

liberties. In all of the other dimensions, Indonesia shows clear weaknesses.

The book represents the richest analysis of Indonesia's current transition processes available on the market. It offers insights into a multitude of challenges for the consolidation of democracy. Its two main strengths are the combination of German and Indonesian perspectives and the strong theoretical foundation. It is thus a book that is most recommendable for people interested in Indonesia as well as in the theoretical analysis of democratic transition and consolidation.

(Henriette Litta)

**Anak Agung Banyu Perwita:
Indonesia and the Muslim World.
Between Islam and Secularism in the
Foreign Policy of Suharto and
Beyond**

Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2007, 222 S.,
EUR 18,99

Almost since independence, Indonesia has claimed to follow a *Bebas-Aktif* (independent and active) foreign policy which has its roots in the 1945 Constitution and its ideological foundation of *Pancasila*, the five principles originally formulated by Sukarno in 1945.

It is, of course, difficult to identify the factors that determine foreign policy-making and the present study explores Islam as one of many societal factors in influencing Indonesia's foreign policy toward the Muslim world. The Indonesian scholar Anak Agung shows that the degree to which Islam influences Indonesia's foreign policy is subject to debate. While some scholars find that the government of the country with the largest Muslim population in the world consistently plays down the religious factor in its foreign policy (e.g. Azra, Suryadinata), others emphasise that the "Islamic factor" is visible in Jakarta's relations, especially with its atti-

tude towards issues in and concerning the Middle East (Sihbudi).

Anak Agung's study focuses on Indonesia's New Order foreign policy under Soeharto with special emphasis on Indonesia's relations with the Muslim world, and the role and influence of Islam as articulated by the Muslim community on government policies (state-society perspective). The major hypotheses of the book are that "foreign policy begins at home" and that "foreign policies are also influenced by the religious views and beliefs of policymakers and their constituents".

After a brief overview of the roots, nature and evolution of Indonesian foreign policy and developments in the Muslim world in a changing global environment (chapter 2), Anak Agung investigates the nature and characteristics of Indonesia's foreign policy toward the Muslim world with the use of four case studies: Indonesia's involvement in the Organization of the Islamic Conference (chapter 3), Indonesia's responses to the Middle East conflict, namely the Palestinian Issue, domestic resistance to establishing diplomatic relations with Israel, and the 1991 Gulf War (chapter 4), Indonesia's reaction towards the Moro problem between the government of the Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) (chapter 5) as well as its stance on the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (chapter 6). He also briefly looks at the role of Islam in Indonesia's foreign policy since the fall of Soeharto in 1998 (chapter 7), before he presents the main findings of his case studies (chapter 8). A short appendix finally briefly explains the theoretical framework, the data collection methods (mainly interviews and newspaper articles) and refers to numerous other studies of state-society relations in foreign policy analysis.

The *Bebas-Aktif* foreign policy has always been defined without the inclusion of religious sentiments. For instance, Indonesia did not base its participation in the OIC on Islamic principles, but even declared that it

was not an Islamic state. Instead, as a post-colonial state, Indonesia demonstrated strong anti-colonialist commitment and based its support for the struggle of the Palestinians, Bosnian Muslims etc. thereupon.

The strongly anti-communist *Orde Baru* (New Order) had a pragmatic international outlook, and *pembangunan ekonomi* (economic development) and *stabilitas nasional* (national stability) became the dominant themes. This pragmatism is also noticeable in the four case studies. On one hand, Soeharto tried to please and appease not only the domestic Muslim community to retain his power, but also the wider Muslim world, e.g. within the OIC, to get their support for his political interests like its chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) from 1992 to 1995, or for the issue of East Timor. On the other hand he consistently tried not to jeopardise Indonesia's relations with the Western world, since economic aid and foreign direct investments were of paramount importance to Indonesia. Therefore, on most issues pertinent to the Muslim world, Indonesia has according to the author adopted "a policy of ambiguity" (p. 179).

The antagonism between the Muslim community and the Indonesian government (President, bureaucracy, military) became particularly apparent not only over the Middle East issue but also over the Bosnian Muslims. While the Indonesian Muslim community showed the utmost concern not only by providing financial support but by even declaring their readiness to send *Jihad* forces to help Bosnia-Herzegovina struggle against Serbia, the government advocated diplomatic efforts and participation under the auspices of the UN.

Unlike foreign policy in many other Muslim countries in which Islam plays a significant role, Indonesia's policy toward the Muslim world seems to be governed by rationality and pragmatism. To this end, Anak Agung even speaks of *realpolitik* (p. 177).

Furthermore he interprets the focus on anti-colonialism and nationalism as the basic

components of Indonesia's policy as a "victory of the secular-nationalists over the religious-nationalists in managing Indonesia's foreign relations" (p. 171).

With the mushrooming of Islamic political parties and radical groups after the fall of Soeharto, however, the government felt they had to better accommodate the Muslim community's opinions, and Anak Agung concludes that the Islamic factor is likely to play an increasingly important role in the making of foreign policy decisions in Indonesia. Yet, according to the author, at the moment the fragmented and fractious Islamic groups in Indonesia do not pose a threat to the current political order.

(Nicole Dathe)

Christoph Schuck: Die Entgrenzung des Islamismus. Indonesische Erfahrungen im globalen Kontext

Transformation, Development, and Regionalization in Greater Asia, Bd. 2, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2008, 265 S., EUR 39,00

Die politologische Indonesienforschung hat in Deutschland traditionell einen schwachen Stand. Die meisten Lehrstühle zu Indonesien oder Insel-Südostasien sind linguistisch und ethnologisch besetzt, während die wenigen politologisch ausgerichteten Institute häufig von Schließung bedroht sind. Es ist daher sehr zu begrüßen, dass jüngere Indonesienforscher wie Christoph Schuck verstärkt in die universitäre Lehre und Forschung drängen, und nun auch öfter Publikationen vorlegen. Solche Veröffentlichungen können dazu beitragen, das Profil der politikwissenschaftlichen Indonesistik in Deutschland wieder zu stärken, und die nach Bernhard Dahms Dominanz in den 60er und 70er Jahren in diesem Feld aufgetretene Vakanz zu füllen.

Vor diesem Hintergrund ist es jedoch besonders bedauerlich, dass das hier zu besprechende Buch von Christoph Schuck weit hinter internationalen Standards von Ori-