THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE US FOREIGN POLICY

DECISION MAKING (2001-2005)

Muhammad Pambudi Prakoso and Dr. Ahmad Sahide

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Email: Pambuddi123@gmail.com

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explain the influence of Islamophobia in the US

foreign policy decision making in 2001-2005 and also to reveal what is the factors behind

their Islamophobic foreign policy. In this study, researcher conducted research from various

legitimate sources to support this research. Like media online that broadcasts or preaches

about it as well as supporting books to conduct this research. By analyzing the contents of an

emergency from all sources; the findings show the following. First, the Islamophobia issues

in the United State of America. Second, the US Islamophobia foreign policy and also the US

foreign policy decision making. In making the decision, of course, there is some reasons or

factors behind why islamophobia influence the US foreign policy decision making. The

factors are the fact and also values that received by US.

Keywords: Influence, Islamophobia, foreign policy, foreign policy decision making

Background

America has been known as a super power in the world for almost a century. This

country is also known as a pioneer of democracy and freedom for all countries in the world.

As America is one of the secular countries in which they are trying to separatee their socio-

political life from religious values. However, though America is a secular country, the

American government remains prioritizing harmony among fellow religious people there so

as not to there was friction between religious communities and caused social conflict in the

country America itself. This is as stated in the American Constitution which is available in

religious clauses from the First Amendment Act. Freedom of religion is very closely related to the separation of church and state, a concept written by Thomas Jefferson.

Conceptually, Islamophobia is an attitude based on bad prejudice or irrational fear that results in hatred and fear of matters relating to Islam, including adherents of Islam (Muslim). Islam phobia is perpetuated as a negative stereotype that results in discrimination and marginalization of Muslims from social, political and social life. (Farid, 2015)

Then operationally, the attitude of Islam phobia can be seen from the policies issued during the Bush administration. Various policies were formed in the aftermath of 9/11 as a response to fighting terrorists, such as the Patriot Act which contains a policy that gives freedom to security forces and secret services such as the FBI and NSA to search homes or intercept social network accounts for anyone who has a relationship with terrorist networks. In short, the policy violates personal rights or privacy. There is also a Homeland Security Act which is a policy for regional security so that it is closely related to the immigration and transportation fields. Migrants from the Islamic world or names that indicate identity as Muslims must wait long enough for a visa to be obtained. They also have to pass an identity check by the US State Department. Since the start of the program, more than 113,000 men have been registered at the immigration office and more than 13,400 have been deported. The most noticeable impact of this policy is the reduction in the numbers of Arab, Muslim and Southeast Asian immigrants in the United States. Indirectly, this policy shows that Muslims must bear the consequences of the events of 9/11.

There is also a war on terrorism policy issued by Bush as a response to the events of 9/11 to quell terrorism in order to maintain security stability in the United States. The existence of this action against terror was demonstrated by the American invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Generally, this was done in the Middle

East to pursue Al-Qaeda. In conducting war on terror, Bush used the principle of "Doctrine of Pre-emption". Pre-emptive military strikes doctrine is a possible policy. President Bush at that time changed the pattern of US foreign policy based on national interests which in this issue of terrorism was trying to protect all citizens and interests at home and abroad and to create a Preemptive military strikes sense of security for their citizens as an urgent need. In the face of the United States Secretary on September 20, 2001, Bush issued a threat to the international community, "Either you with us or you are with the terrorist". Bush also said, "If you are not with us, you are against us". This statement, better known as the "Bush Doctrine", clearly forced other countries in the world to form an attitude and seemed to have divided the earth into two parts, namely terrorists and non-terrorists (Byers, 2001). Then Bush announced that the doctrine, also known as the Preemptive Military Strikes Doctrine, was a policy that was part of the United States security strategy in an effort to safeguard its national interests (Ikenberry, 2002).

Theoretical Framework

Perception Theory

The basic framework used by the author uses concepts or theories that are closely related to the title chosen by the author. The findings used by the authors in this study are clearer in perspective theory in taking policies that are cast by Ole R. Holsti.

In contrast to the theory of human instincts in policy making that pays more attention to humans, instincts, in theory, assume that instincts and personalities are individual aspects that are static, while perceptions or "images" are characterized by dynamic people, because of perceptions custom changes. According to Kenneth Boulding:

"We must recognize that people who determine the policies and actions of countries do not feed the facts the "goal"... but to their "image" about sharing, what determines our behavior is our perception of the world, not facts that world " (Boulding, 1991)

Boulding's statement above shows that the perception of a leader with a role in determining the performance of the country.

Thomas Franck and Edward Weisband, who emphasized the importance of image too argue that:

"The ways two countries see each other often determine how they interact. A pattern systematic cooperation is impossible to develop among the respective countries consider the opponent to be evil, aggressive and not moral."

Thus, the individual takes action based on what he or she does know. A person's response to a situation depends on how he or she is define that situation.

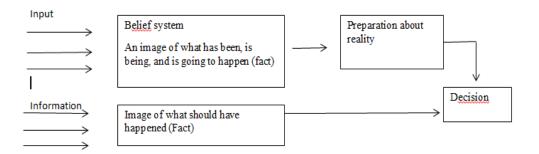
Regarding the relationship between image, perception, and international behavior, Bruce Russet, and Harvey Starr explain it as follows. In the process making foreign policy decisions initially arises from a situation or problem. Before the situation or problem arises to be responded to by the people decision maker, there are three things that happen. First, there is a kind of stimulus from environment. Second, of course, there are efforts to perceive the stimulus. This is the process applied by individuals to select, organize, and assess information entered about the world around it. Third, there must be an effort interpret the perceived stimulus. Perception and interpretation is very depends on the image that is in the mind of the decision maker.

The perception theory in the view of Ole R. Holsti, distinguishes three perception components, namely value, belief and knowledge (facts). Value is preference for certain reality statements compared to other realities. Value provides

prices relative to objects and conditions. Belief is true, proven or known. Confidence is often based on acceptance previous information from the environment, even though it is not the same as own data. This is an analytical statement that connects one unit data into a "tested" pattern. Whereas knowledge (know or existing facts) derived from data or information received from the environment. Knowledge is a key element in system formation and change perceptual (Walter S. Jones, 1992).

Decisions makers are influenced by various psychological processes affect that perception, for example, to rationalize actions, to maintain your own opinion, to reduce anxiety, and others so. Bruce Russet and Harvey Starr explained how the image someone influences his perception of the world around him through the process as follows (Holsti, 1985):

Picture 1 Relationship between the System of Beliefs and foreign policy decisions



At first, a person's values and beliefs help him determine the direction of his attention, which is determining what the stimulus is, which is seen and noticed. Then

based on the attitude and image that has been believed so far the stimulus was interpreted. The image functions as a filter. Each person only pays attention to a part of the world around it, and everyone have a different set of images to interpret incoming information. Perception based on existing perceptions before is the selection process. The belief system is a group beliefs, images, or models about the world that someone believes.

If this theory is applied to the influence of Islamophobia in American foreign policy decision making, Holsti's view of values and this belief was in fact possessed by America, represented by President George W Bush as the policymaker. This means value and the belief system owned by George W Bush obtained from information or the insights he got about Islam were very influential in making foreign policy decisions. This can be seen from the background of the Republic's policies and rhetoric and President Bush since the events of September 11, which reinforces the perception among. Muslims that the party is a hotbed of Islamophobia. Although Bush tried to convince Muslims after the September 11, 2001 attacks, that the United States had not fought against Islam, with at least the last 15 years the Republican party has become a political center for Islamophobia, submitted anti-Muslim policy proposals or anti-foreign laws at least 10 state legislatures.

The background of American foreign policymaking by George W Bush according to perception theory is influenced by values and his beliefs stem from the information and knowledge he receives, then form the construction of thinking Bush. The construction of George W Bush's thinking later influenced the belief system relatively raises the tendency of his views in taking foreign policy.

Research Method

In this study that discusses the influence of Islamophobia in the US foreign policy decision making in 2001-2005. The author uses qualitative methods, namely data collection techniques in the form of library research on written literature such as books, articles, journals, and also source resources obtained from the internet, which are considered relevant to the problems in this study and then analyzed descriptively.

Result and Discussion

1) Terrorist attack on the United States and 9/11 tragedy

According to international media, it was reported that several terrorist attacks on the United States before the September 11, 2001 tragedy which is believed that Al-Qaeda has already raised the flag of war before the United States under the pretext of resistance to western imperialism. In addition, Osama Bin Laden has carried out his actions since the beginning of the formation of Al-Qaeda in the 1980s and the action was carried out by carrying out jihad against the United States both directly and indirectly. Among them are (Sulistyo, 2002):

- On March 1, 1973, a terrorist attack took place at the United States
 Embassy in Khartoum, Sudan which caused the Ambassador to be killed.
 Since then, at least every two years, there has been a terrorist attack on the United States.
- 2. In 1983, there was a double bombing of the United States Embassy in Beirut on April 18, which killed 49 people, and on October 23 against the United States airbase which left 241 people killed. This year there was also an attack on US Marine barracks which are members of the UN peace forces in Lebanon.

- 3. On September 5, 1986, a terrorist attack again struck Pan Am Airlines at Karachi International Airport which killed 20 people.
- 4. On September 21, 1988, the Pan Am Airlines 103 flight was attacked by radio-controlled bombs which left 259 passengers and 11 civilians died when the plane was destroyed near Lockerbie in Scotland.
- 5. In 1993, there was a car bomb attack in Manhattan, New York with the intention of blowing up the World Trade Center.
- 6. On April 19, 1995, it was another reality, in which the United States itself emerged a brutal terrorist from America himself, Timothy Mc Veigh. He demolished the federal government building in Oklahoma City, which left 168 people dead and hundreds seriously injured.
- 7. On August 18, 1998, two consecutive bombings took place, the first being at the United States Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya which killed 80 people, and the second at the United States Embassy in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania which killed 9 people and more than a thousand people injured, including the Ambassador (Sulistyo, 2002)
- 8. On September 11, 2001, The peak of the anger of the United States, against the international terrorism movement, was the tragedy of September 11, 2001, or later popular as Black September Tragedy. In this tragedy, terrorist groups successfully used civilian aircraft as new weapons to bomb the World Trade Center building which is known as the symbol of American capitalism and the Pentagon building as a symbol of American military power by taking more than 10,000 lives.

The attack on 9/11 which was carried out as a form of terror and the threat clearly resulted in great damage and losses which triggered an angry

reaction from the United States. With that, the United States under the leadership of President George W. Bush openly declared a war against Al-Qaeda terrorists who were alleged to have carried out the action. Bush's suspicion was increasingly convinced supported by the fact that before, Osama Bin Laden as Al-Qaeda leader had indeed raised the flag of war against the United States in the pretext of resistance to western imperialism. In addition, Osama Bin Laden has carried out his actions since the beginning of the formation of Al-Qaeda in the 1980s and the action was carried out by carrying out jihad against the United States both directly and indirectly. Some of the evidence and facts of the attack above indicate that Al-Qaeda follows Osama Bin Laden as a terrorist network that must be immediately destroyed.

2) America had a traumatic sense about Islam in the past during crusade

The defeat of the West in the Crusades left deep trauma. Until centuries later, various events in the West in relation to the Islamic world are still often associated with the motives of the Crusades. When George W. Bush declared a war on terrorism in the early 2000s, he used the term "Crusade" (Holy War). The war against terrorism is considered a continuation of the Crusades (Nasrullah, 2015).

The Crusade was called by Pope Urban II in 1095 AD to conquer Jerusalem from Muslims. Edward Gibbon in the History of the Decline and fall of the Roman Empire said the call for the holy war had touched the nerves of the very subtle feelings of European society. Religious institutions still occupy a central position in the community. Led by priests and nobles, the Crusaders departed through Constantinople to Jerusalem.

Successive defeat experienced by western soldiers, the Process of the Crusades aas stated in the introduction that the outbreak of the Crusades took a long time, namely almost two centuries.

Conclusion

Final conclusions based on quantification with content analysis conclude it is inevitable that much of American foreign policy is indirectly influenced by Islamophobia elements which have gradually developed through the perceptions of thinking of western society in America that stem from historical facts and values experienced by western society, in this case, is American society. We know that Islamophobia is not just a matter of prejudices that have arisen as a result of the 9/11 event, but more than that Islamophobia is rooted in the problem of the ideological paradigm adopted by the US government and its allies in spreading Islamophobic sentiments.

'Islamophobia is something bigger than just a matter of hatred towards Muslims because they are different Islamophobia must be fully understood as an instrument of the US empire (the U.S empire) to legitimize its imperialistic policies. That is, Islamophobia is a cultural weapon to smooth the operation of neoliberal capitalism throughout the universe while securing the US position as the hegemon. Islamophobia is a product of the post-Cold War, an ideology formed in the context of the American Empire to serve US power and the power of global capitalism. And like the 'red danger' during the Cold War, anyone who opposes US and global capitalism is easily labeled as an extremist Islam, as a terrorist.

Bibliography

- Boulding, K. (1991). International Relations Theory and Evidence (Prentice Hall). Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Byers, M. (2001). Terrorism: The Use of Force and International Law After 11 September. *International Relations Journal*, 155.
- D.W. (2016, September 21). *Islamophobia di Amerika, "Christianophobia" di Indonesia*. Dipetik October 2, 2018, dari DW: https://www.dw.com/id/islamophobia-di-amerika-christianophobia-di-indonesia/a-36437865
- Farid. (2015, January 24). *Opini publik: Islamophobia dan Pesan dari Iran untuk Pemuda Eropa*.

 Dipetik September 24, 2018, dari Liputan Islam:

 http://liputanislam.com/opini/islamophobia-dan-pesan-dari-iran-untuk-pemuda-eropa/,
- Holsti, O. R. (1985). The Belief Sistem and National Images: A Case Study. Jakarta: LP3S.
- Ikenberry, G. J. (2002). America's Imperial Ambitions. American Foreign Policy Theoretical Essay, 575.
- Kahfi, S. (2006). Terorisme di Tengah Arus Globalisasi. Jakarta: Spectrum.
- Nasrullah, N. (2015, September 13). *Ternyata ini di Balik Agresi Barat ke Timur Tengah* . Diambil kembali dari Republica.co.id:

 https://www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/global/15/09/13/numbj9320-ternyata-ini-di-balik-agresi-barat-ke-timur-tengah
- Nizmi, W. F. (2014). Upaya ICNA (Islamic Circle Of North America) Dalam Melawan Islamophobia di Amerika Serikat. http://download.portalgaruda.org/article.php,.
- Stevenson, G. (2014). *Islamophobia dalam Building Nations from Diversity*. Canada: Mc-Gill-Queens University Press.
- Sudrajat, A. (2008). *Rekonstruksi Interaksi Islam dan Barat: Perang Salib dan Kebangkitan Kembali Ekonomi Eropa*. Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga.
- Sulistyo, H. (2002). *Beyond Terrorism Dampak dan Tragedi Pada Masa Depan.* Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Telaah Doktrin Bush dan Obama dalam konteks studi Amerika dan Dunia. (t.thn.). http://fisip.budiluhur.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/Amerika-Dunia-by-Yusran.pdf.
- Walter S. Jones. (1992). Logika Hubungan Internasional. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Yuval Neria, L. D. (2012, June 29). A Review of The Literature Among Highly Exposed Populations; Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Following the September 11,2001 Terroriatattact. Diambil kembali dari NCBI.