November 2016 gives big influence for the political order in the world. Trump spreads fear for the world due to his controversial figure. Mainly for the Muslim world caused by his political statement discredited Islam as the community which has potent to be the terrorist. This paper tries to describe and differentiate the relationship between the United States (West) and the Islamic world beginning from George Walker Bush, Barack, Obama, and tries to predict the relationship under Trump's administration. In this paper, it's explained that since the attack of World Trade Center in 2001, Bush's administration campaigned for combating the terrorist (Islam) group in the world. The impact was the increase of islamophobia (hatred toward Islam) in the West and the rise of radicalization in Islamic world. It was the legacy from Bush. When Obama came in 2008, he tried to make good relationship between the West and Islamic world, including Indonesia. Even though Obama doesn't succeed fully, but at least he could decrease the political tension. Now, Trump is coming in with his controversial figure. What will happen in the global world order under Trump's administration? This paper tries to see the relationship and the response from the Islamic world, mainly from Indonesia as state where Islam is the majority. This paper also explains the response of the Indonesian mainstream media with the victory for Donald Trump in presidential election.

Key words - United States, Islamic world, the West, Islamophobia, Indonesia, and radicalization

I. INTRODUCTION

Donald Trump's victory in the presidential election in the United State of America (USA) on 8th November 2016 made the international world agape with surprise. Trump, who was not predicted, based on some surveys, appeared as the winner. Trump defeated experienced candidate, Hillary Rodham Clinton, from Democrat Party. The victory for Donald Trump to live in White House for four years was welcomed negatively by the world and the global market. The negative respond was not irrespective of his and controversial figure and following the dominant opinion, also some of his statements are anti-Islam.

It was different when Obama won the presidential election in 2008. Obama at the time was welcomed positively by the international world, including the Islamic world. Obama's victory at the time brought fine opportunity and hope of the international piece. Whereas, Trump's victory to be the 45th President of the United State brought anxiety and fear in international world, including the Islamic world. Trump is viewed as the figure that will make worst relationship between the West and Islamic world.

His presence as the strong figure but caused the world to be horrified, William Liddle said, will make the clash of civilization sharpener. Clash of civilization is the term made popular by Samuel P. Huntington in the decade of 1990s. His statement that he would tighten Moslem immigrant in entering America cause of terrorism potential will sharpen the clash of the civilization. That's why the world welcomed Trump's victory by anxiety, different from Obama in 2008 ago.

This paper tries to see the relationship between the West (America) and the Islamic world, beginning from George Walker Bush, Barack H. Obama, and to predict four years later the relationship under Trump's administration.

West-Islamic World Relationship in the Era of George Walker Bush

George Walker Bush (Bush Junior) and Donald Trump are the same. Both of them were nominated from Republic Party to live in White House. Even though Trump, truly, was the independent candidate succeeded in winning the convention of Republic Party. Trump defeated candidates 'supported' by figures and elites from Republic. Even when Trump won the convention, there was a discourse from Republic to have alternative candidate. It was caused Trump could not be received well by Republic, including George Walker Bush himself.

Bush is the 43th President of the United States of America (USA) and he became the president for two periods (2000-2008). In his era, the relationship between West and Islamic world got hotter. The presence of Bush as the most influential man in the world justified theory from Samuel P. Huntington about the clash of civilization. In the era of Bush, Islamophobia increased in the West. It began from World Trade Center (WTC) attack on 11th September, 2001 (Pratt and Woodlock, 2016: 3). After the 11th September attack, global media built a frame putting Islam as the threat (Pratt and Woodlock, 2016: 27).

Since at the time, Bush took controversially political step by having war with Afghanistan, invading Iraq to end Saddam Husain regime. Bush also made agenda to war on terrorism where terrorism is always identified with Islam. "Not all Muslims are terrorist, but all terrorist are Muslims" (Pratt and Woodlock,

2016: 86). So, the international politic had transformation again caused by change of foreign affair policy of the United States after 11th September attack, 2001 (Muhammad andMaksum, 2016).

USA policy in the war on terror is known with the term of "global war on terrorism". Of course, it's a sign that the international politic came back to the "bipolar" era, such as the Cold War. It's not irrespective from the threat of President George Walker Bush toward the states who didn't want to be collected together in the campaign by giving popular political statement, "Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists"(Sukma, 2003).

The impact of the Bush-era of taking war on terror is Islamophobia that flourishes in the West, including in Europe, and also sharpens the hatred of the Islamic world (especially from radical groups) towards the West, especially America. Not surprisingly, when Bush made a state visit to the predominantly Muslim countries, including Indonesia, he was always greeted with a demonstration of rejection.

In Britain (England), one of the countries in Europe, the manifestation of hate against Islam is seen from

the threat of attacks on Islamic groups in public places. As well as attacks on mosques, the destruction of Muslim tombs, the formation of a continuous, massive, and widespread negative image of Islam through social media, and many others are the negative impact of Islamophobia after 11 September 2001 attack (Pratt and Woodlock, 2016: 23).

Mohammed el-Nawawy and SaharKhamis also wrote in his book, *Islam Dot Com*, that one of the impacts in the academic world of the events of 11 September 2001 attributed to the Arab world and Muslim identity is the emergence of a study divided into two concentrations of study: "Terrorism studies" and "communication studies"(El-Nawawy and Khamis, 2009: 4).

Hatred against Islam extends which terrorism is always identified with Islam. The United States in the era of George Walker Bush was very active in campaigning to eradicate terrorist groups. Bush invited the international community to combat the group he branded as a threat to world security; Global war on terrorism.

Table : Types of hate-crimes reported to the police from 2006 to 2012, in Europe

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
All hate-crimes	3259	3536	5895	5797	5139	5493	5518
Islamophobic hate-crimes	252 (8 %)	206 (6 %)	272 (5 %)	194 (3 %)	272 (5 %)	278 (5 %)	306 (6 %)
Anti-Semitic hate-crimes	134 (4 %)	118 (3 %)	159 (3 %)	250 (4 %)	161 (3 %)	194 (4 %)	221 (4 %)
Christophobia and other anti-religious hate-crimes	No data	No data	171 (3 %)	147 (3 %)	119 (2 %)	179 (3 %)	258 (5 %)

Sources: Klingspor et al. (2008, 46) and Aspling and Djärv (2013a, 29)(Pratt and Woodlock, 2016: 160).

This certainly made a lot of countries in the world, especially countries whose majority of the population is Islam, feel depressed. As a result, groups of Islamic revivalism emerged. The rise was in response to Western treatment, especially the US, which is considered to discredit Islam. AlamSaleh, from the University of Exeter, also said that the emergence of radical groups (or labeled terrorists) as a result of Western presence in the Muslim-majority countries; such as the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, the US battling on Afghanistan, and some cases of American presence in the predominantly Muslim countries are considered as a colonization in the modern era. Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), in the view of AlamSaleh, is part of implication of America's presence in the Islamic world.¹

Those are the pictures of the relationship between the West and the Islamic World in the Bush era. In the West; America and Europe, Islamophobia increased and in the Islamic world itself appears radical groups

that spread the spirit of hatred against America, and the West in general. In the Bush era, the West and the Islamic world created hatred and suspicion of each other.

Not surprisingly, bombing attacks happen anywhere, in America, Europe, Middle East, and even Asia. In Indonesia, for example, bomb explosions that occurred after the events of September 11, 2001 have always had something to do with the West. The groups are fighting against Western symbols that they see as discriminatory treatment of Islam. Name it suicide bombing in Bali on October 12, 2002, a bomb explosion occurred at Hotel J.W. Marriot on August 5, 2003, a bomb attack occurred in front of the Australian Embassy on September 9, 2004, and on October 1, 2005 another bomb blast occurred in Bali (Muhammad, 2015: 2).

Even when Bush visited Indonesia in November 2006 it was marked by a small explosion in KramatJati, Jakarta. This was just a preliminary signal from radical Islamists or militant Islamists who opposed Bush's visit to Indonesia. Bush was viewed as the symbol of modern colonialism. A number of intellectuals also threatened to give a motion of no confidence to President SusiloBambangYudhoyono (SBY) who received Bush's visit at that time. A

¹This was stated by AlamSaleh when giving a Public Lecture organized by Master of Science International Relations (MIHI) and Doctoral of Political Islam, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, on Wednesday, December 7, 2016.

number of these figures were Din Syamsuddin (Chairman of Muhammadiyah National Board at the time), Amien Rais, Mashadi (Chairman of Forum Umat Islam), Muhammad Khotot one of the chairman of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), and several other figures (Sahrasad, 2016: 163- 164). This is a form of resistance of the Islamic world, including in Indonesia, about the figure of the 43rd President of the United States, George Walker Bush.

In response to the scene, Ali Fauzi Manzi, a former terrorist, said that there are two terrorist targets. The first is the far enemy. The way the terrorist attacks the far enemy is by attacking the Western-sounding symbols. The second one is the near enemy, namely police and army because they are both considered to contribute in blocking the jihadist movement to attack far enemy or even to cooperate.² This is Bush's political legacy to the world after eight years of leading Uncle Sam's country. In the West and Europe, people revive the spirit of Islamophobia; while in the East (Islamic world) presents hatred towards the West that manifests itself in the form of radical resistance movements, such as terrorism.

Obama's presence

Barack Obama was sworn in as the 44th President of the United States on January 20, 2009. Obama is the most phenomenal President of the United States and records history as the first African-American to live in the White House. Obama managed to break the theory that previously developed that to sit in presidential office of USA, he/she must come from the whites. Obama has also fulfilled the dream of Abraham Lincoln to end the Black and White debate.³ Obama's victory in November 2008 was seen as the perfection of democracy in a country known as the champion of democracy that all have the right to choose or to be chosen (Sahide, 2011: 313).

Obama colored political contest 2008 ago with a new hope. Obama was a candidate of hope with his campaign slogan "Change we can believe in" (Milkis, Rhodes, and Charnock, 2012: 57). Obama was then seen as a person who realized the new freedom became a reality, a new birth of freedom (Sahide, 2013: 125).

In Indonesia, Obama was warmly welcomed because Obama had spent his childhood in Menteng, Jakarta. Obama made a state visit to Indonesia for the first time on November 9, 2010. Obama's state visit this time accompanied by his beloved wife, Michelle Obama. The attention of the national media directly fixed on the figure was quite phenomenal; the first American president of blacks. Even the State Palace

provides an extraordinary welcome. The palace appears to be trying to give a comfortable impression for Obama's inaugural visit.

Obama's arrival was not only welcomed by the Indonesian government, but in general Indonesian people also 'welcome' Obama's visit last 2010. Regardless he has ever enjoyed his childhood in Menteng, Indonesian people are seen to have a love for Obama, it was seen from the enthusiasm of Jakarta citizens lined the side of the road watched a procession in which Obama flew home from University of Indonesia. Obama is an American president who has a humble, polite and relaxed attitude, so his presence, as the most influential person in the world, did not create a tense atmosphere. Whether it is contrived or not, but the writer is impressed with his traits as if to show that it is indeed the character of this black president.

The public outcry from Obama's visit on November 9-10, 2010 was so much different when George Walker Bush traveled to Indonesia in 2006 as President of the United States. Bush's visit at that time was greeted with rejection by the people of Indonesia from Sabang to Merauke. Tens of thousands, perhaps even hundreds of thousands, of Indonesians who took to the streets, long before the day of his arrival, joined in various elements of society, voiced their rejection of President Bush at the time. President Bush was considered a criminal of humanity, ranging from the Iraq War, Afghanistan and others. Unlike Bush, Obama was not greeted with hatred, but with love as if to justify Obama's statement that Indonesia is part of him (Kompas, 11 November 2010). Obama was seen as more friendly to the Islamic world, unlike Bush who battles many Muslim-majority countries. Although it cannot be denied that there were some elements of society who took to the streets to refuse Obama's visit, such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), but that was not enough to represent the rejection of Indonesian society.

Before making a state visit to Indonesia, Obama first visited the Middle East, precisely in June 2009, and there he gave a political speech that was seen as a historical political speech from the US President. Obama humbly admitted that colonialism has ignored the rights and opportunities of Muslims. Obama acknowledged that Muslim-majority countries were too often treated as subordinates and their aspirations are ignored. Furthermore, Obama said that he cannot deny, the Palestinians have suffered quite long to have the country. Obama said he wanted to start a new era of US-Islamic World relations based on equality of interest (Sulaeman, 2010).

Those contents of the speech are considered as quite historic, so that Obama managed to reduce the tension between the US with the Islamic world who hate each other in the Bush era. Obama was then awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in October 9, 2009 for

²This was stated by Ali Fauzi Manzi in "Dialogue Together Muhammadiyah of Radical Prevention of Terrorism and ISIS", took place on July 28, 2016 at University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. The event is powered by Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme [the National Agency for Combating Terrorism] (BNPT).

³Even though it seems yet to end.

his role as the number one person in America, even the world, to bring hope to change the global political order. Obama's political move was seen as influential in eliminating the spirit of hatred with one another, especially between the West (US) and the Islamic world.

Therefore, it can be argued that the period of Bush's leadership contributes to Islamophobia in the West and to radicalism in the Islamic world, while Obama emerges with the effort to eliminate Islamophobia and radicalism. Obama tried to break the theory of Samuel P. Huntington about the existence of clash of civilizations.

However, Obama did not completely eliminate the hatred of the Islamic world. Nevertheless, Obama successfully completed a nuclear deal with Iran (Kompas, 20/01/2017). International community expectations, especially from the Islamic world, to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict also did not come true. Especially after the events of The Arab Spring last 2011, the Americans under Obama's leadership played a significant role in the Arab countries affected by the people power movement. Even the presence of America is considered as a factor of failure of democratization in Egypt with the overthrow of President Mohammad Mursi in 2013. It also cannot be denied that the prolonged conflict in Syria to this day is due to the role of the US which seeks influence with Russia (Sahide, 2016). The presence of foreign parties, especially the US, is also one of the causes of the emergence of a new radical movement, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). In short, Obama's presence as a leading role on the global political stage attain a quite positive response and warm welcome, including from the Islamic world, and Indonesia in particular. But Obama is not able to meet the expectations of the international world to make America as the world peace keeper. Groups of Islamic radicalism continue to emerge, one of which Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), which spread hatred against America that is considered hegemony of the Islamic world. The ISIS emergence is inseparable from the US presence in invading Iraq, the US presence in Afghanistan, and the last that in the Middle East after the upsurge of The Arab Spring 2011 back.

Domestically in the US, Obama has not been able to meet the expectations of the racial problems elimination. Racial sentiment still continues to haunt US citizens. It is shown by the occurrence of a number of riots backed by racial issues (Kompas, 20/01/2017). America is also still regarded as far enemy by radical groups in the Islamic world, although it cannot be denied that Obama at least represents American in a different way. That is Obama's political legacy for eight years led the White House. And he left it with 60 percent of a public acceptance rating for his leadership. Only 23 percent of Americans (respondents) gave a bad rating to

Obama. This is in contrast to George Walker Bush (2001-2009) who received bad rating of 46 percent when he left the House (Kompas, 20/01/2017).

America and the world under Trump

The US Presidential election taking place on November 8, 2016, resulted in a surprising scene for international world. It cannot be separated from the emergence of controversial figure Donald Trump, Republican candidate, as the winner. Donald Trump defeated the popular and experienced candidate in bureaucracy, Hillary Clinton.

This Trump victory raises international worries, especially the Islamic world since the Trump campaign that often issued a political statement about limitation for immigrants from the Islamic world into America. In the campaign, he also promised to build a wall on the US-Mexico border, deport millions of illegal immigrants, set to surpass China, and make the United States great again (Kompas, 21/01/2017). Not surprisingly, the international response is negative that Trump is certain to win the election by electoral vote in excess of 270 votes. The negative response was seen with the direct drop in European stock prices shortly after Trump gained electoral votes that exceed 270 votes. The US dollar exchange rate also fell.

The predicted political tension, with Trump's victory, is the tension between the West and the East as the plan forbids Muslims from entering the US in an effort to be wary of terrorism. If Trump really implements what he has said, then the relationship between the West and the Islamic world will again heat up as the tension of Western relations and the Islamic world in the era of George Walker Bush is considered a conspiracy to attack the Islamic countries with the issue of World Trade Center (WTC). Iraq is one such example that has yet to achieve political stability. Trump will again spark hatred between the West and the Islamic world.

Here, Bush and Trump have something in common. Both figures are equally carried by Republicans, also both see Islam as a hotbed of terrorists. Neither did they get a warm welcome from the Islamic world. Unlike the Obama figure is relatively more accepted in the Islamic world, both leaders and communities.

Trump's rhetoric during the 2016 Presidential Election campaign frequently signaled that a radical transformation in US foreign policy might be a prospect. However, some have since argued that the direction of Trump's foreign policy will be managed by those holding the key foreign, security and defence policy portfolios within his executive. Trump's former national security adviser, Michael Flynn, favoured increased cooperation between Washington and Vladimir Putin's Russia in the fight against terrorism (McNamara, 2017: 6).

Indonesian media response to Trump

Donald Trump, for the wider Indonesian community, is a newly recognizable figure. Before officially following the Republican convention, the name of 'Trump' almost never appeared in various social media coverage. Unlike Hillary Clinton, the candidate he defeated. Hillary Clinton is very familiar to the wider community in Indonesia. Hillary's name has certainly become known by Indonesian people when entering the White House as The First Lady accompanying Bill Clinton. She also repeatedly made state visits to Indonesia. Furthermore, from early 2009 to early 2013, she was mandated by Obama as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Therefore, society and media in Indonesia tend to be more aligned to Hillary in the final round of the US Presidential election against Trump. Trump, as said by various media, was seen as a fairly controversial figure and also a sentiment towards the Islamic world. Indonesia is a predominantly Muslim country (87%) so it also affects people's negative response to Trump's figure.

The media are also more inclined to the figure of Hillary. Media coverage in Indonesia discredits Trump more than Hillary. Kompas, for example, as one of the most influential and dominant media in Indonesia is delivering more news that will indirectly direct the readers to Hillary figure, not to Trump. It can be seen with some posts (opinions) in Kompas daily ahead of the presidential election. Rizal Mallarangeng, for instance, wrote Hillary, Tokoh Sejarah di Jalan Berliku [Hillary, Historical Leader on a Winding Path] at Kompas (the biggest newspaper in Indonesia) on October 8, 2016.

From his writings, the political analyst and founder of the Freedom Institute firmly pointed his allegiance to the former American lady. Mallarangeng wrote, "... It may be a bit of an exaggeration to say that Hillary is the last bastion against the darkness." William Liddle, Professor Emeritus of Ohio State University, also wrote at Kompas on Saturday, October 15, 2016. Liddle described Trump as a Terrible Strong Man, so was the title of the article. And according to Liddle, although at that time Hillary excelled from several surveys, Trump still has a chance to win. History proves that Trump has won.

The media in Indonesia quite intensely preached the role of Russia in supporting Trump's victory by the time he was waiting for January 20, 2017, a date when he would be sworn in and legitimately lead the US as the President. Indonesian people also tended to believe that Trump's victory was not purely the voice of the American people. The American democracy was hijacked by certain groups. The result of the democratic election was then considered blameworthy. Thus the response of the Indonesian media and people welcome the presence of Donald Trump as an influential person and will become a key player in the international politics arena. Not just in Indonesia, For some in Northern and Eastern Europe

also, Trump's foreign policy discourse on Russia has been troubling. Trump's view has at times deviated radically from the preceding Obama administration and many of America's European allies. During the 2016 Presidential Election campaign, Trump occasionally spoke effusively about Vladimir Putin. Once Trump was elected, he was firm in publically emphasizing his 'respect' for the Russian president (McNamara, 2017: 5).

Shortly, the mainstream media in Indonesia has been successfully constructing bad image for Donald Trump. Donald Trump is viewed as the President of America who is controversial and hates Islam. It's also proved by his decree to prohibit citizen from seven countries to visit America shortly after he was inaugurated as the President of America. The seven state citizens prohibited entering America are Iran, Irak, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Suriah, and Yaman.

This policy was blocked by Federal Court of law of USA (Kompas, 5/02/2017). However, the policy made by Trump will make the relationship between the West (mainly USA) with the Islamic world worst. And it's possible that radicalism in Islam will be increased due to Trump's policy with the Islamic world. So, what has been done by Obama for eight years in trying to have good relationship between West and Islamic world will be nothing.

The last, Trump canceled the result of the international negotiation between Iran and five permanent member states of Security Council of United Nations (USA, Russia, England, France, and China), plus Germany and European Union. Smith Al Hadar said that Trump wastes the chance in empowering the reformist group in Iran ruling right now. Hassan Rouhani, President of Iran, opens the door for the west investors in Iran and he also promotes the values of pluralism (Al Hadar, 2017). However, the policy taken by Trump canceling the result of the international negotiation has been potential in making global crisis. Al Hadar wrote (Kompas, 24/10/2017).

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