



Center for
Research &
Security
Studies

Rule of Law - Security - Governance

State, Religion and Democracy

Perspectives from other Muslim Countries



Center for Research & Security Studies
2014

STATE, RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE OF FOUR MUSLIM COUNTRIES

**Report of Dialogues with
Turkish, Indonesian and Malaysian Delegations
in Pakistan**

by

Center for Research and Security Studies (CRSS)

and

Heinrich Böll Stiftung (HBS)

Islamabad, Pakistan, 2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	05
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	07
THE TURKISH PERSPECTIVE	13
LECTURES AT NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD (NDU)	15
Q & A Session and Comments	27
LECTURES AT UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR (UoP)	34
Q & A Session and Comments	34
ROUNDTABLE AT HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG, ISLAMABAD (HBS)	40
Q & A Session and Comments	40
THE INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE	48
LECTURES AT QAUID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD (QAU)	52
Q & A Session and Comments	59
LECTURES AT FATIMA JINNAH WOMEN UNIVERSITY, RAWALPINDI (FJWU)	63
Q & A Session and Comments	66
LECTURES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR (UoP)	70
Q & A Session and Comments	75
LECTURES/ ROUNDTABLE AT FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE UNIVERSITY, LAHORE	85
Q & A Session and Comments	85
ROUNDTABLE AT HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG , ISLAMABAD (HBS)	87
Q & A Session and Comments	90
THE MALAYSIAN PERSPECTIVE	97
LECTURES AT LAHORE UNIVERSITY OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES (LUMS)	101

Q & A Session and Comments	108
LECTURES/ ROUNDTABLE AT FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE UNIVERSITY, LAHORE	112
Q & A Session and Comments	123
LECTURES AT UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR (UoP)	129
Q & A Session and Comments	130
LECTURES AT FATIMA JINNAH WOMEN UNIVERSITY, RAWALPINDI (FJWU)	140
Q & A Session and Comments	140
ROUNDTABLE AT HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG, ISLAMABAD (HBS)	147
Q & A Session and Comments	152
ANNEXURES	164
Annexure 1: Ms. Julia Indiati Suryakusuma (Full Lecture)	164
Annexure 2: Mr. Toaha Qureshi MBE (Full Lecture)	177
Annexures 3: QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES FROM TURKISH, INDONESIAN & MALAYSIAN PERSPECTIVES - A SURVEY REPORT:	183
a. QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES - TURKISH PERSPECTIVE	184
b. QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES - INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE	188
c. QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES - MALAYSIAN PERSPECTIVE	192
d. OVERALL QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES	196

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Center for Research and Security Studies (CRSS) team records its acknowledgement and appreciation for the substantive support that the Heinrich Böll Stiftung has provided for the project under discussion.

We also thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey, for their kind support to the Dialogue Forum on “***State, Religion and Democracy – The Turkish Perspective.***”

Lastly, and most importantly, the Center is extremely indebted to Ms. Tahira Abdullah for her excellent editorial inputs and editing work that made this document possible.

We hope this collective work will serve as a guiding document on the subject: ***State, Religion and Democracy.***

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As part of its democratic advocacy and counter-radicalization program, the Centre for Research and Security Studies (CRSS), launched its Dialogue Forum series titled: “**State, Religion and Democracy**” in 2013. This three-part series of visits and lectures aimed at generating a debate on the issues of democracy, the role of religion, good governance, and sensitizing Pakistani youth on secular forms of state governance in Muslim countries.

Other objectives included obtaining a comparative perspective on how different Muslim states manage both religion and politics separately, in such a manner that religion is treated as a matter of personal choice, not state business. Furthermore, an objective of the Dialogues was also to show how the differences of culture, religion or ethnicity are handled in such a way that they become a culture of accommodation and tolerance, rather than confrontation and conflict.

For these Dialogues, the CRSS invited distinguished public figures and intellectuals from Turkey, Indonesia and Malaysia to interact with senior university students and academia of various Pakistani universities, as well as with eminent Pakistanis in the fields of politics, defence, human rights, social sectors, economic development, and the media.

A number of interactive meetings were held in major cities around Pakistan. This is a report of the sessions, seeking to capture the flavour of the Dialogues.

The Dialogues were quite an eye-opener for the visiting delegations, as well as for the Pakistani interlocutors, to note a few commonalities along with many points of divergence between the four Muslim majority states.

TURKEY

Two scholars from Turkey, Dr. Ali Murat Yel and Dr. Nuri Tinaz, were the distinguished speakers for the first Dialogue Forum, organized by the CRSS in collaboration with the Heinrich Böll Stiftung Pakistan, titled: “**State,**

Religion and Democracy – A Turkish Perspective”.

During their visit to Pakistan in May 2013, Dr. Yel and Dr. Tinaz visited the following institutions:

1. National Defence University, Islamabad (NDU)
2. University of Peshawar, Peshawar (UoP)
3. Forman Christian College & University, Lahore (FCCU)
4. Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Islamabad (HBS)

Their lectures on the theme ***State, Religion and Democracy*** focused on the Turkish experience in maintaining a strict division between religion and politics. In addition to their lectures at the educational institutions, the scholars participated in a roundtable discussion forum at the Heinrich Böll Stiftung, with representatives of the civil society, human rights defenders, retired diplomats, retired armed forces personnel, economic development practitioners and the media.

In the well-attended interactions with students at the respective universities, the visiting scholars made presentations on the evolution of Turkish politics since the Kemal Ataturk era. They underlined the need to democratize the State's conduct and politics, rather than looking at all the aspects of life through the prism of religion.

Both the Professors held that the intermingling of religion and politics creates unnecessary space for the religio-political parties to manipulate religion for narrow political ends. They stated that Turkey was able to achieve socio-political harmony and economic development through its form of secular democratic governance. Moreover, social harmony, tolerance and homogeneity was promoted through economic justice. Pakistan too, needs socio-economic justice to progress as a society.

Dr. Yel and Dr. Tinaz underscored that, like Turkey, social harmony and economic growth in Pakistan needed similar such pre-requisites, in that the State should be clear about the absolute essential requirement of a clearly-defined legal framework that can oversee, and regulate the role and

conduct of faith-based social and political groups. In the past, such groups have used religion as a tool for their narrow-ended personal or party interests. Religion should be left to the society as a matter between an individual and God, while the State must focus on governance and service delivery, the scholars emphasized.

The Professors stated that equal rights for every citizen of the State must be the cardinal principle, in order to prevent injustice or discrimination in the name of faith, political ideology, caste, creed or ethnicity.

INDONESIA

As part of the ongoing series, the CRSS organized the second Dialogue forum, in collaboration with Heinrich Böll Stiftung Pakistan, titled: "**State, Religion and Democracy - An Indonesian Perspective**", during October 8-11, 2013, with two distinguished scholars from Indonesia: Ms. Julia Indiati Suryakusuma and Mr. Izza Rohman.

The aim was to obtain a comparative perspective on how to underpin the need for democratizing the State conduct and politics, rather than looking only through the prism of Islam, and also to demonstrate how the separation of religion and politics is practised in Indonesia.

The scholars visiting Pakistan for this important discourse participated in the following sessions:

1. Roundtable at Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Islamabad (HBS)
2. Lectures at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad (QAU)
3. Lectures at Fatima Jinnah Women's University, Rawalpindi (FJWU)
4. Lectures at University of Peshawar, Peshawar (UoP)
5. Lectures at Forman Christian College & University, Lahore (FCCU)

The Indonesian delegation was joined by Mr. Toaha Qureshi, a visitor from UK involved in counter-radicalization projects in the UK.

Ms. Julia Indiaty Suryakusuma, a renowned writer and intellectual from Indonesia, stated that, despite efforts by hardliners to change the composition and direction of the Indonesian State, the Indonesian people have shown a remarkable commitment to retaining their diversity and modern democratic values.

She emphasized that the Indonesian people have made it clear, time and again, that they consider democracy as the only way forward to keep intact the integrity of their State. She said that various groups in Indonesia had been attempting to change the Constitution and to impose their own version of religious dictates in the country. However, the people are aware of the consequences of such efforts and, hence, have been raising their voice for strengthening democracy in the country.

Mr. Izza Rohman, lecturer in Education at the Muhammadiyah University, Jakarta, in his presentation, said that several Islamic organizations in Indonesia are venturing into the areas of education and philanthropy quite successfully, but the current chances of their emerging as a major political force are not so conducive, because of the rich cultural diversity of the country. He said that Indonesian people celebrate diversity and, hence, believe that only modern democracy could protect the rights of all citizens.

From UK, Mr. Toaha Qureshi presented his perspective on religious freedom, accompanied by integrated counter-terrorism and counter-radicalization efforts. He emphasized the need for keeping governance secular and separate from belief, to avoid interfaith and intrafaith conflict. While individuals are free to follow their beliefs, the State must adjudicate crime and violation of the law of the land. The State must not assume the role of a Mullah, and must not judge sins, as it is a secular entity that stands on a Constitution and a set of laws to ensure social harmony.

MALAYSIA

As part of the ongoing series, the CRSS organized the third Dialogue forum, in collaboration with the Heinrich Böll Stiftung Pakistan, titled "***State, Religion and Democracy – A Malaysian Perspective***", during January 13-18, 2014.

The basic aim was to highlight the need for democratizing the State conduct and politics, rather than using the lens of religion, and how it is manifested in a society like Malaysia, where Muslims are in a majority, but the country has not declared itself a theocratic Muslim State.

Two notable intellectuals from Malaysia formed the delegation: Prof. Ruhanas binti Harun and Prof. Dr. M. Kamarul-Nizam bin Abdullah.

Their schedule for this important discourse included:

1. Lectures at Lahore University of Management Sciences, Lahore (LUMS)
2. Lectures at Forman Christian College & University, Lahore (FCCU)
3. Lectures at University of Peshawar, Peshawar (UoP)
4. Lectures at Fatima Jinnah Women's University, Rawalpindi (FJWU)
5. Roundtable at Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Islamabad (HBS)

Prof. Dr. Abdullah highlighted the political structure and society in Malaysia. He emphasized the fact that Malaysian society stressed accommodation towards all ethnic and religious groups. Despite the fact that 60% of the population is Muslim, Malaysia has not declared itself as a theocratic Muslim State. The founding fathers of the State were cognizant of its ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, and therefore, they embarked on a journey of tolerance and integration. The key to Malaysia's success was massive investment in the education sector. The Government focused on two major issues: education and the economy. It spent over 30 percent of its investment on the promotion of education for more than 20 years, and this policy has paid rich dividends in terms of economic growth.

There is stable economic development because of the continuity of this policy, which has enabled the society and the State to practise a dynamic, moderate Islam in Malaysia. Since independence, Malaysia has been ruled by the same coalition party, but each Prime Minister brings his own vision. Former PM Mahathir bin Muhammad headed the Government for twenty-

two years and developed the country.

Prof. Ruhana binti Harun presented a detailed account of her perspective on Malaysia's being a secular, yet Islamic democracy. According to her, the policy of accommodation is a hallmark of the Malaysian society, which allows people of other beliefs, culture and ethnic origins to be part of the decision-making process.

She stated that in Malaysia, there is an effort to develop the nation around certain core values. The culture should have indigenous foundations, which is why they have Malay as the National Language. She accepted that Malaysia as a country is full of contradictions. Despite these glaring contradictions, the State has managed to harmonize the differences in order to avoid conflicts. In this regard, the education sector has been under Government control, to develop and maintain national unity.

Furthermore, she emphasized that despite criticism, laws have been framed to curb the extremist elements. Although the King has been designated as the Protector of Islam and no other religion/sect can be preached to, or followed by, the Sunni Muslim Malays, yet, at the same time, the ethnic Malays, Chinese and Indian communities of Malaysia are well aware of each others' sensitivities and live together peacefully in society, as a nation.

STATE, RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY
THE TURKISH PERSPECTIVE

PROFILES OF THE SCHOLARS

Professor Dr. Ali Murat Yel



Professor Dr. Ali Murat Yel has a PhD in Anthropology from the London School of Economics and Political Studies, UK. His area of expertise is religion and sociology. He has been writing for the International and Turkish Journals and Centre for Islamic Studies. Dr. Yel has an extensive list of academic publications to his credit. He was Deputy Head of the Department of Public Administration at Fatih University, Istanbul from

October 1999 to May 2005. Currently, he is heading the department in Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey.

Associate Professor Dr. Nuri Tinaz



Professor Dr. Nuri Tinaz is an Associate Professor at Marmara University, Istanbul. He obtained his PhD from the University of Warwick, UK. He has been associated with the University of Cambridge, UK. He was also a scholar at Utah University, USA.

LECTURES AT NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD (NDU)

Dr. Ishtiaq, Head of Department, Peace and Conflict Studies, National Defence University

The debate on State, Religion and Democracy started in 1922 when the Turkish Republic came into being. The Indian Muslims were in a state of agony when the Turkish Caliphate was abolished but the steps taken by Mustafa Kemal to establish Turkey as a republic were appreciated by our national poet Dr. Muhammad Iqbal. He declared this step as the biggest Ijtehaad (independent reasoning in line with Islamic principles) of that century.

The Grand National Turkish Assembly was highly appreciated by most of the Muslim political leaders of the subcontinent, but the efforts to maintain a balance between state and religion started at that time and we, the Pakistani Muslims, also graced the efforts which began in Turkey in the 1920s. However, our progress has been very slow. Since the establishment of Pakistan, till the present day, we are still struggling to strike a balance between state and religion. I hope this discussion will be very fruitful and beneficial to the students of the different departments and for the faculty members as well.

Mr. Imtiaz Gul, Executive Director, CRSS



I would like to briefly explain why we are all here and why our distinguished speakers from Turkey are here. What are the lessons to be learnt from Turkey in view of the current Pakistani context? For me, as a Pakistani, the

situation of Pakistan is very disturbing.

The scholars are here to share with us what is happening to the revolutionary constitutional framework that Kemal Ataturk introduced in Turkey in the 1920s. My areas of interest are the regulations the State imposes on the faith-based organizations and whether a State can really allow its functions to get mixed up with religion or with the religious ideology, as we have seen the disastrous consequences of that.

Also of interest is the question of how the two are distinguished and the distinction is maintained. This whole initiative is a part of CRSS's counter-radicalization advocacy, which we personally think is very important for Pakistan, particularly, in view of the way it is transforming nowadays.

Prof. Dr. Ali Murat Yel

First of all, I would like to thank several people here:

I start with thanking Mr. Imtiaz Gul from CRSS for inviting us to this forum. We are glad to be here and I would like to thank our Ambassador and the Turkish Embassy for hosting us in Pakistan.



In the last century, the modern Turkish Republic was established on the ashes of the Ottoman Empire, mostly by the military. Turkey used to be described as “the sick man of Europe”. The Ottoman Empire was declining and the military saved Turkey from invasions and established a new state along the lines of modern western states like Italy, France, and Germany, especially in terms of a judicial revolution.

The penal code came from Italy, the civil laws came from Switzerland and the business laws came from Germany. The question is: why were we imitating the West? The answer is: simply to be a modern country. We imitated France for their Laicism. Laicism comes from a French term “laic”, meaning outside of the church; which meant the separation of the church from politics. When I look back upon Turkish history, I see it as a militant Laicism. It was against religious education, religious institutions and faith-based communities, even to the extent that if people came together in order to have a religious conversation and to increase their religious

knowledge, police and the security institutions would raid their houses and meeting places, and they would be accused of harming the secular Turkish state.

The word “secular” is not known by the majority of people in Turkey. Turkish people are unaware of this word because Secularism is totally alien to us, but in my opinion, since the current governing party, the AK Party (Justice and Development Party) has come into power, almost ten years ago; there has been a kind of transition from being a militant Laicism towards the Anglo-Saxon type of Secularism or the American type of Secularism.

The word 'secular' is not known by the majority of people in Turkey. Even people in Turkey are unaware of this word because Secularism is totally alien to us.

Dr. Ali Murat Yel

There is a great difference between these two kinds of Secularisms. The French type is militant Laicism. In this kind of regime, people do not have any religious liberty or freedom because everything is under the control of the State. When you look at the British style or the Anglo-Saxon form of Secularism, there is a separation of state and religion, however the state has a closer relationship with both the people and the religion. The State does not try to oppress people for their religious beliefs and activities.

When the AK party came into power, this transition began in Turkey. Therefore, instead of having oppression or control on religious issues, the state now became more tolerant, and friendlier towards the religious activities of the ordinary people. Thus, when people from outside look at Turkey, especially countries in the West, like USA, they think that in Turkey, a pro-religion Islamist party is in power and they might get the wrong impression about Turkey moving towards a religious or theocratic state. It is not true at all.

Turkey is being transformed into the Anglo-Saxon form of Secularism. In other words, Turkey is more secular now than when it was established, in the 1920s, so there is a misunderstanding here. Hence, in Pakistan, one

could get this impression because of the background of the current ruling Turkish political party. With a pro-Islamic President and Prime Minister, one could get this wrong idea that Turkey is a theocratic state. I can assure you that Turkey will never be a religious or a theocratic State.

I say this, because as an anthropologist I have been observing Turkish society over a long time. Individuals have been secularized rather than the institutions. What I mean by individual secularization is that ordinary people in the street have been secularized and they have separated state from religion in their minds. As a result, for them, imposing a religious regime would be totally unacceptable. They would directly reject the idea of having a religious state, because, according to the research studies, only 7% of the people would like to live under a religious theocratic state. More than 90% of the Turkish people would reject living under a theocratic state, including those who call themselves conservatives or religious people.

With a pro-Islamic President, and pro-Islamic Prime Minister, one could get this wrong idea that Turkey is a theocratic state. I can assure you that Turkey will never be a religious regime or a theocratic regime because as an anthropologist I have been observing Turkish society over a long time.

Dr. Ali Murat Yel

Hence, perhaps the success of the Turkish Republic or the success of the Kemalist Revolution lies in the fact that Turkish people have internalized the Kemalist Revolution (i.e., Secularism). In the 1920s, when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk established the modern state, he also aimed to modernize and secularize Turkey. After the demise of Mustafa Kemal, the army thought that they were the real owners and guardians of the country and were very keen on protecting the Kemalist principles. Therefore, now, whenever they feel there is a threat to the Turkish principles, they directly get involved in politics. They accuse the politicians of encouraging people to have more religious sentiments, more religious education and more religious atmosphere in the country.

In 1960, there was a military coup against Adnan Menderes, then Prime Minister of Turkey. The Prime Minister was accused of encouraging religious

sentiments among the masses, because before Adnan Menderes became the PM (1950), the Azaan (call to prayer) was recited in Turkish. Everything was in Turkish, but when Adnan Menderes came into power he went against that decision and the Azaan was then recited in Arabic, like it is today. Today is the 27th of May, it is an important day for us and since then, we have had other military coups, as the military in Turkey has been very keen on this secularized aspect of the country. After the AK party came into power, the change away from Secularism became apparent. Our army and the establishment of the Turkish State have come to terms with accepting these new changes in Turkey.

After the AK party came into power, the change towards Secularism became apparent. Our army and the establishment of the Turkish State have come to terms with accepting these new changes in Turkey.

Dr. Ali Murat Yel

Now, the army is ready to accept that there would be a certain number of people who would be more religious, who would like to send their children to religious schools, who would practise their religion publicly, and who would wear the headscarf in public places. This is the most visible aspect of the Turkish Laicism. Until 2007, Turkish women students were banned from wearing headscarves inside the universities, but now Turkish women are free to enter universities with their headscarves, if they want to. Hence, now, 20% of them wear headscarves in their classrooms; the impression being that if a woman goes to a university wearing a headscarf, it would not cause any problem or harm to the secularism of Turkish state. It would not roll back the modern Turkey.

Recently, there have been some discussions as some of our Pakistani intellectual colleagues asked me if there is a prohibition on alcoholic drinks in Turkey. The biased Turkish media claims that alcohol is forbidden but that is not the case. Alcohol is only going to be prohibited between certain hours and it would be prohibited to sell alcohol if the bars and pubs are close to the churches, temples, shrines, mosques or other religious places, or schools. It is not that Turkey is becoming more religious or theocratic, but that people are now much more tolerant towards religion.

We have freedom of expression in Turkey now. I think that this is the benefit of secularism. If in a country, there is more secularization, there would be greater freedom and liberty, in my opinion. Dr. Ali Murat Yel

Twenty years ago, people were against Islam and were against the Islamic practices in the public domain. Now with the help of secularism, Turkey should continue in a way that it is in the benefit of the Turkish State - that the people are free to express their views. We have freedom of expression in Turkey now. I think that this is the benefit of secularism. If in any country there is more secularization, there would be greater freedom and liberty, in my opinion. That is the case in Turkey today. People from outside have ungrounded anxiety about Turkey, that it is becoming a religious state. It is not true because people do not want that, even those who consider themselves conservatives.

Thank you very much.

Prof. Dr. Nuri Tinaz



Transformation of the Turkish Society

In order to understand the changes and the transformation going on in the Turkish society over the last 30 years, we have to look at some internal dynamics; the transformation of the infrastructure within the society. Turkish society has undergone some structural changes in the last 30 years. One of them was the opening of the Turkish economy and its integration with the world economy. The custom union with the

European Union and the development of the new market in the Soviet Union territories created economic opportunities for Turkey.

In terms of religion, Islam has gained a spectacular presence in the public life in Turkey. The Turkish society has experienced a transition from **political Islam** to **cultural Islam**. What I mean by Political Islam is that in the 1970s, a party was established on the basis of Islamic principles. The agenda and the

program of the party were Islamic teachings and morality. As a consequence of modernity, Muslims began to question the traditional ways of life and the practices of religion. Muslims started actively to engage in areas of economics, education, society, entertainment, media, fashion and so forth. The attempt to reconstruct and redefine their way of life and their life in the society started in the 1980s.

Turkish society has undergone some structural changes in the last 30 years. One of them was the opening of the Turkish economy and its integration with the world economy.

Dr. Nuri Tinaz

Then, there was domestic migration in Turkey. It all started in the 1950s but gained momentum in the 80s. The domestic immigrants, when they moved from the rural areas to the urban cities, were mostly involved in manual work. They were secluded until the late 1980s in the blue collar jobs in the government department offices. The religious practices, including wearing the head cover (scarf) was not a problem for those who were working in the service industry because they were not visible in the public sphere. However, once the domestic immigrants' children became educated, they knocked at the doors of government departments to gain admittance. It created the headscarf problem since it was an Islamic symbol about to be displayed in the public domain.

Consequently, the Muslims produced a new lifestyle. Through such practices, Muslim actors distinguished themselves collectively and carved out a new public space in conformity with the requirements of their faith and Islamic lifestyle. In my paper, I have critically examined how the Muslims' economic, political, educational, media, entertainment and fashion experiences made an impact in their understanding of the practice and visibility of religion in public spheres.

I borrowed the theoretical and conceptual framework of my sociologist friends' arguments in analyzing and interpreting Islam and Christianity. It was the transformation in the late 20th century and the early 21st century in Europe they say. With hardline Secularism, they were expecting that religion

was going to be left out - a relic in the museum, where people would come to see the religion of the past. But that did not happen. Now, the rise of religion is occurring in every corner of the globe. There may be a decline of the official religion however; but there is a rise in individual religion and spiritualism. I would like to share the types of Secularism that Turkey has gone through.

There are three kinds of Secularism in Turkey:

- Symbolic Secularism;**
- Institutional Secularism;**
- Functional Secularism.**

Symbolic Secularism is changing the alphabet from Arabic to Turkish language; and the removal of all Islamic symbols, e.g. crescent on the minarets of mosques. Moreover, the Azaan (the call to prayer) was recited in the Turkish language. Instead of Arabic, the Quran was taught in Turkish. In Turkey, Arabic was ousted and Turkish language was adopted. The other aspect was western style clothing, adoption of the Gregorian calendar, introduction of western music and school education; and changing the weekly holiday from Friday to Sunday.

Institutional Secularism was seen in the past, where the Islamists and their religious parties and institutions were banned.

Functional Secularism has two levels: *legal* and *educational*. In the legal system, the adoption of western clothes was the first step as it was thought that the Shariah law was an obstacle to adopting the western culture. Under the law for the unification of the educational instruction enacted in 1924, all educational institutions came under the strict control of the State. This is how the Turkish educational system has gone through change.

The establishment of modern Turkey was based on western political ideals. The early Republican elite distanced themselves from the cultural ideological heritage of the Ottoman Empire and laid the new foundations on the elements of modernization and westernization. These foundational

elements were hugely embraced by the early Republican elite in the formative period of modern Turkey between the years 1923-1950. In addition to the principles of positivism and modernism, the political, social and cultural development in modern Turkey was influenced by the ideals and models of secularism.

Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey, regarded the traditional religion as an obstacle to progress. He tried to remove the society from the Islamic framework and introduced a sense of belonging to the newly defined Turkish nation.

Dr. Nuri Tinaz

Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey, regarded traditional religion as an obstacle to progress. He tried to remove the society from the Islamic framework and introduced a sense of belonging to the newly defined Turkish nation. To achieve this goal, Ataturk launched a movement of cultural westernization to provide the Turkish nation with a new worldview that would replace its religious worldview and culture. He made a separation between religion and politics by opening the doors to western values.

Therefore, secularism became one of the central purposes of the Ataturk programme, and that accomplished modernization. Despite the authoritarian secularization policy in Turkey, introduced and implemented by the Republican elite, through tough restrictions on religious practices, Islam has remained one of the major identity references in Turkey, and it continues to be an effective social reality, shaping the fabric of Turkish society. Now, the equation between being Turkish and being Muslim is the whole model of the Turkish identity. The arguments of a few scholars are very appropriate here to understand the place of religion in the Turkish society.

Religion and Islam have remained in the Turkish memory, but they motivate people in different forms and aspects, although secular Turkish society has always tried to use Islam for its own goals. The State did not allow free expression of religion and religious practices. The Turkish Republic

established the Directorate of Religious Affairs for the administration of religion and religious needs in the public sphere but excluding a significant number of the Atavist community.

In western countries, especially USA, the civil society is very strong because of the non-government and faith-based organizations, since they are the religious extensions of the State in the local areas. In Turkey, the fear of the society was the major feature of Kemalism to create a secular State. With the migration of people from rural areas to the urban cities from the 1960s onwards, the socio-economic transformation of society took place. However, new political, economic and cultural opportunity bases emerged.

The spaces for the political parties, action groups, associations, markets, media and fashion shows became a sign of contestation and negotiations between Islam and the modern lifestyle. Public life was transformed in the 1980s and the early 1990s with the development of young urban professionals because of Ozal's (the former Premier of Turkish Republic) new free market economic policies, political liberalization, along with the production of the new major technology.

A complex situation evolved in Turkey on September 12, 1980 when the Turkish generals intervened to stop the escalating violence and to curtail the growing Leftist movements. In between the 1980s-90s, religious networks were mobilized to offer welfare services, communal solidarity and mobility to those newly educated classes as businesses. PM Ozal's expansion of the freedom of association, speech and assembly removed the controlled monopoly of the State media broadcast system, and further facilitated communication and dissemination, both locally and globally.

As a result of this, most Islamic community organizations and religious groups constructed an active consciousness to shape the socio-political landscape of modern Turkey. In the 1980s and 90s Ozal's free market economic policies were supported by small-sized Anatolian provincial industries. This sector, which includes small and middle-sized industrialists and entrepreneurs, food processors received no public funding and thus, they opposed State intervention in favour of economic liberalization. Ozal

asked most of the individual entrepreneurs and individual businessmen, who had very small businesses in Anatolia, to come together to form a kind of union to mobilize themselves. Some of them were asked to move their headquarters from small cities to Istanbul.

The economic lobby has also benefited from the local governments of that time, during the early 1990s. The Welfare Party was especially established after 1994. In 1994, the Welfare Party, for the first time, became very successful in the local elections and the following year this Party led the other parties in the general elections and formed their government, which created a lot of controversy. As an emergence of the new economic policy, PM Ozal created a relationship between the State and large Istanbul-based capitalists, which was based on their agreement on retaining Secularism and the Kemalist ideology.

The emergence of an Anatolian-based Islamic party countered the existing economic and cultural alliance between the State and the Istanbul-based capitalists. Islamist entrepreneurs, consisting of fresh college graduates, were the children of the Anatolian-based small parties, which benefited from Ozal's economic policies. This increased their social economic mobility in Turkey and allowed them to establish their own paths for small-to-medium firms. They were the first generation of the urbanizing economic elite, who continued to maintain strong ties with the provincial towns and villages of Anatolia.

There are three interrelated reasons for the growing influence of the Turkish religious discourse in the 1980s and 1990s:

First: The Islamic discourse produced a new vision of the identity composed of national and religious symbols.

Second: It managed to disseminate its ideas by utilizing all forms of communication networks and media.

Third: It developed immediate ties with the Anatolian parties.

Over three decades, especially with the advent of contemporary religious communities, the homogeneity of the secular public sphere in Turkey has been undergoing radical change. Islamic communities aimed politically for the moral control of the public sphere, but it was not political at all. By creating new religious public visibility and new religious spaces, the communities of modernity, such as universities, media, politics, until recently were the exclusive domain of the secular elites in Turkey. But now they are witnessing the introduction of the religious actors - a new addition, although Muslim public intellectuals, whose modern university education provides access to secular as well as Islamic religious sources of knowledge, cannot be generalists.

Over three decades, especially with the advent of contemporary religious communities, the homogeneity of the secular public sphere in Turkey has been undergoing radical change.

Dr. Nuri Tinaz

Those professional political academics, both men and women, compete with the secular elite for cultural, political and media power. Not without difficult and frictional hostility, secular elites are sharing university classes, academic conferences, public round tables, talk shows, Parliament seats, concert halls, etc. Now, the students who wear hijabs, and those who have typical secular minds, share the same space in the public arena.

In the earlier years, the Muslim conservative organizations created their own economic organizations and business associations. They established their own companies and introduced their products in the market, so today, the Muslim products, especially clothing, are easily found in the markets. Similarly, previously, there used to be only one state-owned media channel, but now we can find a lot of channels, even Islamic ones. Turkey is now providing space to everyone to choose his or her own way.

Q & A Session and Comments*National Defence University, Islamabad (NDU)***Kokab Iqbal, Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of Pakistan**

I am very happy to learn so many things from both Professors, Nuri and Ali Murat, but the topic today, State, Religion and Democracy, should be seen from the perspective of Allama M. Iqbal, the great thinker of Islam. According to Iqbal, Islam and the Nation of Islam hold a special identity for us. Islam is not only a religion but is also a state, a polity, culture and economics. It is civilization in its entirety. We have to carry the message of Iqbal if we want the nation of Islam to be united and progressive. Pakistan does not have a long history; and it had no geography until it came into being on the basis of Islam. Here, religion is not separate from the state, like in Europe the Church is separated from the State. Islam is not just a religion but is a way of life, so the separation of State and church, as in Europe, is irrelevant to us. The philosophy of Iqbal about State, Religion and Islam must be thoroughly studied. The Iranian Revolution was inspired by the ideology of Iqbal. Imam Khomeini said that the Muslim nations must read the Reconstruction of Religious Thought by Iqbal.

Hina Khan, M.Phil Student, Peace and Conflict Studies, National Defence University

My question is regarding the generation gap in Turkey. They have seen two different scenarios and timings so there must be two different kinds of thought processes going on. So how do you in Turkey, keep a balance between these two different thoughts? What is the literacy rate in Turkey? How much difference is there, between the seekers of formal education and religious education in Turkey? When the military took control of the political reigns of Turkey, what was the civilian reaction to that?

Prof. Dr. Ali Murat

Obviously, there is a generation gap in terms of Laicism and Anglo-Saxon

Secularism. My parents are very secular people and they cannot accept my inclination towards religion and studying religion. They say religion is something orthodox and they wanted me to go for natural sciences, but still we live together. Older women in Turkey are less tolerant towards the younger generation's religious practices or religious appearances in public places, but they are now, gradually, accepting it. Five years ago, they protested in squares, on streets and on news channels, but now they are more accommodating and more accustomed to each other, so there is no friction on such issues.

In Turkey we don't have informal education. All education is formal including religious education.

Dr. Ali Murat Yel

The second question was about the religious education and formal education. In Turkey, we don't have informal education. All education is formal, including religious education. As far as the percentage is concerned, it was not very common to send children to Imam/Khateeb schools (i.e. madrassas) in the past decades, but now, women are keen to send their children to these schools, especially in the rural areas and small towns. However, recently, there is a surge in the number of such students in the urban areas as well. The increasing number of students in religious Imam/Khateeb schools represents the rising inclination of the Turkish society towards religion. However, university/modern education is a must for all students.

Women in Turkey are less tolerant towards the younger generation's religious practices or religious appearance in public places but are now, gradually accepting it. Dr. Ali Murat Yel

Military is the most powerful institution in Turkey, as is apparent in the Turkish newspapers. The Turkish Military is considered to be the most trusted institution in Turkey. I would like to exemplify here, that if a man has a gun in his hand, then of course, we have no other choice but to obey him.

We cannot object to such a person's statements. So this is the place from where the trust comes. On the other hand, we cannot see clearly what is going on inside the military departments. There is no accountability for the Turkish Military. But the Parliament is getting stronger and gaining trust day-by-day, which is confining the role of the Military in Turkish politics.

Dr. Ishtiaq, Head of Department, Peace and Conflict Studies, NDU, Islamabad

My question is for both of our guest speakers, about the recent developments in Turkey. Is Turkey deviating from the ideology of Mustafa Kemal, which was the foundation of the Turkish Republic, and which was appreciated by Iqbal, who was a big admirer of Mustafa Kemal, in his book, titled: 'The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam'? Iqbal's sixth lecture is on the movement of Islam. In that lecture, he has appreciated Mustafa Kemal. But now, if Turkey is deviating from that theory, are we not making the space because militant Secularism was the need of the hour when he implemented it? He had to fight against the-then 'Talibanist' regime, which had strong roots in our Subcontinent as well as in Turkey. My other question is, do you have the security safeguards against the intervention of the Taliban of today?

Prof. Dr. Ali Murat Yel

I would like to add that Turkey is not deviating from the general principles of Mustafa Kemal, because when he established the Turkish Republic, he gave six principles and out of those six principles, Secularism holds the primary position.

These six principles are still very much alive in Turkey today but the principles were being manipulated by certain politicians and military officers. The Military thinks that if Turkey leaves Laicism, then the country would be demolished. That is a wrong idea and now, the Turkish people have come to realize that, although, they can be a Kemalist State, yet, they can also be an Anglo-Saxon Secular State - not a State having Laicism.

For example, today Turkey has an opposition party called the Republican Party. Although it was established by Kemal Ataturk in the 1920s, but the people who run the party today, do not follow the main principles of Mustafa Kemal anymore. They are alienated from the people. They are not even in favour of negotiations with the Kurdish community. They have lost their majority in Turkey. The AK Party, on the other hand, follows Kemal Ataturk's policies and heritage in a better way.

Mustafa Kemal established the Turkish Republic. He gave six principles and out of those six principles, Secularism holds the primary position.

Dr. Ali Murat Yel

The most fundamental aim of Ataturk was to modernize and westernize the Turkish society. If the role of the Republicans then, is compared to their recent role, it has lost all the main content. On the other end, the religious party is focusing on religious morality – but it has no intention of forming a government based on Shariah. Based on the surveys conducted from 1996 onwards, it has been observed that only 7% of the people want a state based on Shariah.

Question

In the context of globalization, or the American factor, how much has it influenced the Turkish society?



Prof. Dr. Ali Murat Yel

Turkey cannot go out of the ambit of globalization. Turkish kids watch

Hollywood movies and last week Justin Beiber came to Istanbul for a concert. It took me almost 4 hours to get home from Istanbul because of the heavy crowds on the roads for Justin Beiber. You can imagine the influence of the western media from this example. In today's world, no one can go or stay away from the impact of Americanization. In Turkey, you may find Americanization or globalization to some extent, which is only confined to a certain upper class. However, in Istanbul, globalization is much more obvious. It is a common sight in Istanbul to find people sitting in restaurants and you can find most international brands of clothing, cosmetics, and fashion accessories. Even the entertainment and leisure industry in Turkey is influenced by the west. But we still prefer to have our own brands and our own entertainment industry, and for instance, here in Pakistan, our drama serials are very popular!

But we still prefer to have our own brands and our own entertainment industry, and for instance, in Pakistan, our drama serials are very popular!

Dr. Ali Murat Yel

Prof. Dr. Mansoor, Peace and Conflict Studies, NDU

Some issues, found in forward-looking and progressive people in Pakistan: because of Pakistan's geopolitical location, we have been embroiled in the international game, which has resulted in the cultivation of religious militancy and radicalization in the military society. The capitalist corporate economic system that was a virtue yesterday, has today brought us to the economic meltdown. It has created chaos in the world. By design or by default, Islam is being marginalized under the narrative of long wars. The international system has double standards, where neo-imperialism and colonialism lead their interests under the garb of democratic advancement in the world. Whereas, on the one hand, they are protecting the sheikhdoms, while, on the other hand, the democratic system is coming up with an Islamist orientation, which has been rejected all over the world. These are the confusions that need to be addressed. Being a moderate and forward-looking nation such as Turkey, what would you suggest and recommend for us? What would be your answers to these complex questions?

Because of Pakistan's geopolitical location, we have been embroiled in the international game which has resulted in the cultivation of religious militancy and radicalization in the military society.

Dr. Mansoor, NDU

Prof. Dr. Ali Murat Yel

Turkey does not have any right to impose anything on any other country. The Turkish experience is unique and we have had certain bad experiences in the past, but we learned from our mistakes and now we are trying to come up to meet the real desires of the Turkish people. Please, do not try to follow or imitate Turkey. We tried to imitate the West, we tried to get westernized, and we failed, because Turkish society is not a Western society. We have come to realize that we should give up the idea to be westernized. Now, our focus is on modernity, but in keeping with our own needs and wants, i.e., a non-western modernity.

Please, do not try to follow or imitate Turkey. Everyone should follow his/her own way.

Dr. Ali Murat Yel

So in Pakistan, I would only say that you should find your own ways to prosperity, according to your own geo-political scenarios. However, it is necessary for Pakistan to learn from the past experiences and mistakes of Turkey, especially in terms of the relationship between the State and religion. Obviously, there have been certain mistakes but, we being Turkish people, want Pakistan to be a strong State of the world, and there is a need to regulate religion in Pakistan.

I have come to realize in the few days that I have been in Pakistan, that there is a lack of education, and if the level of education is raised, and if people have a real picture of their own future, then, they would decide their future in a better way. In Pakistan, religion should not be used for the purpose of politics. Religion is the individual issue of everyone. An individual is free to practice his/her religion in the public domain, so in the broader perspective,

it should not be dragged into typical politics. Islam and democracy can co-exist. Islam can co-exist with monarchy, communism and even dictatorship, as long as the individual is free to choose and practise his/her religion.

I would like to say here, that in Pakistan, religion should not be used for the purpose of politics. Religion is the individual issue of everyone.

Dr. Ali Murat Yel

If a Muslim woman is free to cover or not to cover her head and if a Muslim worker has permission to voluntarily not compulsorily pray during the working hours, then, for me that is Islam. Islam has never allowed the imposition of its concepts on others, so I personally believe that Allah has given us the freedom of choice - to choose the right or wrong way. The freedom to live in one's own way is the basic principle of Islam. Thus, there is no one who can take this freedom away from any individual of this world. However, there are certain measures the State can take, to discourage people from committing crimes or sins, but the State should not impose such things on the individuals which would hinder their freedom.

LECTURES AT UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR (UOP)

Q & A Session and Comments

University of Peshawar (UoP)

Prof. Dr. Qibla Ayaz, University of Peshawar

It is indeed, a moment of great joy that two Professors from the University of Marmara, Istanbul, Turkey have chosen the University of Peshawar to address a very important theme of the day: State, Religion and Democracy. As we know, Turkey is passing through a different experience, entering into a new phase of good governance, which is becoming a role model for the rest of the world, particularly for the Muslim countries. Thus, it really is an honour for us that Mr. Imtiaz Gul and the Centre for Research and Security Studies, have arranged the visit of the two Professors to our university. We also hope that this interaction would be very useful to the theme of the day.

Dr. Zahid Anwar, Political Science Department, University of Peshawar

How do the people of Turkey view militant secularism? Do they consider it a blessing or a curse?

Prof. Dr. Ali Murat Yel



When Turkey tried to imitate western modernization, certain models were taken from the European countries. It was felt that it would be helpful for quick modernization and of course, when we look at Turkish modernization, we see, as I told you earlier, there was a change in the way people dressed.

Western clothing is now very apparent in the Turkish society. When it came to Secularism and Laicism, the French type of Laicism was adopted by the founders of the Republic of Turkey. Mostly they were military personnel and thought that they had established the Turkish Republic and hence, saw it as their 'property'.

For them, Laicism was a very important aspect of this new Nation-State. Whenever the Military found any threat to the secularization of Turkey, they intervened in politics, which led to several military coups in Turkey. Even now, the Military would interfere with the politics, especially in the cases of secularism, if it did not like something. So until recently, we have experienced the French type of militant Laicism - it was the fundamental principle of the Turkish Republic. Today, we are glad that we have adopted a form of secularism which is not hostile to religion.

Whenever the military found any threat to the secularization of Turkey, they intervened in politics, which led to military coups in Turkey.

Dr. Ali Murat Yel

Prof. Javed Iqbal, University of Peshawar

Turkey is a modern country and is moving further towards modernity. Despite many foreign incursions in the country, religious norms are still intact. But being a Muslim country, how do you look at women's political empowerment? Would you like to tell us about discrimination against women's rights, their empowerment, and why they were kept silent in the name of culture, tradition and religion? And what are the duties and responsibilities of a democratic country?

Dr. Nuri Tinaz

In 1996, a woman was elected as an MP for the first time in Turkey. When she was supposed to take oath in the Parliament, most of the hardline public speakers from the Republican Party demotivated and discouraged her, forcing her to leave the Parliament. The conspiracies against her grew and she was compelled to leave. She went abroad for higher studies and published a book about the issue of the headscarf. Now, I hope, Turkey is going to improve the law and allocate more seats for women in the Parliament.

In 1996, a woman was elected as an MP for the first time in Turkey. When she was supposed to take oath in the Parliament, most of the hardline public speakers from the Republican Party demotivated and discouraged her, forcing her to leave the Parliament.

Dr. Nuri Tinaz

Question

I would like to ask about the Islamic Reunion's re-emergence in Turkey and the Harun Yahya factor as we have heard a lot about this in Pakistan?



Dr. Nuri Tinaz

The real name of Harun Yahya is Adnan Oktur. He belongs to a rich family. From an early age, he was inspired by the Islamic clergy, and with the passage of time; he prepared himself to join the Muslim groups and to work for the morality of the Muslims. But in a short period of time, he became very controversial. Today, he owns some media channels but people do not take him seriously. As far as the Islamic Reunion and its platform is concerned, it is just a talk shop and nothing else.

Scholar of Political Science, University of Peshawar

We highly appreciate you for raising this complicated issue in Pakistan. My question is that Turkey has passed through various stages of development

and modernization, so what challenges were faced by Turkey during those phases and how has Turkey handled them to become an inspirational model for the Muslim world?

Prof. Dr. Ali Murat Yel

Indeed, Turkey is doing its best to be a good model, but I should repeat that Turkey should not be a model for other Muslim countries, because every society should find its own way to modernize and democratize a livable society for their own people. In Turkey, in the 1920s, there was strict Laicism and strict authoritarianism, and people had to bear up under a one-party political regime until 1950. After 1950, people immediately rejected the ruling party that Ataturk had established, namely, the People's Republican Party, because it had lost its connection and relationship with the ordinary people, and instead, it had become very elitist. Hence, the multi-party system was introduced, but Turkey has experienced military coups as well.

In each military coup, Turkey suffered a lot and after each military coup, Turkey decided not to fall into that trap again. After every coup, people of Turkey voted in a way that would not cause another coup. When Ozal became the PM after the military coup of 1983, he implemented a western-style liberal economic policy that improved the lot of Turkey. Until the 1980s, only the elite of the Republican People's Party and the elite of the Centre in Turkey became rich, but after Ozal, we had only minor military coups where the Military intervened in the politics and economy of Turkey, especially when the army did not like any religious activity.

After 2002, the AK party came into power. They implemented reforms of the economy and social welfare. Turkey had suffered a lot due to the military coups, especially the economy. The people of Turkey learned from their past mistakes, and realized that neither authoritarianism, nor military coups were beneficial for them. With the passage of time, people changed their ideas and voted for different parties for their better future. For this kind of awareness, and to learn from past mistakes, education plays an important role. It is education that has led the Turkish people to prosperity.

With the passage of time, people changed their ideas and voted for different parties for their better future. Turkey learned from its mistakes and it is necessary for everyone to learn from mistakes. For this kind of awareness, and to learn from past mistakes, education plays an important role. It is education that has led the Turkish people to prosperity.

Dr. Ali Murat Yel

Dr. Ayub Jan, Professor, University of Peshawar

Both scholars have shared very interesting and valuable information and it was really thought provoking too. I would like to connect Pakistan with your talks. Looking towards this equation, that is: state, religion and democracy, I see (unfortunately) a fourth constituent element in Pakistan - the non-state actors, the extremist radical groups. If you add them into the equation, then this equation may get disturbed somehow, because when you talk about regulating religious life, people in Pakistan are not allowed to choose as they are in Turkey. If I apply it here, it will become problematic.

M. Phil student, Political Science, University of Peshawar

If we look at Pakistan, then I must say that the Turkish model of Laicism or Secularism may bring catastrophe in the society of Pakistan, as, people of Pakistan see religion in a different perspective than the people in Turkey. So my question is: What are the remedies that you are going to share with us in the context of Pakistan and our political system?

Prof. Dr. Ali Murat Yel

As per my experience in the few days I've spent here, I've come to know that religion has become the organ of politics in Pakistan. As I said earlier, please do not follow the Turkish model, but instead, please learn from the mistakes Turkey made. But I must say again, that education plays an important role in bringing about social awareness.

Without education, people become easily radicalized. There should also be economic stability so that people may not get de-tracked.
Dr. Ali Murat Yel

Without education, people become easily radicalized. There should also be economic stability so that people may not get de-tracked. Education of ordinary and rural people should be prioritized. Here, education has been left to the local authorities and Imams. People are learning Islam from the local preachers and a local unofficial religious teacher may use his student for the wrong purpose. I should say that the government should take steps in this regard.

ROUNDTABLE AT HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG, ISLAMABAD (HBS)

Q & A Session and Comments

Heinrich Böll Stiftung Pakistan

Prof. Rasheed Khalid, Head of Department, Defence and Strategic Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University (QAU), Islamabad



The AK party is in power since 2002 and it is keeping religion separate from politics. This party believes in performance rather than power or dictatorship. The current scenario in Turkey, like the headscarf and other issues, I hope it will not support the conservative environment in Turkey. As in Saudi Arabia, the

King allowed women to work and the religious clergy wove the net to sexually harass them so they would have to leave their jobs. We hope this will not happen in Turkey.

Ms. Tahira Abdullah, Peace and Rights Activist

Poverty plays an important role in the evolution of political and socio-cultural modernization. When we compare Turkey and Pakistan (which are not really comparable), we see that the quantum of poverty is very different in both countries. One argument put forward in Pakistan is that poverty is playing a big role in encouraging religious extremism, terrorism and militancy. In Turkey, how much has rural poverty played a role regarding the revival of religion?

Secondly, Pakistan has had 34 years of military dictatorship, and you have institutionalized the role of the military in your Constitution, which we are resisting in Pakistan. What is the current nexus between the Turkish military and the civilian democratic Government?

What are the socio-cultural vs. legal aspects of the status of Turkey's (a) religious minorities and (b) women?

Fazal-ur-Rehman

We already know that Turkey got inspiration from western countries. How much of that inspiration has influenced the Constitution, Democracy and Secularization in Turkey?

Prof. Dr. Ali Murat Yel

There used to be lack of education among Turkish women, they did not pursue their careers and were mainly dependent on their families. Now the society has changed due to the facilities of education being provided to women in Turkey. Thus, now, more and more women are getting higher education and pursuing their careers. It does not matter, they are secular or religious, as both appreciate work and try to accommodate themselves in the working environment. Of course, in the rural areas of eastern Turkey, they are still suffering from patriarchy. Patriarchy is the main problem of all Islamic countries – especially where women are not empowered to avail the opportunities of education. But on the other hand, there are women's struggles against patriarchy through economic means.



Secularism does not play any vital role in the issue of extremism and terrorism, only poverty is the most important factor. If people do not have anything, you can give them religious slogans easily. Slogans of using religion are very dangerous, as they prevent people from thinking and acting logically. Such slogans used to be based on religion also in Turkey in the past. If conservative religious minds have economic stability, there's likely to be less radicalization. Now, even in Turkey, the conservatives have become economically stable, so there is less chance of radicalism in Turkey.

Patriarchy is the main problem of all Islamic countries – especially where women are not empowered to avail the opportunities of education. But on the other hand, there are women's struggles against patriarchy through economic means.

Dr. Ali Murat Yel

Regarding the question on the European Union, Turkey of course, wanted to be a member of the EU, but recently, because of the political, social, economic and judicial reforms, Turkey has envisaged its own policies instead of relying on the EU. For this purpose, we held a referendum but did not get a positive response from the masses to join the EU. We are independent and joining the EU would have caged us with a lot of restrictions. That does not mean that Turkey has neglected the European countries. We share a part of our land with them, but we are more concerned about what the people of Turkey want.

Turkey has good relations with the West and will continue to have stronger relations with them in the future too. Every country has its own geo-strategic location. Each country, in turn, must respect the national interests of other countries. Along with the Arab and Asian countries, we have Israel in our neighbouring region. We have had problems with Israel but still we have diplomatic relations with them on an official level. This in no way means that we endorse or encourage the policies of Israel towards Palestine.

Dr. Nuri Tinaz

Conservative and Religious Parties in Turkey: In the very beginning, when they became active in the 1950s, an overwhelming number of the ruling people worked for the Democratic Party and not the Republican Party. Those who were in urban areas continued their support against the conservative parties. The conservatives were supporting the religious parties. Erbakan was one of them. We can see that poverty was not an issue in Turkey. Domestic immigration and educational transformation built the socio-economic confidence of the people. Now, the AK party is represented as a Muslim democratic party. They do not call themselves Muslim Democrats, but their past history connects them to the Muslim heritage.

As far as religious minorities are concerned, at the end of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire was defeated and there was a treaty between the Ottomans and the western Allied Forces. After WW1, the Ottomans signed the Lausanne Treaty. This Treaty provided for the independence of the

Republic of Turkey, but also for the protection of the Greek Orthodox Christian minority in Turkey, as well as the Muslim minority in Greece. However, most of the Christian population of Turkey and the Turkish population of Greece had already been deported under the earlier Convention concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations, signed by both Greece and Turkey.

In terms of the Alavites in 2010, the think-tanks came together for the Alavite issue and came to a decision that there was no unity amongst the Alavites - there are at least 7 different groups of Alavites. The Government took on the responsibility to democratize them.

As far the Kurdish issue, in the past, the Kurdish people were treated as a security subject but the current Government, for the first time in the history of Turkey, brought Kurdish people to the dialogue table. Now, the peace process has started and negotiations are going on between the Kurdish communities and the Government of Turkey. The Government sought the help of intellectuals and opinion leaders to help them in settling this issue. There are 7 committees, each committee comprises 10 members. These members were sent to the local communities to note down their complaints. The purpose of these activities was to understand the problems of the people.



Lt. General (R) Talat Masood

What is the present stand of Turkey regarding Syria? What is the contribution of the Military towards secularization? We should not underestimate their contribution. I have noticed that there is huge

contempt in the Military for the civilians, which is also true for Pakistan.

The triggers that you mentioned regarding modernization and the great leap Turkey has taken; some of the triggers are not to be found here, e.g. one trigger was education. That is not here in Pakistan yet. The second trigger is that of globalization. To some extent Pakistan, in spite of the fact that some elements in the world want to isolate it, is moving forward due to globalization.

The third factor is migration of people from the rural to the urban areas, which holds its own importance. This factor is also present in Pakistan and it will help us, as it helped you. Fourthly, confidence in religion and conservatism is much more prevalent in Pakistan today than ever before and that is also somewhat similar to Turkey.

Lastly, there is also a realization that the contribution of democracy and its strengthening is interlinked. This process continues in Pakistan, but the ruling parties failed due to their poor performance.

Dr. Rakhshinda Perveen, Executive Director, SACHET

I agree with Dr. Ali that Islam is patriarchal; in fact, this whole universe is patriarchal. What is the role of class structure, culture, media and the judiciary when you talk about different perspectives of state, democracy and religion in Turkey?

Mr. Raza Rumi, Executive Director, Jinnah Institute

It is important to understand the role of the State in the education system and the national curriculum of Turkey, as well as the State role in the regulation of religious education. Tackling fundamentalism is a milestone towards prosperity. It is necessary for us Pakistanis to learn from Turkey's experience.

Prof. Dr. Ali Murat Yel

The role of our Military in secularization is very important because in Turkey, the army has always considered itself the owner of the country, because it rescued the country from foreign invaders. Since most of them were educated in the West, the army officers were influenced by the ideologies of western countries, especially Laicism. Whenever they thought there was a threat against secularization, they did their best to protect it. The pride of being secular is not only confined to the metropolitan cities, but it is also present in the rural areas.

Ms. Sameena Imtiaz, Executive Director, PEAD Foundation

What is the role of the Religious Ministry in the politics of Turkey? What is the role of the clergy and how is the Turkish Government separating, overlapping or limiting the role of the Religious Ministry and the Education Ministry? In Pakistan, the Education Ministry is being controlled by the religious clergy, and the religio-political pressure groups.

Dr. Nuri Tinaz

In 1984, Turkey laid the foundation of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. We have a Directorate of Religious Affairs under the office of the PM. In the past, this Diyanet was run by mostly the people who were close to the ruling elites. Over the last ten years, all religious affairs and the Diyanet are under the control of the Government. It is necessary for the clerics (the Muftis) to study a four-year course in order to become an Imam in Turkey. There is a further comprehensive exam for selection as a mosque Imam. The religious teachers are also under the Education Ministry. But recently, the Imams were authorized to open up the supplementary courses to improve children's religious modern education.

This is one of the successes of Turkey that the Ministry of Education was never influenced by the clergy because the clergy have been trained under the directions of the Ministry of Education, so there is a unified education system. All the clergy have mostly the same mindset, and there is very little

difference of opinion amongst them. The clerics are sent to different places from Ankara to address the congregations at the Jumma (Friday) prayers, so that there is unification in the society. This has been successful. Religion is properly taught under the responsibility of the government and that is accepted by both the clergy and the general masses of Turkey.

This is one of the successes of Turkey that the Ministry of Education was never influenced by the clergy because the clergy have been trained under the directions of the Ministry of Education, so there is a unified education system. All the clergy have mostly the same mindset, and there is very little difference of opinion amongst them.

Dr. Nuri Tinaz

Shaikh Riaz, Advocate, Supreme Court of Pakistan

We see migration to Turkey from Pakistan, Sudan, Nigeria and other under-developed Muslim countries, as it is an Islamic State, just as people used to move from rural to urban areas in the past. Without following Islamic rules, both Pakistan and Turkey can't gain prosperity in an effective way. There is a lot of criticism against the Turkish dramas shown on TV in Pakistan, as they



are considered to be too open and forward, and have a tendency of 'spoiling' the viewers. All that the two speakers said, seems to be a fairy tale in Pakistan. Here, the clergy doesn't mean the officially appointed Imams. Most of the Imams are not appointed officially, even in Islamabad's Lal (Red) Masjid. We have different sects led by sectarian clerics. Our extremist clerics and imams are considered as heroes and the moderate scholars/clerics are maligned. Each extremist-minded cleric declares the other sect as Kaafir (infidel), in order to gain attention and popularity. One of the aspects of religious extremism in Pakistan is the heavy Taliban influence, so it is necessary to take steps against it. I hope this does not happen in Turkey.

STATE, RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY
THE INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE

PROFILES OF THE SCHOLARS

Ms. Julia Indiaty Suryakusuma



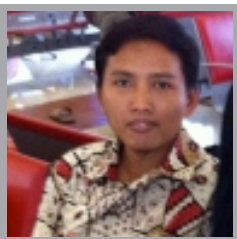
Currently known as one of Indonesia's leading and outspoken opinion-makers, Ms. Julia Indiaty Suryakusuma – columnist, author, activist, feminist, cultural critic – is hard to pigeon-hole. Being Indonesian, but born in India and raised in Europe (UK, Hungary and Italy), along with her parents who were diplomats, she was a foreigner abroad and a stranger in her own country, which made it possible for her to constantly look at things from new and different

perspectives.

As a columnist, writing for the Jakarta Post, the International Herald Tribune, The Daily Yomiuri, NRC Handelsblad, among others, she tries to “generate a debate” on the pressing social, political and cultural issues affecting Indonesia.

She is the author of several books, and "Julia's Jihad" is her latest book. It is an anthology of columns (2006-13), which present many examples of State, Religion and Democracy. Presently she lives in Jakarta, Indonesia.

Mr. Izza Rohman



Mr. Izza Rohman is a lecturer at the Faculty of Education at the University of Muhammadiyah (UHAMKA) in Jakarta, the Programme Director of the UHAMKA Office of International Affairs, and the Chief Editor of the *Tajdid* (the University's Journal of Islamic and Muhammadiyah Studies). Formerly a research fellow at the Jakarta-based Centre for Dialogue and Cooperation among Civilizations (CDCC) as well as the Centre for the

Study of Religion and Civilization (PSAP), he is currently preparing his doctoral thesis defence in Interdisciplinary Quranic Studies at the Graduate School, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University in Jakarta.

His current research interests include Islam in Southeast Asia, Quranic

hermeneutics, classical Islamic texts, and Muslim-Western and Sunni-Shia dialogue. In addition to numerous written works in Bahasa Indonesia, he has made several contributions in English, e.g. Islam in Indonesia, Sunni-Shia Tafsirs, peaceful religious relations with Christians, Salafi Tafsirs, and reconciling Islam and human rights.

Profile of Visitor from UK: Mr. Toaha Qureshi, MBE



Mr. Toaha Qureshi MBE is a British Pakistani and the Chairman of Stockwell Green Community Services (SGCS), a UK-based charity organization. He is also the CEO of London College of Business Management and IT (LCBMIT) as well as Chairman of Forum for International Relations Development (FIRD), another UK-based think tank. He works in community and interfaith harmonious relations, conflict management, counter-radicalization, de-radicalization and rehabilitation. He advises a number of European policy-making institutions on counter-extremism, conflict resolution, peace building, rehabilitation and de-radicalization. He works with partners such as British Police, National Offenders Management Services, London Probation, multi-faith organizations, parliamentarians and academic institutions.

LECTURES/ DIALOGUES AT VARIOUS ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS

The visiting scholars spoke at the dialogue forum “State, Religion and Democracy - The Indonesian Perspective” held at the following institutions:

1. Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad (QAU)
2. Fatima Jinnah Women's University, Rawalpindi (FJWU)
3. University of Peshawar, Peshawar (UoP)
4. Forman Christian College University, Lahore (FCCU)

In addition to the above lectures, a Roundtable discussion with the Islamabad-based scholars, civil society, human rights activists, retired diplomats and military officers and the media, was held at the Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Pakistan office.

LECTURES AT QAUID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD (QAU)

Ms. Julia Indiaty Suryakusuma¹



[Excerpt from the lecture]

Introduction:

In 1998, Indonesia entered the Reformation Era (*Reformasi*) which promised to unravel the New Order, led by Gen. (ret.) Suharto for 32 years (1966-98), and its legacy of state control, social repression and intermittent violence. One of the key mechanisms for this was, of course, decentralization and the grant to the regions of various levels of autonomy.

The wave of local elections through to late 2005 has brought with it some of the most radical changes Indonesia has experienced in decades. Of the 219 local elections conducted up to 2005, some 40% or so resulted in the removal of incumbents and the rise of new elites, cementing a broader social process that has been underway across the archipelago since 1998.²

We say 'new' elites but in many cases they are, in fact, the old elites **redux**, that is, traditional leaders pushed to one side under the New Order, reasserting themselves three decades later. Often they are male and generally draw their authority from traditional local sources, including *aadat* (tradition) and religion.

In *realpolitik* terms, many local heroes want to differentiate themselves from the apparatchiks of the past and to strengthen their local support. One way to achieve this is to support or even lead local agendas sponsored by conservative social groups, often religious in nature. The result has been a

¹This paper draws on material in Suryakusuma, Julia. 'From Both Sides Now: Syariah Morality, Pornography and Women in Indonesia' in David Linnan (ed), *Legitimacy, Legal Development & Change: Law & Modernization Reconsidered* (Farnham UK: Ashgate, 2012).

²From 1998 to 2013, almost 1,000 local elections have been conducted.

wave of attempts to introduce conservative interpretation of *aadat* or, more often, shariah-derived moral norms through regional regulations (*Perda* or *Peraturan Daerah*) at the provincial, district and sub-district levels.

Since 1945, political Islam has failed again and again to formally introduce the Jakarta Charter, the seven words deleted from the draft 1945 Constitution that would force Indonesian Muslims to observe Shariah and thus give the Indonesian State an explicitly Islamic basis.

Since 1945, political Islam has failed again and again to formally introduce the Jakarta Charter, the seven words deleted from the draft 1945 Constitution that would force Indonesian Muslims to observe Shariah and thus give the Indonesian State an explicitly Islamic basis.

Ms. Julia Indiaty Suryakusuma

Another example of conservative Islam's manipulation of meanings relates to the word "liberal." This has been stigmatized as a creation of the West, and therefore evil and immoral.

Ms. Julia Indiaty Suryakusuma

Regional moral conservatism is now no longer isolated, if indeed it ever was. Its reflection at the national level is the enactment of the Anti-Pornography Law in 2008, which was in a sense, the *Perda* writ large. In fact, the battle may have only just begun. We now live in interesting times, and in Indonesia, that is not always a curse!

Regulating moral behaviour by fiat is something that most authority figures erroneously believe is easy. They pass a law, impose a regulation or pronounce a fatwa (legal opinion of an Islamic religious scholar) and believe that will do the job.

Ms. Julia Indiaty Suryakusuma

[Remaining portion of the lecture is attached as Annexe 1]

Mr. Izza Rohman

I am going to talk about the Indonesian experience of mild/moderate separation of religion and the State, or religion and politics. I am not assuming that this experience is a good example of how to deal with the issue of State and religion that is worthy of replication, but somehow it might inspire the way people in other countries – like Pakistan – think about this issue.



I am not pretending to be able to represent the entire history of Indonesian secularism, but I would try to briefly highlight some of the most important developments in the country.

I have to also remind you that since I am talking in Indonesian perspective and I do not know very much about Pakistan (this is something that I could learn from you now), there might be some terms/idioms that we understand differently because we live in different contexts. We need to be careful not to easily assume that they are understood in the same way in Pakistan or other countries.

Let me start with this question: what is going on in Indonesia in terms of the separation between religion and the State? In general, this separation is moderately pursued, being negotiated by all parties involved in politics. There have been efforts to make Islam as the basis of the State.

There has been also a certain degree of religionization over time. What I mean by religionization is various things, like having laws/state institutions inspired mainly by a certain religion and like legitimizing the State by religious doctrines. On the other hand, there have been efforts to maintain Indonesian secularism, in order to make the State still friendly to the Indonesian diversity. However, we should also note that the term 'secularism' could be a bit sensitive in the Indonesian political context, because it might be offensive or marginalize certain groups.

Most of the time politicians (both from 'nationalist parties' and 'faith-based parties') frame the Indonesian State as being “neither secular nor religious”. They try to find a middle way between “Islam and secularism”. Mr. Izza Rohman

Politicians (both from 'nationalist parties' and 'faith-based' parties) mostly frame the Indonesian State as being “neither secular nor religious”. They try to find a middle way between “Islam and secularism”.

Why does the mild separation happen so in Indonesia? Mostly it has something to do with the fact that Indonesia is a diverse nation – religiously, ethnically and culturally. The majority of Indonesians (around 87%) are Muslims living side by side with the followers of five other major religions, as well as indigenous religions. But Indonesia is an archipelago, consisting of thousands of islands, a third of which are dominated by non-Muslims. That is why there has been a continuous emphasis on the need for keeping national unity and harmony.

It seems like some people are saying: “please do not make Indonesia an Islamic state because it could trigger the emergence of separatist movements in non-Muslim provinces”, while other people are saying: “please, we – as the majority – want to be better Muslims by having Islamic teachings explicitly stated in our constitutional laws”. Both arguments might be debatable and not entirely true, but they illustrate the way Indonesians are negotiating as to what extent they should separate religion and State. So, on the one hand, national unity is often put on top, but on the other, there has been a certain degree of 'Islamization' pursued.

Then, what happened in Indonesia? What has happened with Indonesians' efforts to keep religion separate from the State, but at the same time not marginalizing people who want a 'religious state' or perceive that they need to be helped by the State to become more religious?

First, prior to the independence, Pancasila (the five pillars) were formulated by Indonesian founding fathers – to serve as the foundation of the State. At the final formulation, the first pillar is a belief in One Supreme God, which mentions no specific religion, and could accommodate at least several major religions' beliefs.

Mr. Izza Rohman

Prior to Indonesian independence, Pancasila (the five pillars) were formulated by the Indonesian founding fathers – to serve as the foundation of the State.

The first pillar is a belief in One Supreme God, which mentions no specific religion, and could accommodate at least several major religions' beliefs.

Second, one day after Independence, the Constitution was adopted, which mentions that the State is based on a belief in One God, but does not mention a specific religion. Later, during the Indonesian Reform era, starting in 1998, there were efforts to change this formulation, to be more 'secular' and 'inclusive' by the secular nationalist parties and non-Muslim faith-based parties, and to be more 'Islamic' by Islam-based political parties. Both efforts failed, and the formulation remains intact.

Third, soon after Independence, political leaders agreed to establish a Ministry of Religious Affairs to accommodate some of the Muslims' aspirations. However, the role of this Ministry is mixed. It is expected to facilitate Muslim religious needs, but at the same time, to maintain harmony among different faiths. Not only that, the Ministry could promote values of different religions, but of course mainly Islam. It could also help limit the level of State interference in people's religious practises. It is particularly in this Ministry that the separation of State and religion becomes unclear. Other Ministries are quite secular, but not this one.

Fourth, during the New Order (1968-1998), the State imposed the 'Pancasila secularism' to a point that it marginalized and suppressed everyone considered 'anti-Pancasila' – including those with an Islamist orientation. Even though, some degree of religionization of Pancasila existed, but more

and more people felt that the regime was too repressive, and unhappy with that, leading to massive protests that toppled the regime. This partly explains the increasing trend of 'Islamization' in the era afterwards.

Fifth, during the era of decentralization and democratization, that is the Reform era, there have been efforts to introduce *shariah*-inspired local laws in some provinces and districts – but sometimes also at the national level (like the Pornography Law). In fact, some laws have been successfully introduced, mainly in the regions renowned for their past Islamist separatist movements and strong religio-political expression. But most of these laws have not been well-implemented. Sometimes, these laws are used also by so-called 'secular nationalist political parties' as part of their political games to help portray a façade of a religious persona.

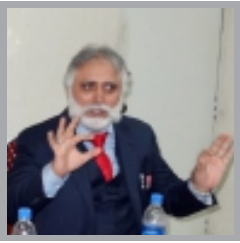
Of course, there are many other developments happening in Indonesia, but importantly, getting a lesson from this long history of negotiations between 'religionization' and 'secularization', mainstream Muslims in Indonesia have often asked themselves: “Should we ask the State to help us become better Muslims? Should we wait for Shariah laws or Shariah-inspired laws to become better Muslims?”

That is why there are a lot of Muslim organizations in Indonesia working on more real issues facing the society (such as education, health, economic empowerment, interfaith coexistence, and fight against corruption), rather than focusing on politics, making civil society strong enough to balance the State.

Mr. Izza Rohman

That is why there are a lot of Muslim organizations in Indonesia working on more real issues facing the society (such as education, health, economic empowerment, interfaith coexistence, and the fight against corruption), rather than focusing on politics, making civil society strong enough to balance the State. But these organizations at the same time are trying to prevent the political arena from being occupied by 'radical Islamists'.

Mr. Toaha Qureshi, UK



I live in the UK and my religion does not stop me from being a good British Pakistani Muslim and I am proud of that.

Regarding the counter-terrorism or counter-radicalization and rehabilitation strategies, and how the UK Muslims have been involved in the process, and also how the Muslim community is coping with the challenges and issues of how to address the issues of radicalization, violent extremism and terrorism.

We were the first institution in Europe which designed and executed a counter-radicalization programme called SEED. It was designed to address economic disadvantage and radicalization among British Muslims. It was run successfully for four years and was evaluated by the Middlesex University, UK.

It was obvious to the Pakistani Muslim community in UK that the triangular engagement (starting in 1980s) due to the Afghan Jihad, resulted in Muslim jihadis freely moving to and fro between UK, Pakistan and Afghanistan. This was common knowledge, both in our community, and also in the British intelligence agencies.

We told the police that these people were potential terrorists. We then gave them their names. They also committed the 7/7 atrocities in London. Four people in that list were involved in that attack.

Ours is the triangular model of containment where our community leads, devises the mechanism and processes it. We involve the London Metropolitan Police, the local government authorities (Local Councils), who are cooperating with us and supporting us. It takes three years to rehabilitate a person. Education, religious monitoring, cleansing, providing jobs, or setting up their business is vital for the rehabilitation process.

I wish the Pakistani Government, authorities and communities could adopt

our model. We do not leave it to the government, authorities, mosques or centres. We consider it to be our problem. The Pakistani Muslim community in UK thinks: if my child is involved in killing innocent people, what will I do? What is going to happen to me?

I think the people living in Pakistan, the communities, the government and other authorities, lack the will to take ownership. We see a 7/7 everyday in Pakistan. I often hear that the main issue is the mullah and madrasa, but if a mullah becomes an extremist and preaches terrorism, it has nothing to do with the religion, it is the individual. Not all the mullahs are qualified.

The model we designed in 2001 is working effectively. The UK Home Office and the Association of Chief Police Officers have adopted our model, which is being also considered by Spain, Holland and Germany. We are also a member of the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism in The Hague.

[Remaining portion of the lecture is attached as Annexe 2]

Q & A Session and Comments

Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad (QAU)

Question

Question for Mr. Toaha Qureshi. Young people in Pakistan are being brainwashed and persuaded to adopt jihad so I differ from your view that there are training camps in UK where they train or indoctrinate young Muslims. Is there any empirical data? You should also consider the role of the Arab clergy (e.g. from Egypt). UK university students travel to Pakistan and Afghanistan to receive Jihadi training, and then returned to UK to try to mobilize others as well.

Mr. Toaha Qureshi

We started working against radicalization, extremism, and terrorism in 1999, understanding the mechanism of how the youth were recruited from UK, travel to Pakistan and then to Afghanistan. This has become a lucrative business. It has nothing to do with religion. We started our struggle to

safeguard our young people and we succeeded in that. The UK Government is keeping a vigilant eye and is engaged with the Islamic centres and Muslim leaders throughout UK.

We started working against radicalization, extremism, and terrorism in 1999, understanding the mechanism of how young people were recruited from UK, travel to Pakistan and then onwards to Afghanistan.
Mr. Toaha Qureshi

Question

The West perceives religion as something which is related to Metaphysics and it has nothing to do on earth. Does the West understand that Islam is a way of life, not just related to Metaphysics; it teaches peace?

Mr. Toaha Qureshi

Yes they understand that, and are adopting some Islamic things, for example Islamic banking is popular in the largest banks in the UK, e.g. HSBC and Barclay's Bank.



Question

Terrorists have been killing us for years but there is no Fatwa (edict) against terrorism in Pakistan. No religious political party spoke against the terrorists, who were destroying Afghanistan, and now, they are operating in

FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. We have a social contract and the State is responsible for our protection, but Pakistani state does not accept the responsibility for our protection. Muslims commit acts of terrorism.

We should have a social contract and the State is responsible for our protection. The Pakistani State never accepts any responsibility to secure us.

Mr. Toaha Qureshi

Islam does not preach terrorism, it preaches moderation. But many people commit terrorism in the name of Islam. I met the five Boards (Wifaqs) of Madrassas of various sects in Pakistan, including Shia, Deobandi, Barelvi, and Ahl-e-Hadith. They all unanimously declared that what is happening in Pakistan is against the teachings of Islam.

Question

Why do the Western countries not want Islam to spread in the world?

Mr. Toaha Qureshi

People are scared. They were scared of the Soviet Union, Communism and China. But Islam is the fastest growing religion in the Western world.

There is division and polarization in the world on all issues. It is not just religion; people disagree with each other in every other aspect of life and that is why we see dissent and tensions all across the world, in all societies, regardless of whether they are developed countries or not.

Mr. Toaha Qureshi

Comment by a Student

Religion and politics are separate, and they have to be kept separate. It is the point from where the whole trouble begins. When we begin the debate that

politics and religion have to be separated, there are those who very strongly believe that the two are linked together, and those who do not. This brings more chaos to society. People have the right to choose what they want.

There is a constant need for dialogue in each and every part of the world whether religious identities there are strong or not. They have the right to choose what they want.

Comment by a Student

The problem lies in Christianity, when the church used to control all the political affairs within the state; they had a lot of problems. The kings could not manage the affairs in that perspective. So the failure of system actually gave birth to the ideology of having a separation between national politics and the affairs of religion. As a result religion and state politics were separated. Finding such a solution to the problem of the Muslim world, separating the state and religion is a futile effort. Islam is a complete code of life. It controls everything of every individual. It defines every aspect of governance. It defines every aspect of statehood.

Mr. Izza Rohman

Separating religion from the State is not easy. Genuine democracy is vital to run these things amicably. During our new order, we also had an authoritarian regime in Indonesia. The Government's interpretation of 'Pancasila' was final and no one was authorized to draw any other meanings. But now, 'Pancasila' is more open and at least we recognize national unity.

Separating religion from the State is not easy. Genuine democracy is vital to run these things amicably. Mr. Izza Rohman

We want the nation-state of Indonesia and we do not want dominance of the people having only an Islamist orientation. We have a vibrant civil society in our country and we want to accommodate religious diversity rather than complete secularization of our country.

LECTURES AT FATIMA JINNAH WOMEN UNIVERSITY, RAWALPINDI (FJWU)

Mr. Izza Rohman



I would like to share something about the way some Muslims in Indonesia think about the state and religion. I am from a university owned by a faith-based organization named Muhammadiyah, which was established in 1912, thus it is older than the Republic of Indonesia.

My university is not the only institution; in fact, the Muhammadiyah runs 175 higher educational institutions throughout Indonesia. The Muhammadiyah also runs about ten thousand kindergartens and twenty-five thousand elementary and higher secondary schools.

These also include some secular educational institutions where secular education is imparted with limited Islamic content. These institutions are being run in accordance with the regulations of the Ministry of Education. Our Islamic schools are called Madrassas.

The Madrassas in Indonesia are working under the supervision of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Mr. Izza Rohman

The Madrassas in Indonesia are working under the supervision of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. We also have 'pesantrens', which are like Pakistani seminaries. They run independently and are established side by side with regular schools. In the morning, students go to the schools and in the evening they go to the 'pesantrens'. In this way, the Muhammadiyah runs all these types of educational institutions side by side. In some schools/universities there are some non-Muslim students, as well as non-Muslim teachers.

We have many other faith based organizations working on similar lines in Indonesia before independence. These include “Nahdlatul-Ulema”, “Persatuan Islam”, “Jamiah-al-Washliah”, “Dawa-e-Islamiyah” and other foundations working in this field. But they are not involved in politics; out of their own choice. They choose to work in social welfare programmes.

We have learnt that we should not wait for having an Islamic State or Shariah laws to become better Muslims.

Mr. Izza Rohman

We have learnt that we should not wait for having an Islamic state or enforcement of Shariah laws to become better Muslims. Religion belongs to the society and not to the state. That is why we at Muhammadiyah focus on establishing an Islamic society rather than focusing on establishing an Islamic state.

Secondly, in the political arena, one is naturally creating enemies. We get into conflict with others, which is counterproductive for our own efforts. If my organization will indulge in politics then there is a possibility that we may be banned in future, as this has happened in Indonesia in the past, with a strong Islamist political party called 'Masyumi', which was banned by the Government.

We still have a few political parties in Indonesia, which are advocating Islamic ideology, but their support is increasingly declining. Similarly, we have an organization named Sarekat-Islam, which was established before the Muhammadiyah, but Sarekat-Islam focuses on politics and it has not been functioning well because of political dynamics.

So our aim is to focus on society and not the State because of the fact that Indonesia is very diverse ethnically, religiously and culturally, and thus, transforming Indonesia into an Islamist State is not easy, due to its diversity. Indonesia is an archipelago having thousands of islands, some of which are ethnically dominated by non-Muslim Indonesians.

Therefore, Muslim organizations have learnt that they should not wait for having an enforced Islamic State to become better Muslims and not wait to have Shariah laws or Shariah-inspired laws to become better Muslims.

We can still become better Muslims because the religion of Islam belongs to society, not to the State.

Mr. Izza Rohman

We can still become better Muslims because the religion of Islam belongs to society, not to the State. So, based on this idea, our organizations work continuously and very hard to establish the educational institutions, health institutions and many others. Having a stronger civil society to maintain the balance of power of the State is a much better choice, instead of focusing on enforced State ideology.

Having a stronger civil society to maintain balance of power of the state is a much better choice instead of focusing on state ideology.

Mr. Izza Rohman

We have also had an experience under the past authoritarian regime in the New Order, when we were not able to work effectively, as the civil society organizations faced various restrictions during the Suharto regime. Therefore, we have realized that we should have democracy to make the idea of a better society both viable and feasible. That is why our civil society organizations favour democratizing Indonesia, especially since 1998 when the reform era began. Many Indonesian Muslims have now realized that they cannot work for a better society without having a real and genuine democracy.

Q & A Session and Comments

Fatima Jinnah Women's University, Rawalpindi (FJWU)

Mr. Imtiaz Gul, CRSS

Here is a bit of the background of the CRSS. The Centre for Research and Security Studies was founded in December 2007 and ever since we have been working with different partners. We particularly focus on issues relating to security, governance and de-radicalization. In pursuit of these objectives, we also conceived the idea of starting a debate on the need for separation of religion from politics.



For this purpose, we started with Turkey, Indonesia, and Malaysia, as examples of how societies in these countries are coping with the mounting pressure coming from religio-political parties, particularly those who associate themselves with, or sympathize with the ideology of Al-Qaeda and Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen (The Muslim Brotherhood). We want to see if and how these three countries have tried to keep a distance between religion and politics and are not allowing religion into active politics.

We see the extremely negative consequences of using religion as a political instrument or an instrument of foreign policy.

Mr. Imtiaz Gul

We see the extremely negative consequences of using religion as a political instrument or an instrument of foreign policy. In Pakistan, we have a lot to do with regard to the use of religion as an instrument of foreign policy, as well as a prism to look at issues of daily life, governance, rule of law, and justice.

This should not be misunderstood as advocacy for secularism or atheism. We are not saying Islam; we are just saying religion; the State, religion and democracy. If you follow what happened in Europe, the United States, and Canada, they have kept a very clear distinction about governance, because

the model of governance is guided by a document called the Constitution, which treats every citizen equally.

The State is required to look at all its citizens as equal citizens. I think a State divides its citizens when it assumes a religious role. The moment the State (or its institutions), puts on the spectacles of religion, it becomes a radical State like Saudi Arabia, and in such a State, people who are following other faiths and sects, become lesser citizens.



Question

How did Indonesia cope with the post-Bali bombing scenario?

Mr. Izza Rohman

The Bali bombing was a huge tragedy for Indonesia. We have neutralized the negativity by involving the civil society to ensure that 'Pesantrens' in Indonesia must be free from this kind of hardline ideology. We also worked with former militants or extremists to de-radicalize the Indonesian society. Our security forces have also dealt with this menace very successfully.

Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

Obviously, the Bali bombings were a blow to the image of Indonesia, as it suddenly earned the reputation of being a hotbed for terrorists. Militants not only killed and maimed innocent people but also brought a bad name to the country and this is what they were trying to achieve. Terrorists believe that anyone who does not abide by their own version of Islam is not a

Muslim. However, the Bali bombings were a wake-up call for us, especially those who were complacent, because we usually see Indonesia as a land of moderate Muslims.

Terrorists believe that anyone who does not abide by their version of Islam is not a Muslim. However, the Bali bombings were a wake-up call for us, especially those who were complacent, because we see Indonesia as a land of moderate Muslims.

Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

Actually, the terrorists active in Indonesia were trained abroad, for instance in Afghanistan. I think the Government responded well and it set up an anti-terrorism body. The security forces very successfully tracked down the terrorists. Hence, I do not believe that such terrorist incidents will happen in Indonesia in the future.

Dr. Humera, FJWU

How did Indonesia manage a balance to install a moderate educational curriculum?

Mr. Izza Rohman

Religious diversity is a centuries-old tradition of Indonesia and there seems no problem in managing a moderate, balanced curriculum for our diverse culture. In many institutions, there is an integrated curriculum between Islam and general science and secular subjects.

Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

Education is the best way to de-radicalize a society. There is a state-run Islamic university as well, and its curriculum is being reformed at the moment. There are also a number of Non-Government Organizations, imparting education in Indonesia.

Prof. Dr. Naheed Zia Khan, FJWU

We are truly privileged to have our esteemed guests from Indonesia at the FJWU. The most prominent political party in Germany is the Christian Democratic Party. So, the names and nomenclatures in the modern world do not matter, but sometimes they do matter. It is all about creating a balance. Not everything which is new is essentially progressive and not everything, which is old, is necessarily retrospective. The laws are all human made and there will always be a constant struggle around them. The problems the Muslim community is facing in the modern world have internal as well as external dimensions. Thirty years ago, during the Afghan war, the world had no problem with these Muslims. It is important to understand the international hegemonic strategic aspects of the contemporary wave of terrorism, because it was the same Muslim force, which was used as the antidote to the rising tide of Socialism, which was engulfing the entire humanity. Muslims started to become the problem when that threat was no more. Any kind of reforms, that we may aspire for in our social life, must be indigenous and spontaneous. All western modern educational institutions, like Oxford and Cambridge universities, started as religious schools. Therefore, it is very important to understand that every secular state in a certain respect is a theocracy. All so-called theocracies happen to be very secular in certain respects. Why are there holidays on Easter and Christmas in UK, Europe, and USA? Secularism is about people having the right to exercise their choice of belief. As far as social norms are concerned, they are everywhere going to be dominated by the majority culture. Unfortunately, when this right of the majority culture is exercised in the Muslim countries, it is called as fundamentalism and the same right has no name when it comes to Christmas or Easter.

Secularism is about people having the right to exercise their choice of belief. As far as social norms are concerned, they are everywhere going to be dominated by the majority culture.

Prof. Naheed Zia Khan, FJWU

LECTURES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR (UoP)

Ms. Julia Indiaty Suryakusuma



I am extremely happy to be here. I have been to this country before, early this year. I was especially excited to come to Peshawar for many reasons. I read that Peshawar is actually very diverse. It has a very rich cultural heritage. I am happy to speak to young people, to university students, the future leaders of Pakistan.

Yesterday was the first year anniversary of Malala Yousafzai's shooting and I feel you should be proud to have her as one of you, as a Pakistani. She has certainly raised the profile of Pakistan in the world in a very positive way.

Today, I am here to share the story of Indonesia and its experience in terms of State, Religion and Democracy. Indonesia is the fourth largest nation in the world and the largest Muslim-populated country. Indonesia is a very interesting place. I could like to call Islam in Indonesia as “tropical Islam” because it is very moderate. But we also have hardliners and those who want to engage in Wahabism (a very conservative Islamic sect) and Arabization of our culture. But we also have very liberal Muslim intellectuals, as well as Sufis, presenting a softer image of Islam.

Islam in Indonesia is “tropical Islam” because it is very moderate. But we also have hardliners and those who want to engage in Wahabism (a very conservative Islamic sect) and Arabization of our culture. But we also have very liberal Muslim intellectuals, as well as Sufis, presenting a softer image of Islam.

Ms. Julia Indiaty Suryakusuma

Indonesia is very diverse, like Peshawar. It has 13,000 islands and 300 ethnic groups. Can you imagine trying to keep unified a nation so diverse and also geographically scattered? This is the main challenge for us since the inception of Indonesia as a nation in 1945. Our founding father, President

Sukarno, drafted the Constitution. He also formulated the national Ideology called “Pancasila”, meaning Five Principles.

The first principle of Pancasila is the belief in one God. At that time Indonesia consisted of many elements. In terms of social groupings, we had the nationalists, the military, the Muslims as well as the Communists. It was really a challenge to reconcile all these different elements politically and ideologically. The political Islam groups wanted to have a share of State power. These groups wanted to add the obligation to practice Shariah for the Muslims, but it was struck down by President Sukarno from the very beginning because he recognized the diversity of the nation.

We have the largest community of Muslims in the world, but we are not an Islamist or a Muslim State.

Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

We have the largest community of Muslims in the world, but we are not an Islamist or a Muslim State. President Sukarno remained in power from 1945 to 1966. In the last years of his rule, he introduced democracy, which he called “guided democracy.” Before that we had a period of liberal democracy, which gave expression to all the groups.

Sukarno relied on the nationalists, communists and religious elements to maintain his grip over power. He had also formulated the idea of Nationalism, Communism and Religion. In 1966, the military, which was waiting to take control of the nation, found a chance and deposed Sukarno. From 1966 to 1998, this was a period of military authoritarian rule, headed by retired General Suharto. At that time all the Muslim political groups were repressed because of the centralization of power during the Suharto period.

Then the reform era started in 1998. For the first time, Indonesia experienced democratization. One of the public's biggest demands was the decentralization and devolution of power. At the time we had 33 provinces. Now it has been increased. Some of them are enjoying special autonomy, like Aceh in the north. There are also other areas which have religious orientation.

Because of the opening of democratic space, ironically it led to the rise of local leaders, who often drew their inspirations from traditional and religious laws (Shariah). These local leaders were suppressed for a long time and they were actually not at all democratic in their views. In the first seven years, i.e. from 1999 to 2005, 40 percent of the old order was replaced by these local leaders. Due to the devolution of power, they enacted new local regulations called Pardha which are Shariah-inspired.

A lot of these new regulations were targeted at women; they restricted women's movement, and reduced public space for women, i.e. the way they dressed and the way they behaved. Recently, women were prohibited from riding motor bikes in Aceh. Sometimes these regional regulations contravene national legislation and also the Constitution.

The 1945 Constitution of Indonesia does have some authoritarian elements. But it has been revised four times ... to accommodate more human rights perspectives and to keep up with ... globalization and modernization. Nevertheless, this tension between Shariatization and democratization at the national level continues.

Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

It is true that the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia does have some authoritarian elements. But it has been revised four times, in 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002, to accommodate more human rights perspectives and to keep up with the developments that Indonesia has gone through, as a result of globalization and modernization. Nevertheless, this tension between Shariatization and democratization at the national level continues.

The religious political parties in Indonesia have faced a dilemma, because if they want to be exclusively Muslim, they will be able to appeal to the larger electorates, but if they reduce the religious tendency, then they are not Islamist parties any more. But in terms of electoral performance, they have come down from about 55 percent in 1945 to 25-30 percent recently.

The Muslim hardliners and conservatives are now trying to exercise their influence in another way, i.e. the social sphere. They demanded an anti-

pornography law. The Bill was debated for ten years before it was finally passed in 2008. But it should be remembered that it is not about pornography, because the definition of pornography is very vague. Pornography is very difficult to define. The Muslim groups engaged in political activities since Independence, grabbed the opportunity and imposed their own definition of pornography, which is not pornography as we know it.

These moves are more to do with limiting public space for women. They say women should dress in certain ways and should behave in certain ways. Ultimately, it is an effort to create a particular type of a society. These restrictions on women are in line with a certain vision of society, which is ultimately what they see as an “Islamic society”. But what is Shariah and whose interpretation of it? That is a big question in Indonesia also.

The hardliners of course are engaged in acts of terrorism ... the Bali bomb blasts in 2002 and 2005, gave a really negative blow to the Indonesian image as a moderate Muslim country because we really successfully tried to maintain this image for a long time.

Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

The hardliners are engaged in acts of terrorism. I am sure you must have heard about the Bali bomb blasts in 2002 and 2005, which gave a really negative blow to the Indonesian image as a moderate Muslim country. We really successfully maintained this image for a long time, but I think perhaps we were too complacent, and the events of 9/11 had a big effect on global Jihad, including Indonesia.

The Indonesian terrorists were actually trained in Afghanistan, as there exists a global network of terrorists. Now the Indonesian government has become actually very responsive to terrorism and has established an Anti-Terrorism Board. A special anti-terrorism force, known as Densus 88, has also been constituted. This force is being considered as Kafirs (non-believers) by the extremist hardliners. The headquarters of this force has also been attacked.

So, there is a kind of civil war going on constantly. It may not always be bombings but also in conducting our daily events. For example, there were protests in a sub-district of Jakarta recently and the demonstrators were demanding the removal of a sub-district officer, Ms. Lorah Suzan, because she is a Christian. Even the Minister for Internal Affairs suggested to the Governor of Jakarta to remove her. But it was astonishing to see that a subordinate officer to the Minister said that they should keep Lorah Suzan, as she had passed the relevant examination and he should read the Constitution. Everybody was cheering because that was something totally new. It is very uncommon, in fact, unheard of in Indonesia, to witness a subordinate telling his/her boss that he/she is wrong, and that is the spirit of democracy and pluralism. It is starting to emerge because of the new leaders that are coming up. They belong to a new generation of leaders.

This has nothing to do with morality, pornography and religion. All this is due to the politicization of religion, and the abuse and manipulation of religion for political ends.

Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

Take another example. There was the Miss World contest in Bogor (about sixty km away from Jakarta) recently. The extremist hardliners staged a protest against holding of the contest and the Government instructed the organizers of the contest to move it to Bali, which is a predominantly Hindu population area.

Ironically, this has nothing to do with morality, pornography and religion. All this is due to the politicization of religion, and the abuse and manipulation of religion for political ends. The present Government does not really need to accept the demands of this minority, extremists, hardliners and conservatives, but they tend to do so often, for unknown reasons.

Historically, the Indonesian nation has shown that we are not an Islamic state. We don't want authoritarian Islam. Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

Historically, the Indonesian nation has shown that they are not in favour of a theocratic Islamist state. We do not want authoritarian Islam. We want

democracy, but political power is in the hands of those few ruling elites. If the State authority and democracy was weakened, then it is possible that one day, they may get the State power. It is just a note of caution for us, but I am really concerned about it.

Q & A Session and Comments

University of Peshawar (UoP)

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Rasul Jan, VC, UoP

We are grateful to the Centre for Research and Security Studies for arranging this debate on State, Religion and Democracy at the University of Peshawar. I would like to share one of my practical experiences with you all. I left Pakistan for my PhD studies in September 1980 in a predominantly Catholic country, Ireland. I was told that Catholics do not advertise contraceptives on the media. When I came back to Pakistan in 1985, I saw an advertisement on television, and saw their availability for sale in the Utility Stores. It was a shock for me, as we were under the Government of President General Zia-ul-Haq, considered an Islamist government.



So things were different here than in Ireland, where people had to go to England to buy contraceptives. At one stage in Algeria the Islamists won the elections but the West did not allow them to form the government and there was a civil war. In Egypt recently, an elected government was overthrown and there was no hue and cry in the western media about it.

My friends from Indonesia are here. East Timor was separated from Indonesia because it was predominantly a Christian area in Indonesia. But if you look at the whole country democratically, then I personally think that it should still have been part of Indonesia. Look how Sudan was divided into states so quickly. I wonder why Kashmir cannot be separated, because there is also a struggle going on for a very long time. Our students should listen very carefully to our honourable guests, then critically analyze and ask questions. Involve yourself in the debate in a civilized manner and reach the conclusion.

I am extremely grateful to Prof. Dr. Qibla Ayaz for arranging such debates and exposing our students to the thoughts of renowned international scholars, so that they can face the challenges of the real world. I am thankful to Prof. Dr. Adnan Sarwar for facilitating us in such debates. I am grateful to the Centre for Research and Security Studies which arranges the visits of renowned scholars to Peshawar. Thank you very much.

Mr. Imtiaz Gul, CRSS

I am very grateful to Dr. Rasool Jan, VC, University of Peshawar, Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Dr. Adnan Sarwar and others for their cooperation in organizing this debate. It is our endeavour to expose students, our future leaders, to a critical discourse, prompting them to think critically what they hear about their country, about other countries and religions and about Islam. It is not about promoting secularism, or Islam, or Christianity. The bottom line is that we need to think as to whether the governance framework for a country works best under a secular regime, or does it have to be looked at through the prism of religion, regardless of whether it is Christianity or Islam or any other religion. Thank you.

Question

My name is Javedullah and I am a student of IR. My question is why is the UK not supporting the democratic process in Afghanistan? Why is UK not playing a crucial role in increasing Afghanistan's stability?

Mr. Toaha Qureshi

The foreign forces should vacate Afghanistan. UK is a strong supporter of promoting democracy in Afghanistan, which should be governed and run by the Afghan people. But Afghanistan should be given to the UN for a few years to have fair elections. Whoever wins the elections, the government should be handed over to them.

Question

My name is Hamish Khan and I am from the Law College, University of Peshawar. In Islam, democracy and religion are inter-connected and in Islam we have a perfect model for the administration of a State. Indonesia represents the largest Muslim community in the world. Why have they not adopted the Islamic system?

Question

My name is Rizwanullah, PhD student at UoP. I think that in Islam there is no difference between State, Religion and Democracy. How can we separate Islam from practical life?

**Question**

My question is to Mr. Izza Rohman, who said that there are many faith-based organizations in Indonesia carrying out philanthropic work, education and other social issues, but they are not allowed to take part in politics. Does this mean that the Muslims in Indonesia have no political rights?

Question

My name is Muhammad Yaseen, student of UoP. Why should we practise western democracy in Pakistan which is an Islamic country? Instead of supporting western ideas, why do we not support our Islamic laws, since Islam is the religion which offers a complete way of life and can solve all the problems of humanity?

Which country would you like Pakistan to follow as a role model: Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan or Saudi Arabia? Whether the ladies here would like to live in a country like Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan or Saudi Arabia? Is there a consensus on some unanimous Islamic Shariah model practised somewhere in the Muslim world?

Mr. Imtiaz Gul

Question

I am Muhammad Ibrahim, UoP. Whenever we talk about State, Religion and Democracy, why do our eyes always turn towards Islam? There are other religions as well. Why have we chosen Indonesia to come here and present their perspective, and why not any other Islamic country?

Mr. Imtiaz Gul

I would like to ask the last questioner: which country would you like Pakistan to follow as a role model: Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan or Saudi Arabia? Whether the ladies here would like to live in a country like Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan or Saudi Arabia? Is there a consensus on some unanimous Islamic Shariah model practised somewhere in the Muslim world?

And please listen to the presentations carefully. Nobody talked about Islam. We are talking about “Religion, State and Democracy”, not Islam. This is also another issue that we want to highlight, that whenever someone speaks about religion, it's not about Islam only, it's about an attitude, whether it's coming from a Muslim, from a Christian or from a Jew or any other religion. The rest I leave to the analysts.

Mr. Izza Rohman

In Indonesia, religion has not been used as an explicit reason for making the decisions in terms of international relations. There is no doubt that religion has been used implicitly in the Palestine-Israel conflict and in Bosnia in the past.

Indonesia has not used Islam as the main factor of its international relations. It should be remembered that our faith-based organizations, like the Muhammadiyah, have also played a role in international relations, particularly in the Arab-Israel conflict. The Muhammadiyah gave scholarships to Thai Muslim students from Southern Thailand as part of our diplomacy.

So you can say that the faith-based organizations in Indonesia are also working on international issues. There are also Christian faith-based organizations in eastern Indonesia. They are also working on social issues but they are smaller. We also have Buddhist organizations. I think this is a unique experience we have in Indonesia. Many of these organizations came into existence before Independence. There are also Muslim and Christian faith-based political parties in Indonesia.

Question

My name is Humaira Farhad, UoP. What is the relationship between the State and religion? China is not based on religion, but still it is making progress and is going to become a Super Power.

Question

My name is Sadam Hussain, UoP. My question is to the speaker from UK. Pakistan is ethnically divided and there are problems like terrorism and internal instability, so what do you think should be the ideal strategy for the future?

Question

I'm Umar Hayat, UoP. My question is: what is more important for the State? Religion or Democracy?

Question

My name is Nadia Khan, UoP. It was said that we need to demonstrate a

balanced attitude towards the West, but we also demand the same from them because it is our right. Could you please explain it further?

Mr. Imtiaz Gul

Thanks to the lady who asked why China has progressed and gone on to become the second strongest economy of the world, although it is not based on religion. I'm happy that you have understood the spirit of our topic, and you answered your own question. This is in fact, what we are also trying to say.

When you start looking at it just from an Islamic point of view, then you are relegating the non-Muslims to a secondary status of citizenship. It must be the effort of our educated people to work and strive for equal citizenry for everybody who is living in this State.

Mr. Imtiaz Gul

Religion is a code to regulate and guide human beings in society, while the State provides a regulatory framework for the State Institutions to function for the betterment of all the citizens. When you start looking at it just from an Islamic point of view, then you are relegating the non-Muslims to a secondary status of citizenship. It must be the effort of our educated people to work and strive for equal citizenry for everybody who is living in this State.

Mr. Toaha Qureshi

The question was asked why USA does not support democracy in Saudi Arabia and why only in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Libya and Egypt? That is a question we ask as well. We are working hard and asking the West that if you are promoting democracy and not going after other people's resources, then it should be promoted in all countries. KPK has achieved a lot; it has elected people from an ordinary background; you have brought an entirely new party, i.e. PTI, into power in KPK and have brought democracy, while rejecting the others.

You have brought in those people who can bring about a change in society.

We are not supporting the West as far as democracy is concerned. Pakistan is a democratic country. It is an Islamic Republic of Pakistan. As far as Pakistan is concerned, we cannot turn away from Islam. We cannot move away from democracy, as that is how this country has been set up.

And then there was another question, about why only Islam? I mentioned Judaism, Christianity and Islam because we are talking about religion and these three are Abrahamic religions therefore they do get mentioned. I don't agree on many things the West does although I am living in that region. I ask the same questions. Someone said here that when Islam came, the other religions were rejected. Let us stick to the verse from the Quran saying that you have your *Deen* (religion) and I have my *Deen*.

The people you have chosen in KPK, if they pass a bad law tomorrow, it is you who are to be blamed for electing them, and not the parliamentarians. Nadia said that we demand respect. Well done. I think you are doing a good job. We keep demanding respect, but we have to earn respect. Other countries will not give you respect when you allow them to set up their centres or their army headquarters in your country.

Respect is not going to come to you automatically. Yes, we must demand but we must earn the respect.

Mr. Toaha Qureshi

I would now like to make an announcement for two full scholarships for the Faculty of Social Sciences. We will be happy to support you through our counterpart here, the Centre for Research and Security Studies (CRSS).

Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

I was wondering at the perception here about relations between religion, especially Islam, and democracy. I think this is not the case at all. I have always said that Islam is very compatible with democracy. There is no compulsion about religion in Islam. Some of my friends, who are staunch Muslims, said that they feel more freedom to practise their religion in secular States than in theocratic ones. Many Muslims in the USA feel freer to

practise their religion than in the religion-based countries. This is due to democracy, because it ensures the rights of all faiths.

*There is no compulsion about religion in Islam (Quran).
Ms. Julia Suryakusuma*

Dr. Qibla Ayaz, UoP

It is indeed a matter of great honour for us that the Centre for Research and Security Studies is in collaboration with the University of Peshawar and arranged this event for us. It was very productive and very useful for us. It is a matter of great pleasure for us that we have two scholars from Indonesia and one visitor from UK. They shared their experiences with us about what is going on in the area of state, religion and democracy in Indonesia and UK. A very good and encouraging announcement is from Toaha Qureshi about two scholarships for our students of the Social Sciences Faculty. We hope that our youth will definitely benefit from the scholarships, and we will recommend the best two students through Barrister Khan and Mr. Imtiaz Gul, the Head of the Centre for Research and Security Studies. It is our pleasant obligation to support, encourage, and provide you with the platforms like we have done today, with the international scholars.

*State, religion and democracy are very complex questions and it is up to our youth to ponder on it, study and analyze these themes.
Dr. Qibla Ayaz*

State religion and democracy are very complex questions and it is up to our youth to ponder, study and analyze these themes. Yes, we have Kashmir, and we have Palestine. The world powers are not supporting us on these issues. But there are other areas that we must take into consideration. We, the Muslims have supported the Kosovo separation from Serbia. We have provided at least moral support in Mindanao, where the Muslims are at loggerheads with the Christian-majority State of Philippines.

We have many other areas, like in the recent past; the Western powers

actually treated the Serbian leaders (Serbia is a Christian country) with an iron hand. The West extended great support to the Bosnian Muslims and now we have an independent Bosnia, a very ideal Muslim state, where Muslims are practising their religion and democracy. They are fast becoming a role model for the Muslim world.

We also need to study other countries, not only Afghanistan, Somalia, and Sudan. It is unfortunate for us that we are not analyzing and learning from the experience of Turkey, a country in which secularism has been enshrined in their ideology. We are informed that the Turkish Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, is giving greater freedom to an Islamic manifestation by taking benefits from the secular Constitution. He lifted the ban on wearing the *Hijab* last week. This actually paved the way for those who have Islamic inclinations to get higher jobs and get into the policy making process of the Turkish society and State. Now this is another experience that we need to analyze and study.

We expect that our friend, Mr. Imtiaz Gul, will continue coordinating with this great seat of learning and research, the University of Peshawar, and will enlighten our students on diverse experiences and the situations that are unfolding in our region. At the end, I express my deep sense of gratitude to the guest speakers from Indonesia and UK, and to Mr. Imtiaz Gul as well as our friend Dr. Adnan Sarwar Khan, Chairman, Department of International Relations, UoP. He always makes himself available to promote understanding, dialogue, consultation, debate and promotion of wisdom and research. I thank you very much ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. Imtiaz Gul

I am very thankful for your participation in this event. I think that this process will continue. I am thankful to the University of Peshawar, Dr. Adnan Sarwar Khan and Prof. Qibla Ayaz.

Prof. Dr. Naeemur Rahman, UoP

Today's academic discussion and dialogue on State, Religion and Democracy

was indeed very thought provoking. The discussion and questions and answers were very useful. I extend a vote of thanks to the CRSS, the University of Peshawar and particularly the Department of IR, its Chairman and staff members, for making this event a success. My special thanks to the VC, Dr. Rasool Jan, as without his cooperation this programme would not have been possible. I am also thankful to Mr. Toaha Qureshi for announcing two scholarships for the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Peshawar. Thank you all.



LECTURES/ ROUNDTABLE AT FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE UNIVERSITY, LAHORE

Q & A Session and Comments

Forman Christian College University, Lahore

Question

It is puzzling that the entire religious groups' leadership in Indonesia is trying to create a religious society and not focusing on the State at all, and they will wait until the whole society is religiously-based and then perhaps they can make a movement or transaction to a religious State. I find it very puzzling that if you have already done work for decades in the society and if you have already oriented them towards the goals of an Islamic society and the Islamic way of life, then how can you keep them away from being political? It is an enigma, the disharmony that exists at the state level and at the society level. The society is religiously organized, and on the other hand the non-religious State is above the society. So how can this disharmony be reconciled? Please define the pro-democracy and anti-democracy forces.



Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

We believe in unity in diversity. President Susilo Bambang is the torchbearer of the New Order in Indonesia. Our democratic institutions are functioning well, but corruption is the biggest threat to democracy.

Mr. Izza Rohman

Civil society organizations do not have much say in politics. They have learnt a lesson from history that the idea of an Islamic state will not work well in Indonesia.

Question

Is dialogue with the Taliban the only way out for Pakistan?

Question

Why does the Muslim majority in Islamic countries lack self-confidence? Why are the Muslims living in UK becoming more conservative?

Mr. Toaha Qureshi



There is an identity crisis amongst Muslims living in UK. The new Muslim generations born in the UK are treated as British. A number of mosques and Islamic centres were attacked, which has created a fear and an identity crisis among the Muslims, who are struggling hard to combat radicalization. We started the dialogue process well before the incident of 9/11, to create harmony and to remove misperceptions. The State is being challenged brutally by terrorists in UK. We strongly believe in the importance of the dialogue process with the Taliban.

ROUNDTABLE AT HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG, ISLAMABAD (HBS)

The Heinrich Böll Stiftung Pakistan (HBS), in collaboration with the Centre for Research and Security Studies (CRSS), hosted a roundtable at their Islamabad office in connection with the dialogue forum event: “State, Religion and Democracy - An Indonesian Perspective”.

The Speakers presented their respective perspectives, followed by a lively discussion.

Ms. Julia Indiaty Suryakusuma



I am upset to know about some negative perceptions about Indonesia because of the terrorist attacks there. Terrorist acts can take place anywhere in the world and Pakistan has an even worse reputation in this respect.

I am glad to be here to give a presentation on the State, Religion and Democracy. As compared to Pakistan, Indonesia is a picnic point. As you know, we don't have the Taliban and we are not the neighbour of Afghanistan.

The topic of my presentation is: 'State, Religion and Democracy in Indonesia'. Democracy is something that is always in the making. It is like being human, always in a state of flux. In Indonesia, the struggle and tension between the State and religion dates back to the inception of the Republic, when we promulgated the Constitution and the State Ideology as Pancasila.

We are the largest Muslim populated country in the world, but we are not an Islamic State. In the reform era, the Islamists, previously repressed, are trying to introduce *Shariah* through regional/state regulations. The national manifestation of the promulgation of the anti-pornography Bill, which was not really about pornography, but was about limiting public space for women, restricting their movement and imposing dress codes on

them. In the end, it was also limiting public space for the general population as well.

The political Islam has been agitating for a long time. They took the initiative in defining pornography. So, what becomes an issue, depends on who first defines it. And it was the conservatives who defined pornography. The activists, including the feminists and the pro-democracy groups who opposed the anti-pornography bill at the time, were accused of being pro-pornography. They operate in the realm of moral issues. As we all know, women are often considered the repository of morality.

Precisely, the political Islam has lost the battle in terms of State power. But they are still operating, thus creating a lot of disturbance as well. It is not just in the moral arena. Students are being radicalized in campuses of universities.
Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

Precisely, political Islam has lost the battle in terms of State power. But they are still operating, thus creating a lot of disturbance as well. It is not just in the moral arena. Students are being radicalized on university campuses. Educational institutions are taking measures to counter that because in the end, democracy is about instilling a culture of democracy. It is not just about establishing the institutions of democracy. In the new order, which was an authoritarian regime, we had political parties, we had parliament, and we had a so-called just political system, but it was still not democratic.

I really support the endeavour of the Centre for Research and Security Studies, which is supported by the Heinrich Böll Stiftung, to promote democracy. I am happy that we are meeting the students and young people because they are the future of the nation. It is a challenge for Indonesia to demonstrate to the world that we are democratic. The world believes us now, despite all the chaos. I think it is an even greater challenge for Pakistan to do so, because of the stereotypes which are portrayed in the media, which Pakistan does not really deserve. No entire nation deserves to be branded on the actions of a small group of radicals. Thank you very much.

Mr. Izza Rohman

In my presentation, I would like to give a picture of Indonesia by briefly introducing some important things that relate to Indonesia, with special attention to the issue of the relationship between the State, politics and religious radicalization.



Indonesia has Pancasila as its State ideology. It has often been claimed that Pancasila is neither secular nor religious ideology in theory. But in practice, I believe that Pancasila is both secular and religious. We have the Constitution of 1945, which guarantees freedom of religion and gives no privilege to a particular religious community. And then we have a national motto or slogan, i.e. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which means Unity in Diversity.

So, in terms of the State's foundation, Indonesia has been able to unite one of the most diverse populations in the world for so long.

It has often been claimed that 'Pancasila' is neither secular nor religious ideology. But in practice, I would argue that 'Pancasila' is both secular and religious.

Mr. Izza Rohman

Many factors have made Indonesia what it is today. Firstly, we have many Muslim-based voluntary organizations which pre-date Indonesian independence. Some of these organizations are well organized, focusing more on education, health, social services, philanthropy, and also in democratization, fighting against corruption, and de-radicalization efforts in the country, e.g. Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulema, which are the two largest Muslim organizations in Indonesia.

The civil society organizations are not opposing the Government, rather they are helping it by promoting cultural Islam rather than political Islam.

Mr. Izza Rohman

We have conducted research on what Muslims think about the relationship between the State, religion and the society. It was found during several research studies that the Muslims of Indonesia want cultural Islam rather than political Islam. The civil society organizations (CSOs) want to make Muslims better Muslims rather than challenging the State Ideology. They want the establishment of an Islamic society rather than an Islamic State. The reforms era started in 1998. The Suharto regime ruled the country for about three decades. With the reforms, the current democratization is going on in almost all areas. People are happy with the reform era but there are also a lot of problems, and I think the most crucial is corruption rather than radicalization.

With the reforms, democratization is going on in almost all fields. People are happy with the reform era but there are also a lot of problems and I think the most crucial is corruption rather than radicalization.
Mr. Izza Rohman

Q & A Session and Comments

Heinrich Böll Stiftung Pakistan

Ambassador (Retd.) Arif Ayub

My question is to Mr. Qureshi. I appreciate what you have done in the UK, particularly the institutionalization of meetings with the police and the councils, in monitoring extremism there. In Pakistan, the problem in trying to replicate this is that most of the time we do not know the real situation, or on which side the State is and on which side the intelligence agencies are. So unless we resolve this duality and clarify issues, it is far more complicated to resolve the issue of terrorism, and of Iran and Saudi Arabia's using Pakistan as a battle ground for their sectarian terrorism, than simply having local communities taking ownership, and working together with the Government to crush radicalization and extremism.



Ms. Tahira Abdullah, human rights activist



A question for Mr. Rohman: What do you think about the creeping theocratization in Indonesia, which is a problem not only for Indonesia but also for many other Muslim countries? And how can it be addressed in a peaceful manner? How useful is the Indonesian model for Pakistan, in view of our rapidly increasing Talibanization?

Mr. Izza Rohman

Democratization in Indonesia has helped the expansion of Islam in the public field. We have many Muslim organizations which have set up thousands of Islamic as well as secular schools. The perception about my country is not good due to the terrorist bomb blasts in Bali. However, de-radicalization efforts are underway, which are being run by the Government and civil society organizations. Former extremists are also helpful in this regard as they have repented their mistakes.

The debate between Islamists and secular scholars continues in Indonesia. Most of our scholars are of the view that secularism is better for the country and even for the Muslims, because in a secular society, people are free to choose whatever they like, thereby enabling the Muslims to follow their faith in a better way.

The debate between Islamists and secular scholars continues in Indonesia. Most of our scholars are of the view that secularism is better for the country and even for the Muslims, because in a secular society, people are free to choose whatever they like, thereby enabling the Muslims to follow their faith in a better way.

Mr. Izza Rohman

Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

Intolerance has increased in Indonesia, e.g. the case where several hundred people held demonstrations in Jakarta recently, demanding the removal of a

sub-district officer because she was a Christian. I think the danger is there. We cannot be complacent and say that history has shown that Indonesians refused to have an Islamic state because we also have to consider global trends.

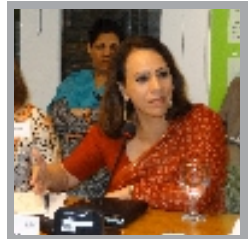
I think that we should not underestimate the tension that is going on in Indonesia at the moment. Women in some areas are forced to wear the headscarf. I am against these things and in one of my recent interviews I said that I believe in God but not in religion, because we worship God, not the religion, which is a vehicle to reach God.

I think that we should not underestimate the tension that is going on in Indonesia at the moment. ... I believe in God but not in religion because we worship God not the religion, which is a vehicle to reach God.

Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

Dr. Farzana Bari, QAU

Actually I have very limited knowledge about Indonesia, but listening to both the honourable Indonesian scholars, one aspect that worries me is that both of you mentioned about decentralization and how some sub-districts are introducing certain laws which are restricting women's mobility and prescribing dress codes. Are these steps not against your Constitution? My second question is: Are women also part of the increasing radicalization?



Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

Yes, the *Parda* regulations contravene the Constitution, which guarantees human rights, as well as national laws. Indonesian Muslim feminists are not only criticized by the West, saying that is an oxymoron, but also by their Islamist male counterparts, who have branded them as not true Muslims.

However, some Muslim NGOs train young Muslim clerics in feminist prin-

principles. I also took a course on Islam and Gender a few years ago, which was quite amazing. Women are not allowed to travel without their male *Mahram* or do business without the permission of their husbands (as custodians), but they just go anyway. There is resistance to the growing extremism, even among women's conservative camps.

The Muslim feminists are not only criticized by the West, saying that is an oxymoron, but also by their Islamist male counterparts, who have branded them as not true Muslims.

Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

Mr. Toaha Qureshi

The problem of terrorism and radicalism in Pakistan is not a minor issue, to be resolved at the community level, since there are international players, double standards, and the situation between Iran and Saudi Arabia, and their involvement in Pakistan. The UK model might not work here. The interference by international players in Pakistan and in the region has really destabilized it. A national strategy is required to address this situation. The community element is just one component of the whole strategy, which must include both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Only those countries should take part in Afghanistan's future, which have not been part of the coalition. Afghanistan should be ruled by the Afghan people. There should be two consecutive fair elections under the UN supervision. The continuing interference and funding by Saudi Arabia, Iran and Qatar must end.

Ms. Mussarat Qadeem



The situation in Pakistan is very complex, but we need an inclusive counter-terrorism strategy. We have about 50 communities already working in KP and FATA, who are ready to take this further, and we need to build trust with them. They are already identifying the extremists among themselves and among the community. Such intervention is required not only in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA, but also in other parts of Pakistan where there is Talibanization or extremism.

The UK approach is a very simplistic approach because you know the enemy, but there is so much uncertainty in our context because we don't know the enemy, e.g. in Swat, the sister of a Deputy Superintendent of Police was an informer of the Taliban. In such a situation, it becomes very difficult to know whom to trust in the community and from where to start. I think that dialogue is not the only answer. There are many other ways we can adopt to address the issue.

Mr. Imtiaz Gul

The idea of having this trilateral dialogue was also to encourage our Indonesian friends to see if Indonesia could perhaps learn something from the UK's example of counter-radicalization. I would like to know whether the Pancasila principle is going to be your salvation from the encroaching and creeping threat of theocratization, and whether the edifice which was created in Indonesia under the Pancasila will help to contain and prevent this radicalization or not?



Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

I don't think that the Pancasila is enough to contain radicalization. It is just an ideology. It has been differently interpreted under different regimes. It was formulated by Sukarno to accommodate Indonesia's pluralism. In the Suharto era, it became a tool of oppressive ideology and the people in the non-government organizations dreaded the compulsory Pancasila indoctrination courses. But in the subsequent reform era, it has gained a new meaning. It has now been revived to its original meaning, i.e. pluralism. But an ideology alone is not enough to contain radicalization.

I don't think that the Pancasila is enough to contain radicalization. It is just an ideology. ... But an ideology alone is not enough to contain radicalization.

Ms. Julia Suryakusuma

Mr. Izza Rohman

We talked about "State, Religion and Democracy". We can also talk about the Pancasila, but there is confusion among Indonesians about separating religion from the State. We are always discussing this situation. Our secularization is associated with the colonial past. Even Sukarno used secularism in his writings. But Pancasila is not as complete as the Quran. Pancasila does not help very much to discourage radicalization.

Of course, the Indonesian Government and civil society are working on de-radicalization. We are trying to reach the extremists and potential extremists to neutralize them. Sometimes, we perceive some people as more vulnerable to radical ideology, but sometimes we are not correct. We can still learn from other countries. No doubt, Indonesia is not perfect in terms of de-radicalization. We have had some success, but we cannot generalize.

Mr. Toaha Qureshi



I want to clarify that I am not here to tell the Pakistani people to adopt the UK model. I am just sharing my experience with you, and informing you that this is how we are working there and it has been a very successful model there, but it may not be effective in Pakistan. I don't see Talibanization taking over this country.

Mr. Imtiaz Gul

The idea of the dialogue forum event titled "State, Religion and Democracy - An Indonesian Perspective" was to get together and get to know how Indonesia is coping with the issue of separation between religion and politics. I hope that the best message that the visiting Indonesian scholars can convey to the students of different universities and the best you can do for them is to sensitize them on the need of keeping religion separate from politics. This is a challenge that you are facing in your own country and the same situation that we face here, but we also have as many apologists as you have.

You are warning us against complacency, but I find a lot of Indonesians quite complacent just because this has not touched them yet, or hit them the way it has hit us. I think we just hope that such a dialogue can trigger some critical thinking among all those who are concerned about these developments. Probably we can network whenever possible, as a group that believes in secular governance. Thank you all.

STATE, RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY
THE MALAYSIAN PERSPECTIVE

THE MALAYSIAN PERSPECTIVE

The two Malaysian scholars in Pakistan for a dialogue on “State, Religion and Democracy - A Malaysian Perspective” visited the following institutions:

1. Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS)
2. Forman Christian College University, Lahore (FCCU)
3. University of Peshawar, Peshawar (UoP)
4. Fatima Jinnah Women's University, Rawalpindi (FJWU)
5. Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Islamabad (HBS)

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam bin Abdullah highlighted the political structure and society in Malaysia. He repeatedly emphasized the fact that Malaysian society was in favour of accommodation towards all ethnic and religious groups. Despite having sixty percent Muslim population in the country, the State has not declared itself as a Muslim State. The founding fathers of the nation were cognizant of ethnic and religious diversity; therefore, they embarked on the journey of tolerance and integration. The key to Malaysia's success was massive investment in the education sector. The Government focused on two major sectors: the economy and education. It spent more than 30 percent of the budget on the promotion of education for more than 20 years. This policy has paid rich dividends.

There is stable economic development because of the continuity of policies. Ever since Independence, Malaysia is being ruled by the same coalition party, but each Prime Minister had his own vision. PM Mahathir bin Muhammad ruled Malaysia for twenty-two years and developed the country. All the leaders practically contributed to the development of the country. This continuity, coupled with widespread education in the country, has enabled the society and the State to practise a dynamic, moderate version of Islam in Malaysia.

Professor Ruhana binti Harun's presentation was a detailed account of Malaysia's being a secular democracy. The policy of accommodation is a

hallmark of the society, which allows people of other beliefs and ethnic origins to be part of the decision-making process.

In Malaysia, there is an effort to develop the nation around certain core values. The culture has indigenous foundations. That is why Malay is the national language. Malaysia as a country is full of contradictions. Despite such glaring contradictions, the State has managed to harmonize the differences to avoid conflicts. In this regard, the education sector has been under Government control to promote unity. Furthermore, despite criticism, laws have been framed to curb the extremist elements. Although the King has been designated as the protector of Islam, and no other religion or sect can be preached to the Malaysian Sunni Muslims, yet at the same time the Malays, the Chinese and the Indian communities are well aware of each others' sensitivities and live peacefully in the society.

PROFILES OF THE SCHOLARS

Professor Ruhanas binti Harun



Professor Ruhanas Binti Harun is a professor at the Department of Strategic Studies, Faculty of Defence Studies and Management, National Defence University of Malaysia, and former Director of the Centre for Defence and International Studies at the same university. Prior to joining the NDUM in 2010, she served as Head of the International and Strategic Studies programme at the National University of Malaysia. Before that she was Head of the Department of International and Strategic Studies at the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. She researches, lectures and publishes on the themes of foreign policy, national security and international politics.

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Kamarulnizam bin Abdullah



Prof. Dr. M. Kamarulnizam bin Abdullah is a professor and director at University Utara, Malaysia (UUM), a research institute for Indonesia, Thailand and Singapore (UUM-ITS), College of Law, Government and International Studies. His area of expertise is International Relations, mainly Malaysian national security, regional security issues, conflict studies and political Islam. He has to his credit several publications as well.

LECTURES AT LAHORE UNIVERSITY OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES (LUMS)

Prof. Dr. M. Kamarulnizam bin Abdullah

Malaysia is a multinational society. It is a country of immigrants where the indigenous society consists of Malays. The Chinese constitute twenty-nine percent of the population as immigrants. During the British period, they came to Malaysia to start trade. The Indians also came here from different parts of India. We also have Pakistanis, who are almost one percent of the total population.



Ours is not only a multinational and multi-ethnic, but also a multi-religious society. The Chinese practise Buddhism and Christianity. The Indians are Hindus. The majority are ethnic Malays, who are Muslims, comprising fifty percent of the population. The remaining 10 percent Muslims are either Indians or Chinese.

As a multi-national and multi-ethnic society, it is a problem how to unite the country after fifty years of Independence. So we had to put something that could unite the country in our Constitution. In Article 11, it is stated that Islam is the official religion, but Malaysia is not an Islamic country. Under this Article, it is also stated that other religions can be practised freely. Under Article 42, the King is the protector of Islam. Non-Muslims cannot preach other religions to the Muslim population and Muslims are not allowed to be converted to other religions or sects (e.g. Shi'as).

Now we are moving towards more democracy. Non-Muslims think that they are being discriminated against, because of this part of the Constitution. They think that the Constitution should be changed, regarding Islam and Muslims. This debate is continuing and in Malaysia we see a lot of conflicts. Here, the political system is based on ethnic identity. The Malays, Chinese and Indians are represented by different political parties but there are also multi-ethnic parties. These multi-ethnic parties are difficult to be accepted by the society.

Since 2008, there is a new movement of democracy in Malaysia. The new generation in our society does not want to be identified on the basis of religion or ethnicity. They want to be identified just as Malaysians. This gives rise to a multi-ethnic and multi-national political party. The coalition of these new political parties began to challenge the ruling Government parties. However, this development is still too young.

Since 2008, there is a new movement of democracy in Malaysia. The new generation in our society does not want to be identified on the basis of religion or ethnicity. They want to be identified just as Malaysians.

Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

Prior to 1969, the problems in Malaysian society were addressed as development issues. The majority of Malays were very under-developed and because of this, there tended to be tension among the ethnic groups, because the Chinese used to control eighty percent of the economy. Consequently, there were clashes among the three multi-ethnic groups, especially between the Malays and Chinese.

After 1969, the Government re-structured the society. We call it the New Economic Policy. This is a socio-economic re-engineering process. The policy tends to give more opportunities to the majority Malays regarding education, trade and business. This was a twenty-year programme and we can see its results. This policy has come to an end. Now we are moving towards multi-national social economic re-engineering. This policy not only covers the Malays but also other ethnic groups, especially the Indians, who have been left out over this period.

Prof. Ruhanas binti Harun

I have five points to discuss:

1. Firstly, cohabitation between politics and religion in a country is possible, but on the condition that we respect the framework, aims and purpose of each



other's existence.

2. The potential for violent encounters between religion and politics can be avoided through harmonizing these encounters.
3. Conditions for the cohabitation between religion and politics, harmonization between the two, and also the success of the process may be different from one country to another. It should be country-specific and we should avoid making generalizations and creating formulae. In Malaysia, politics and religion co-existed and they continue to co-exist. We manage to avoid violent encounters that plague a country.

***The ability to control or manage actions, either of politics or of religion, in retaliation committed in the name of religion, in the name of God. I disagree with committing these atrocities in the name of God. ... Malaysia is a secular democracy.
Prof. Ruhanas binti Harun***

4. The ability to control or manage actions, either of politics or of religion, in retaliation committed in the name of religion, in the name of God. I disagree with committing these atrocities in the name of God.
5. Malaysia is a secular democracy. Even though we are a secular democracy, we have become able to accommodate the needs, position and the place of religion. This balance is between the powers controlled by politics and its accommodation or needs for the religion. Because of this, Malaysia enjoys the peace and security which is obscure in some other countries.

Parents send their children for religious education also. In the morning, they go to national schools and in the afternoon they attend religious institutions.

We also pay attention to Halal food. This is not to say that in Malaysia we do not have the expression of religious extremism and militancy. We do have militant groups, but not to the large extent that you have here in Pakistan. The groups that are well-known in Malaysia are the Al-Arqam and similar groups. They are influenced by external and also internal elements. The Al-Ma'unah, one of the groups (although very small), attacked an army camp, stole the weapons, and started a confrontation with the Government. The Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM) is another militant group; some of their founders or members are Malaysians who went to Afghanistan to help the Mujahideen. However, after the war, they came back to Malaysia and started a group. The question is: how did the Malaysian Government deal with this group?

We have a comprehensive strategy and model, which we call a complex process of:

- (i) Accommodation;
- (ii) Co-option when this is required;
- (iii) If the first and second do not work, then we go for the third option, which we call Confrontation.

In Malaysia, we have the Internal Security Act (ISA), which authorizes detention without having any trial. We have also NGOs to explain to the people about the de-radicalization process of the terrorists. This is part of our engagement with them. It is won by winning the hearts and minds of the group. One important agency in this de-radicalization process is the JAKIM.

It is the Malay acronym for the Islamic Development Department of Malaysia. It is supposed to give terrorists the spiritual aspect and knowledge of Islam. They are practically taught at the Islamic Development Centre. In this de-radicalization programme, there is HDP: the Human Development Programme. After completing their detention, former terrorists are required to come back to society so that they may be accepted and re-integrated in society. They need some training and we give them the skills.

The concept of the entire exercise is to harmonize the strain and the stress of

a multi-ethnic society, to harmonize the differences between the religious groups and the State, and for the political and economic prosperity of such groups.

***These are the core values of our nation and violence is not one of them.
It is tolerance and moderation.
Prof. Ruhana binti Harun***

These are the core values of our nation and violence is not one of them. It is tolerance and moderation. The latest foundation, called the Global Movement of the Moderates Foundation (GMMF), was established by the Prime Minister, as he wants the culture of moderation to be inculcated in Malaysia.

I think the State has an upper hand over the terrorists and violence. The recent problem in Malaysia is a dispute over the word "Allah". Some of the Muslims in Malaysia said that the word "Allah" should be used only by the Muslims and to refer only to Islam.

The second issue is that people are persecuting the Shi'as. We don't have many Shi'as in Malaysia, as Shi'ism is banned and it is illegal to practise the Shi'a ideology.

Socio-economic and political stability, and the security of the population are the necessary requirements to nurture democracy in Malaysia. If you have democracy, you have all these elements. And if you have all these, you may have democracy. This is just like the chicken and egg. Which one comes first? I think they both should come at the same time.

How can a multi-ethnic, multi-national and multi-religious society ban Shi'ism? In Malaysia, we are a federation just like Pakistan. The religious issues and methods are controlled by the State Governments, and not by the Federal Government. Malaysia is known as a conservative Sunni Muslim country. Therefore, a number of the Sunni Ulema are very conservative about the influence of the Shi'as. In Malaysia, when we are talking about a multi-national society, the focus is more on inter-religious issues, and that is between the Muslims, Christians and Hindus.

We never had an experience of intra-religious issues between Sunnis and Shi'as and this is the problem when we are moving towards more democratization. The conservative Muslim States want to protect the idea of a Sunni Muslim country. We try to learn from other countries, as whichever one has Sunni and Shi'a populations, whether in the majority or minority, they have problems.

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

Malaysia is in the process of learning. For the last fifty years, we have been learning how to live in a multi-religious society. There were a lot of problems to understand each other. We are practising more the process of integration rather than assimilation.

If you understand the example of Malaysia, when we gained Independence, the Government was under the policy of assimilation, meaning that you were accumulated into only one society, only one language; and only one education system. In Malaysia now we pursue a different path. We practise an integration policy.

We have an education system based on three different languages: Mandarin, Tamil and Malay. We allow other religions to flourish to some extent. We prosper because of inter-religious understanding. But now we are moving to a new dimension, we have to democratize more. We hope that conservative Muslims are becoming more dynamic in relations between the Sunni and Shi'a sects. This is a process that we look forward to seeing in the future.

Certain States in Malaysia are ruled by conservative Islamic political parties. In fact, I think the political parties that rule those particular States are becoming more liberal in some of their understanding of intra- and inter-religious issues. They are part of the opposition of the path that consists of multi-national political parties. They were conservative even before 9/11. They accused their ruling party of Malay Muslims as being infidels, because they incorporated the Chinese and Indian-based political parties. Now they have become more liberal than the ruling party. That is an example of the

kinds of contradictions happening everywhere for the political survival of the country.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

Malaysia is a secular democracy. However, the players must first accept that there is a framework. As Professor Abdullah said that we have political religious parties that ruled some states in the country. But that is not a problem. Because they all have accepted the basic framework of this secular democracy and as you see today, this religious political party is becoming more liberal than the Malay conservative political party about the use of the word Allah.

The religious political party is ok with it, if the non-Muslims do use it, but the conservative Sunni Malay Muslims rejected the idea. According to them it belongs only to the Muslims, which I think is wrong. I have my Christian students in the University of Cairo and there I heard them saying Masha'Allah and Alhamdulillah. So I asked them: are you Muslims? They said we are Christians, but Arabic is our language. This is what the religious political party of Malaysia understood too, but the other secular parties do not understand this. So the framework is there and we all have to accept it.

The JAKIM model is difficult to copy in Pakistan. We don't have in Malaysia the divide that you have here between the Shi'as and the Sunnis. The Shi'a population doesn't even exist in Malaysia. So in terms of JAKIM, the institution is first of all bureaucratizing religious democracy, which I think in Pakistan you don't have, because here, the way I see it, the people, the State and the society are always intermixed between politics, secularism and religion. It is difficult to see whether your main English language newspapers support some particular religious leader or party.

Are you secular? Are you religious? It is very difficult to make that clear in Pakistan. But in Malaysia it is very clear. There is only one position and the JAKIM also goes to the faith. They say this is not according to Islam. I think you have to focus on the spiritual and faith essence of the religion, but it is very difficult, because of this specific situation in the country. You can come

to Malaysia and learn how our religious bureaucracy has managed to control extremism and terrorism.

JAKIM is difficult to copy in Pakistan. We don't have in Malaysia the divide that you have here between the Shi'as and the Sunnis.
Prof. Ruhanas Harun

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

You have to understand also that Islam is defined by the State and is controlled by the State in Malaysia. Secondly, the latest development in Malaysia is the ISA Bill. Now we have to concentrate on all the legal procedures under the new law.

Q & A Session and Comments

Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS)

Question

How can Malaysia declare itself as a secular democracy, when you have such a de-radicalization programme? Does it not limit the freedom of choice?

Question

I just wanted the technical details of how you can prevent someone from preaching a certain faith? You said we try to get to know other religions, getting to know other religions and being attracted to them - doesn't the line become very fuzzy?

Prof. Dr. M. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

The first thing you have to understand is the concept of accommodation. We gave a chance to the Indians and the Chinese to live in our country. Mostly they were controlling the economy, but we know in a model society we have to learn to live with others to know about the different religions and beliefs. I think this is one of the successful sectors to contribute towards accommodation and tolerance.

The second way is through education. We have been allocating a major chunk of our national budget to the education sector since our Independence. More than 30 percent of the budget is spent on education, just to uplift the social sector of the society, regardless of the ethnic or religious identity. But between 1969 and 2000, especially after the ethnic conflict of 1969, the Government is now focusing more on the under-privileged Malay Muslims. And after twenty-nine years, I am the product of that policy. We were sent to USA, UK and Australia for higher studies, and I came back to contribute to the society by becoming a lecturer.

We cannot impose our political beliefs on others. Under Article 42, the King is the protector of Islam. Under this interpretation, non-Muslims cannot preach their religion to Muslim people. We have had some incidents whereby Muslims converted to Christianity, but these are not more than an isolated case. The Government and civil society did not want to make it a big issue.

We have been allocating a major chunk of our national budget to the education sector since our independence. More than 30 percent of the budget is spent on education just to uplift the social sector of the society regardless of the ethnic or religious identity.

Dr. M.K. Abdullah

There is also a difference between those living in peninsular Malaysia and those living in Sabah and Sarawak in the Borneo Islands. The way we were brought up was different from Sabah and Sarawak, as they were more tolerant to religious diversity, because they have more non-Muslims, as compared to peninsular Malaysia. The majority of Malays are Muslims, but in Sabah and Sarawak the majority population is non-Muslim.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

I will sum up the answer to all the questions. As far as Malaysia is concerned, as we are talking about contradictions that you find in Malaysian society, you either live with it or you try and do something about it. So what do you do? You try to accommodate and try to harmonize the contradictions. For

my country, for me, I want peace and security. I cannot just talk in terms of practice and theory. Of course, you talked about democracy; but these are very theoretical aspects, and people don't want to listen to just theoretical talk.

The practical part of it is the mechanism, method and approaches that we try to use to harmonize the situation. You people have hundred and twenty percent democracy, but I am afraid of going shopping in Karachi. We may perhaps have 70 percent democracy but it is safe to go out.

About the specific question that non-Muslims are not allowed to propagate their religion, I think there is a difference. You can get to know other religions by various means. I can invite you to an open house which we do in Malaysia on Deepavali, Christmas or Eid. We invite each other to our homes, but with understanding. If I go for the Deepavali to an Indian house, I don't have to tell my Indian host not to cook pork, he/she knows already. If I invite my Indian friends to my house, he/she does not have to tell me not to cook beef. We understand each other.

You people have hundred and twenty percent democracy, but I am afraid of going shopping in Karachi. We may perhaps have 70 percent democracy but it is safe to go out.

Prof. Ruhana Harun

To the person, who asks whether Malaysia can be a model for Pakistan, the answer is both yes and no. Probably at the moment, no. Why? Because of Pakistan's specific situation, where you are about 95 percent Muslims. In Malaysia, Muslims are only about 60 percent.

In USA, they do have de-radicalization programmes. When 9/11 happened, they created the Patriot Act. They, the biggest democracy in the world, now have profiling of Muslims. So de-radicalization is just a mechanism. Democracy is the biggest framework. USA is a democracy, and they argue that to safeguard their democracy they must have the Patriot Act. But our de-radicalization programme is not to victimize anybody. We are trying to make them return to society. We don't want them to remain in prison for

ever, because it is costly. So it may take two years and we provide human development.



LECTURES/ ROUNDTABLE AT FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE UNIVERSITY, LAHORE

Dr. Saeed Shafqat, Professor & Director, CPPG, FC College University, Lahore



We have two speakers from Malaysia today. I will introduce them and then we will hear them for getting a better understanding of and learning from the Malaysian experience.

The question arises as to how countries like Malaysia are able to have a harmonious ethnic and religious relationship among different sections of society. It has a diverse population, including Malays, Chinese and people of other religious communities. There is inter-faith and inter-ethnic harmony in Malaysia. There is also linguistic tolerance in the society.

Malaysia has seen a very long insurgency from 1948 to 1962. It was a difficult period but it is now a stable State. Singapore was one of its provinces but broke away from Malaysia. It was a challenge as well. But the Malaysian people were able to overcome these challenges during nation building.

The question is: how did Malaysia make this transformation? Was it a function of a relatively small population or demography, as compared to Pakistan? Was it the vision and commitment of its political leadership? Was it possible without the leadership of Mahathir Muhammad?

Why are some countries able to have that kind of relationship and leadership, which gives not only stability, but also promotes a certain degree of democratization, which really helps in building harmonious relations?

The family and community are given greater importance, rather than individual liberty, individual responsibility, and individual freedom. Is there something that one can learn from Malaysia where community welfare and

participation has been promoted by curbing individual liberty? Is that the reason there is stability, democracy, economic growth and development? Should the State play a role in imposing religion? Should the State be neutral as we see in Malaysia? What should be the role of the State regarding religion, promoting democracy, facilitating development and harmony among different groups, so that they can live in peace and promote development?

Prof. Dr. M. Kamarulnizam Bin Abdullah

I will give you some background about the Malaysian political structure and society. There has been a high tolerance level among different religious and ethnic groups in Malaysia. We have accommodated all ethnic and religious groups in our society.



Our approach is integrative. At our Independence in 1957, different questions were asked. We have many ethnic groups. Forty-nine percent of our total population at that time was the Malay Muslims. Some conservative Muslim political forces wanted to make the country an Islamic State. This was a dilemma. But our founding leaders decided not to make the country an Islamic State, due to our multi-ethnic society. We reached an agreement with the British Government in this regard. During that time (1957-1958), the Muslims were in a minority. Therefore, we perceived the path of democracy and democratic government.

Tolerance was the key concept at that time. During this time, Malays and non-Malays, Muslims and non-Muslims, were not fully integrated in terms of understanding each other. The State pursued a policy to bring all the communities on one platform to integrate them. Education was chosen as an integrative mechanism for this purpose.

There has been high tolerance among different religious and ethnic groups in Malaysia. ... We restructured and re-engineered the system through tolerance and economic development programmes so that everybody, regardless of race and religion, could enjoy the fruits of progress.

Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

Therefore, we decided to have a policy on language but that did not materialize until 1967, and we continued to use English as the official language. We gave more time for the non-Malays to become the part of national society. This was the first phase of independence. But at the same time there were accommodative attitudes between Malays, non-Malays, Muslims and non-Muslims towards each other.

Our first Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, made a liberal approach that let the society understand each other. But his policy was a failure. We have to accept that in a very young society or State, the Government or the State has to play a leading role to build up and integrate the society. We need a strong leadership to do that, but Tunku Abdul Rahman used the western model of Government, which let the society choose the course.

The manifestation of the problem was the ethnic conflict of 1969. This happened due to the language policy. Some wanted Malay to be the official language but it was opposed by the non-Malays, because they wanted English to be the official language. The Malays were mostly farmers living in poverty, whereas the non-Malays controlled eighty percent of the economy, and this created an economic problem. We identified it in order to make the society stronger and more united. We restructured and re-engineered the system through tolerance and economic development programmes so that everybody, regardless of race and religion, could enjoy the fruits of progress.

The problem of that time was the Malays, who made up the majority of the under-privileged. Thus the State had to assist them rather than the non-Malays. The economic policy for twenty years (1970-1990) was seen to be biased in favour of Malays and Muslims. However, the implications of that policy were enormous. The Government focused on two major issues, the

economy and education. It spent more than thirty percent of its budget on the promotion of education for more than twenty years and I am one of the products of that policy. More opportunities were made available for the rural people.

Billions of dollars were spent on that particular programme of education. The Government provided millions of scholarships to the Malay Muslims and others to study overseas after completing their high school education. Malaysian students were the highest student population in USA and UK in the late 1970s and 80s. Another factor affecting the economy was the presence of the indigenous people, e.g. the Orang Asli. In the Borneo islands, this indigenous population is non-Muslim and these are the original people of Malaysia.

The 20-year programme helped in developing human skills and the economy. In the initial stage of our education system in 1970, we had to import Indonesian and Indian teachers and lecturers to teach in the Malaysian universities. After forty years, we are now exporting Malaysian lecturers to Indonesia and to other developing countries, especially Africa. That is one background of the Malaysian society. On the political side, we were less concerned about religion in the society.

First, I have to clarify that Malaysia is not an Islamic State. Malaysia is a Muslim-majority country. Muslim people constitute 60 percent of the population and the rest are Christians, Taoists, Hindus, and others. And there is a high level of tolerance in Malaysia.

We have Article 11 in our Constitution, stating that Islam is the official religion of the country but it does not mean that Malaysia is an Islamic country. Under Article 42 of the Constitution, the King is the protector of Islam. Article 11 also states that other religions can also be practised freely. But this must be read together with Article 42, whereby other religions cannot be preached in Malaysia.

Malaysia is not an Islamic State. Malaysia is a Muslim-majority country. ... When we have some kind of differences, we use dialogue to overcome issues.

Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

It is an offence to preach other religions or sects to the Sunni Muslim population. We can say that religion, especially Islam, is defined by the State. What constitutes Islam is defined by the State. Sometimes there is tension due to the expansion of Shi'aism in Malaysia, which is a conservative Sunni State. We don't allow other sects of Islam to flourish, except the Sunni sect. We have a federal system and there are nine States ruled by the King.

So the King is the symbol of Islam, the protector of Islam. We have a special department overseeing Islamic matters amongst Muslims but, what happens if there is any issue between Muslims and non-Muslims, relating to Islam? For example, if a Muslim and non-Muslim marry, what would be the religion of their children? This is a very sensitive issue in Malaysia. Furthermore, Islam has to be conceptualized as it is the identity of the Malays, who are Muslims and that is why on some issues Muslims are very defensive, for example, the use of the word "Allah" for God in the Bible.

For forty years, non-Muslims were not allowed to preach their religion. This issue came up when the Church of Malaysia decided to use the word Allah in the Bible, when translated into the Indonesian or Malay languages. For many Muslims, it was an encroachment on the Constitution. Why do they need to have a Bible in Malay if they are not allowed to convert the Malay Muslims to Christianity? Why should they not use the original English Bible? This is the main issue. The Church says that this practice has been done in the Borneo States of Sabah and Sarawak. But the counter-argument is that Sabah and Sarawak is a different case because the majority of the Sabah and Sarawak people are Christians, or those of other religions, not Islam.

So when Islam is defined by the State and Islam is the identity of the Malays, then the issue of religion becomes very sensitive. One cannot discuss the issue of Islam and religion openly, but it can be discussed behind closed

doors, as it is too sensitive to be discussed openly in a developing society. We have an accommodative attitude to each other. When we have any differences, we use dialogue to resolve issues.

Another feature of the Malaysian society and political system is its integration. In the initial stage after Independence, all the three major ethnic groups: Malays, Indians and Chinese, agreed that they would practise their own culture and religion. The majority reconciled with the culture of the other ethnic groups. In this way, the Malay Muslims allowed other cultures to expand. We allow Chinese and Indian schools to be set up under the national school system. During the first ten years of our Independence, when we looked at any sign board, there were four languages, i.e. Malay, English, Tamil and Chinese. This is accommodative, meaning that we accept other languages and cultures.

Subsequently, all the ethnic groups agreed that the medium of instruction and the mode of official communication should be the Malay language. We are going for integration to understand each other without giving up our own identity. We understand and respect each other. The Chinese know that the Malay Muslims cannot eat pork. When we go out together, we try to avoid going to places where pork or beer is served. We know the limitations of our cultures and religions. So this is how we moved on from the agricultural society to a more manufacturing society. Now we are moving towards the services society, i.e. that we are going towards high technology. There is a stable economic development because of the continuity of the policies. We have not introduced major political changes.

Since Independence, we have been ruled by the same coalition party, which is the contributing factor for continuity. Each Prime Minister had his own vision. Mahathir bin Mohammad ruled Malaysia for twenty-two years and developed the country and put it on the world map.

Our leaders practically contributed to the development of the country. This shows how the society and the State are working together to practise a dynamic, moderate Islam in Malaysia. Both play an important role. At the same time, the society also contributes to this role. We are not changing

into an Islamic theocratic State, but that does not mean that religion is not important to us. In our system, religion, politics and society can get along. Religion is not a barrier to development. Our children receive both secular and religious education.

We are not changing into an Islamic theocratic State, but that does not mean that religion is not important to us. In our system, religion, politics and society can get along.

Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

We have regular secular education in the morning and religious education in the afternoon. Islamic education is under the State jurisdiction. Our children are given a choice when they are entering higher studies. We now also have religious schools that integrate secular and Islamic subjects. This is one type of school; another one is an integration of the international Bachelors programmes with local programmes.

So our children have a choice in their education, since moderation and dynamism is a part and parcel of Islam, as enunciated by Mahathir and continued by the current Prime Minister, who is preaching the idea of a Global Movement of the Moderates(GMM). Earlier, our political parties were based on ethnic identity. Each ethnic group had its own political party, but now we are moving into a multi-ethnic and multi-national society, but the basic concepts accepted by the population still remain the same.

Now we have a two-party system: the Barisan National Party which is ruling the country since a long time; and the alternative coalition party led by Anwar Ibrahim, who advocates the idea of a multi-racial society. The idea of tolerance, power sharing and accommodation is already there among the ethnic groups throughout Malaysia. We had a population of 28 million in 2011, of which about 60 percent are Muslims, consisting of Malay Muslims, Indian Muslims and Chinese Muslims. The Malays are about 52 percent of the population.

The Malaysian people have high tolerance towards each other in every sector including power sharing.
Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

Prof. Dr. Saeed Shafqat, FC College, Lahore

Thank you for a very insightful presentation. I want to draw attention towards the following important points and then I will request Prof. Ruhanas Harun to speak.

- (i) Prof. Abdullah distinguishes between assimilation and integration and we need to understand that. We try to pursue assimilation or integration as Pakistanis, more in terms of accommodation and tolerance.
- (ii) I think it is very important to further discuss how Malaysia opted for investing in education and the economy.
- (iii) What role can the State play in religion, and what should be the role of religion? How much religion do you want and what kind of restrictions can you impose in not permitting the preaching of other sects/religions?

There is a restriction on the freedom of choice, freedom of liberty as we understand it, and that is something which we think the State does, e.g. the concern over the Shias' rights. Lastly, the factor of kingship. In the words of Imam Khomeini: "There is no such thing as monarchy in the world of Islam". That is why the Iranian revolution happened.

Prof. Ruhanas binti Harun

The topic of my talk is: "Religion and Politics in Malaysia: Harmonizing a Potentially Violent Encounter". My presentation conceptually revolves around the following arguments:

- Cohabitation is an expression between politics and

religion. In a country it is possible, provided that all parties respect the framework, aims and purpose of each other's existence in society.

- There is a potential for a violent encounter between politics and religion, which can be avoided through harmonizing them, which in Malaysia we try to do.
- Conditions for such cohabitation and harmonization in the success of this process may differ from one country to another. Pakistan is different from Malaysia, therefore, we should be aware of the country-specific issues and should not generalize and produce Fatwas (edicts) like our Ulema do.

In the case of Malaysia, where politics and religion have coexisted and will coexist in the future too, even though sometimes they interfere with one another. But we manage to avoid violent encounters that seem to plague your country, Pakistan.

Why is it? In Pakistan, violent encounters between the religion and State have become a set norm. They are country-specific and they help to maintain the balance. So when we talk about conditions, we think about: (1) the specific nature of Malaysia; (2) the position of Islam in the Constitution, State and society; and (3) the nature of politics in Malaysia, that shapes and conditions the framework.

What is the framework? We are a secular democracy, so that is our framework. With regard to terrorism, in Malaysia, we do have mechanisms to control excess of actions and reactions done in the name of religion; by people who kill and say that they did it for God. I don't agree that God wants us to go and kill people. But that should be understood by many more of us.

Our mechanism, which has helped us, includes the politics of accommodation. Malaysia is one of the few countries having this, as we are generous and accommodative. If one position in the cabinet goes to a

Chinese, another will go to an Indian, another will go to the natives, and the condition for this to succeed is that the 60% majority, the Malays, are willing to accommodate. If the Malays were not willing to accommodate, it would not be successful.

The British brought both the Chinese and the South Indians to Malaysia in the 18th and 19th centuries to become workers. This is quite different from Pakistan. I lived in Peshawar a long time ago. You have Pathans in that region; Balochs, Sindhis and others in other regions. But this is not the case in Malaysia. My neighbour may be Chinese, their neighbour may be Indian, and then there is the mosque, temple or church nearby.

Ours is a very integrated society and we try to keep this kind of society for our core values, because you can be liberal, open, and democratic for a nation. In nation-building we need core values. What are the core values in Pakistan? It is up to you to define them. In Malaysia, we try to develop the nation around our core values. The culture should be the foundation of the indigenous Malays and that is why we have Malay as our national language.

We want to achieve peace and security, and if there are obstacles to them, they may be sacrificed. One sacrifice is that we hear people saying that Malaysia is not a democracy; it is a semi-democracy, or authoritarian, or guided democracy. So be it. We accept that because our main aim is peace and security. In fact, we have a longstanding policy about security and development because they both go together.

Without security we cannot have development, and without development, we cannot have security. Although things are not so simple, but this is the essence of the concept of the politics of accommodation. We see Malaysia as a country full of many contradictions, but we manage to harmonize these differences to avoid conflicts. We have many policies that harmonize our conflicts. One important policy that touches both religion and politics is supporting the development of Islam or the enhancement of Islam in people's daily life.

In the 1980s, Dr. Mahathir started a policy called Islamization in Malaysia,

but it was different from the way President Gen. Zia-ul-Haq proposed it in Pakistan. We have Islamic banking, Islamic University and others. And part of this Islamization is the rise of the Dawah movement, which has resulted in Malaysian men and women becoming more religious. I also go to the religious centre. Women in Pakistan do not wear our type of dress, so we think Pakistan is more liberal than Malaysia.

The Malaysian Sunnis, who support the Islamization, are very strict, and they impose strict covering for women. There appears to be a contradiction between Islamization and harmonization, as besides that policy, we have a very religious party. The Pan-Malaysian Islamic party at one time ruled four of our States. I come from the State ruled by this party. We were asked: do you think having an Islamic government or party clashes with democracy or not? I think it should not. The Islamic party of Malaysia says even non-Muslims can join it. But the ruling party in Government, which is a secular conservative Malay political party, says no.

I would now like to focus on the rise of religious extremism in Malaysia. Of course, we also have external factors that influence the rise of Islamic extremism, for example the Iranian revolution, and the Dawah movement that started in the UK. On the other hand, it is also the growing conservatism among the Malay Muslim population, starting in the 1960s and 1970s.

Without security you cannot have development, without development you cannot have security and we still believe in this today.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

There are two aspects in dealing with extremism: engagement/dialogue and the use of force. Engagement is done through legislation. We have a law called the Internal Security Act (ISA) which was introduced in the 1960s, to combat the Communist terrorists. Although they were defeated, but still the law was left intact until last year. It was replaced with another law, which is supposed to be more liberal but we don't know to what extent the ISA is liberal.

We are all terrified of ISA because the police can knock at your door at 2:30 a.m. and drag you out. The ISA is detention without trial. Today we have such laws to control what we call “deviation teachings” (extremism). As Professor Abdullah said, in Malaysia Islam is defined by the State.

So Shi'as today are called 'deviationists'. We are not allowed to practise Shia'ism in Malaysia. We can choose only the Ahle-Sunnat-Wal-Jamaat (ASW). I believe God is God. We have also engaged Government agencies and NGOs to help prevent extremism and those who are caught are sent to the detention centres.

One Government agency caught such people and started their de-radicalization. A very important Government agency, which deals with de-radicalization, is JAKIM, which is the Malay abbreviation for the Islamic Development Department of Malaysia, operating under the Prime Minister. JAKIM provides the spiritual aspect to the detainees, trying to rectify the wrong propaganda about the faith.

The second de-radicalization programme is the Human Development Programme (HDP), so we also have that to train the detainees. Why? Because the Government doesn't believe that it should keep the detainees for a long time. We quickly rehabilitate them and provide them the social skills training. They go out to the detainee centre; where they will learn some skills, in order to be accepted into society again. You can also do it if you have a small population of detainees in Pakistan.

Finally, I would conclude by saying that all these are part of our process of harmonizing the nation and to stabilize the tension.

Q & A Session and Comments

Forman Christian College University, Lahore

Prof. Dr. Saeed Shafqat, FCC University, Lahore

Let me raise two questions. Anwar Ibrahim was a rebel but Professor Abdullah said he wanted a multi-ethnic and multi-national party, so the question is: Why did Anwar Ibrahim fail, and why does he continue to

persist? It seems that a continued popular support is available to him.

Secondly, understanding the role of the State in dealing with religion, you have categorically pointed out that there is a law which discourages preaching by other sects, and only a certain type of Islam must be promoted. My question is: how much has it to do with the kind of religious education that is imparted in terms of secularism or religion?

If you are secular, but you are equally potent in forcing one form of religion, is there some degree of difference? What type of curriculum do you have for religious education? Do you control the Friday Khutbas (sermons)? In Pakistan, we created the Auqaf Department, but then the State lost either its vision or its ability to counter extremism. How can one think in terms of engaging with Islamic militancy?

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

Apart from my religious education, I was a friend of Anwar Ibrahim when I was young. As a student in the 1980s, I was very excited when he joined the Government. I think he can apply idealism, but politics can change people. If you follow Anwar's politics, he talks about liberalism, transparency, and a multi-national society. But the younger generation does not know about Anwar Ibrahim's past, and he is able to convince the youth on his old idealism because he used to oppose Mahathir on the idea of nepotism.

He talked about having a Malaysia moving towards a multi-ethnic and multi-national society. I think he is just playing political games to convince the younger generation. The new generation first doesn't understand easily the situation in our country, how we have survived so far; the accommodation, integration, tolerance and all our basic values. For them, Malaysia is just a developed and rich country. They have no idea how we have come to this stage.

This is a very interesting development in the Malaysian political system. As a result of an anonymous political force, the ruling party now has become more open, more democratic and more transparent, which is a good thing.

Anwar Ibrahim is another political element. We don't choose our politics. The ruling party tries to protect the interests of its politicians. Also, we cannot rely on the opposition because there is a contradiction between their promises and realities, as they could not deliver either.

Going back to the idea of peace and security, what do we really want? Democracy, or peace and security? So democracy is part of the way to achieve it. That's why we have different definitions of democracy in Pakistan and Malaysia.

For the past 50 years, we have been trying to maintain our inter-religious and inter-ethnic relations, but the process is still going on. Another challenge is to maintain intra-religious relations, but we have still a long way to go. Our State Governments, not the Federal Government, control all Islamic matters. On Islamic education, they produce the entire curriculum.

This is the separation between our religious education and secular education. Secular education is provided by the Federal Government, but it doesn't mean that the secular curriculum does not provide religious education. The subjects they offer in the secular schooling system, is three hours per week of religious education, but only for the Muslim students.

As parents, we don't feel that only religious education is enough for our children, therefore we send our children to the secular institutions run by the federal Government also. In this way, our children get exposure to both the secular and religious teachings. We also have a madrassa system, but our madrassas - although independently run - are still controlled by the State.

All our madrassas have to be registered with the Government, since 'Mahathir bin Muhammad's rule. He wanted to control the extremist views. Some in the madrassa system were identified as the breeding ground for extremist religious activities in Malaysia in the 1980s. Even the Friday Khutba (sermon) was controlled by the State. This is how the State controls the extremist views of religion in Malaysia.

However, in Malaysia there are religious debates among scholars, and even Fatwas are given, but it is done in a very civilized manner. In Malaysian society, whenever there is a sensitive issue that touches upon religion, we prefer not to discuss it openly. We discuss it behind the scenes. This is how we harmonize our relationships. Malaysia is undergoing a faster process of democratization. Pakistanis need to know that Malaysia and Turkey are Islamic States with a democratic system, and a high level of tolerance.

Even the Friday Khutba (sermon) was controlled by the State. ... This is how the State controls the extremist views of religion in Malaysia.
Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

The Christians used the word “Allah” in the translated Bible. It was also used by a Christian newspaper. But recently, the court ruled that the Christians cannot use it. The judges were of the opinion that the word “Allah” is Islamic, and it is not really essential to the Christian faith. Why do they want to create trouble by insisting on the use of the word? Other words like “God” can be used. I have my Christian students and all the time they use words like Alhamdulillah, MashaAllah and they are Christian. When I asked them about this they said that they were Arabic-speaking and it was ok for them. But in Malaysia, religion has been identified with race (e.g. the Chinese Christians), so this has now become a question of identity.

But of course, theoretically I agree with Prof. Abdullah. This is a new kind of suppression. If they want to use the word “Allah” let them do so. This is where accommodation and tolerance is needed from both sides.

Question

When you teach Islam in the madrassas, is there an emphasis on memorizing the Quran? Or reading in Arabic only, or do you translate it into the Malaysian language?

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

Well, I am a product of a madrassa. We were instructed to offer our five times prayers every day, with do's and don'ts. There was nothing political about it. We should try to understand the Quran and not just read it without knowing its meaning. Therefore, the Quran has been translated into our language.

Well, I am a product of Madrassa. We were told to offer five times prayers every day, with do's and don'ts. There was nothing political about it. We should try to understand the Quran and not just read it without knowing its meaning.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

Question

One of the major reasons of religious harmony in Malaysia is the less complex demography. In Pakistan, there is a complex system of demography in the social context. So, what can we learn from Malaysia in that context?

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

When we talk about demography or population, it is complicated in Malaysia because we have many ethnic groups. Therefore, it is more complex, but I think Malaysia has managed it quite well.

There is no control over the social media. At one time the Government decided to control it. Even the internet content and the satellite television content, they wanted to delay. Finally I think they could not do it because it was too costly.

Prof. Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

Re. the question about social media, there is no control over the social media in Malaysia. At one time the Government decided to control it. They

even wanted to delay the internet and the satellite television content. Finally, they could not do it because it was too costly.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

Actually when Dr. Mahathir came to power in 1981, he focused on the development of the country. He promoted relations with the Islamic countries and it was one of his top priorities. He knew that Muslim countries have huge resources, e.g. Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, etc. However, the Arabs put their money in Zurich, Paris, New York and London, but not in Kuala Lumpur or Islamabad or Lahore.



LECTURES AT UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR (UoP)

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Rasool Jan, Vice-Chancellor Peshawar University



The topic “Democracy, State and Religion” is very important. We often say that the western world is really democratic but I don't think so. I said this during my visit to the US State Department. They asked me how could they improve the image of the United States in our area? I told them that they were in our area to convert the majority into a minority and still demanded affection. They are killing people whom they call Taliban and I call them Pashtuns, and still they ask us to befriend them.

Islam in the Indian subcontinent is very old and it was the Pashtuns who introduced Islam to the subcontinent. There was no war during the Independence movement. You would know that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan sheltered some of the British. Who injected this idea? It was not in our traditional madrassas, it was somewhere else. We had a Government in Afghanistan but even before that, this area was the focus of Great Games before the Cold War and after the incident of 9/11.

The majority Government was overthrown in Afghanistan, that led to the civil war, and that led to problems which this region in particular is still facing. So democracy was never respected in our region and the kind of religious thoughts were inculcated in the minds of the people, were playing their own games.

The Pashtuns had been traditionally very tolerant and hospitable people. It was rightly pointed out by our respected guests that no imported solutions could work here. Swat was once full of foreign visitors. We have to sit together, analyze the situation and it is up to us to find solutions to the problems which we are facing. A wrong message is going out that our religion preaches violence; but it is not the religion. The religious community totally agrees that it is not the situation which they would support and they openly declared that suicide attacks are totally un-Islamic.

We respect democratic rights. In Malaysia the use of the term “Allah” is restricted only to the Muslims, and no Christians are allowed to use this name but we have never objected to the use of the word Allah by anyone in Pakistan.

Q & A Session and Comments

University of Peshawar (UoP)

Question

My name is Ikram Marwat from the Department of International Relations. As you said, in Malaysia there is secular democracy and in recent days, the Malaysian Government banned the controversial book of Malala Yousufzai. What kind of message does this show to the international community?

Prof. Ruhana Harun

There are several views about it. In Malaysia the Pakistani situation, which produced Malala, does not exist. When we follow up on an issue, we go along with the international community. Malala spearheaded a cause that is very good in the international community for democracy. She opposed the extremists in the society. In Malaysia, there is no strong view about it because we don't think about it. Malaysia is very liberal, yes we are an Islamic nation, but we are not an Islamic State.

As regards, whether to accept or not to accept the banning of the book, there are several ethnic groups in Malaysia, and at the moment there is a very strong conservative Malay Muslim element. In Malaysia, because of the balance of ethnicity and religion, there are certain sensitive issues which we should not raise. Therefore, there is no need of raising an issue if it is going to create disharmony. We have a liberal women's group that adopts international norms or standards of democracy; and they of course, support Malala. The Government must put itself in a position to balance all these elements; otherwise Malaysia would crumble as a nation next week or day after tomorrow.

Malaysia is very liberal, yes we are an Islamic nation, but we are not an Islamic State. Prof. Ruhanas Harun

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

We have some Constitutional provisions on the role of Islam in Malaysia. Islam is the official religion, but at the same time Malaysia is full of contradictions. It is a multi-racial and multi-ethnic society. At the extreme end we don't want to discuss sensitive issues of religion and ethnicity. The complexity of the societal structure of Malaysia has kept us to certain limitations. For example, on the Malala issue, we want to have freedom of expression, but, given the society that we have, and the sensitivity of religion, there are limits to talk about it. We can talk about other things, but not about something that is beyond the understanding of common people regarding their religion.



In Malaysia, Islam is defined by the State. We have 14 States in Malaysia and 9 of them are ruled by the Constitutional monarchy or Sultan. The Sultan is the symbol of Protector of Islam. This is coming back to identity, as for Malays, the identity is based on religion and this is the forte we have. The Malay Muslims are conservative Sunni Muslims. Nowadays, due to globalization and rising freedom of expression, we also have to adopt intra-religious understanding. The understanding between Shi'as and Sunnis is quite new in the Malaysian context, especially among the Malay Muslims. We had never before heard about spreading of Shi'aism in Malaysia. But due to the conservatism of the Sunni Muslims, we cannot afford to allow sectarianism.

Question

I am Amina Jamshed from the Department of Regional Studies. My question is: what kind of image exists in Malaysia about Pakistan and the Pashtuns?

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

I think at the moment, it is quite negative. When we think about Pakistan today, we think first of all about the Taliban and militancy, which is a pity, because it was not like that when I was here before. I even went to Swat in 1990 and now I have to think three times before going there. This is the kind of image that politics has imposed. However, on the personal level, I think the image of Pakistan is very good as a brother Muslim country.

More important than the image is the hope I have for Pakistan's future. Thirty years ago, when I started teaching and came to Pakistan, my hope was that Pakistan could be the one of the most powerful, influential Muslim countries. But after thirty years, you are in a pretty bad condition.

When you think about Pakistan today, you think first of all about Taliban and militancy which is a pity because it was not like that when I was here before. I even went to Swat in 1990 and now I have to think three times.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

Question

My name is Syed Suhaib Abdullah and I am teaching at the Department of History. I have three questions. First, you mentioned the Constitutional Article 153, regarding the special status of the Malay Muslims. How can it be possible for the other ethnic groups to accept these kinds of Articles? Secondly, is there any quota system in your ruling alliance for the minority ethnic groups? Thirdly, is there any role of a good leadership in creating such harmony in your society?

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

Historically, there was a contract before we gained Independence. The question arose in 1950 about whether or not we should give citizenship to the non-Malays as they were migrants, who did not want to go back to their homeland. They wanted to stay permanently in Malaya, but they wanted

some guarantees for their rights. There was some objection from the Malays, although they were a minority during that time. They wanted to have a Malay Muslim State in the country, but the condition set by the British was that if we wanted to get Independence then we must learn to live with the other ethnic groups.

This was the first process of learning about and respecting other cultures. An agreement was made among the three ethnic groups, i.e. the Malays, Chinese and Indians. The Malays agreed to become part of Malaysia as citizens, but at the same time reciprocation was demanded. The Malays also guaranteed their respect for all religions, cultures and languages, which would be maintained in the newly independent country.

We were also blessed with good leadership. During the early period we had liberal leaders who tried to integrate the society based on mutual understanding. But later, we realized that to accelerate integration we needed a new mechanism. That's why we have the new economic policy and an educational programme for all ethnic groups.

We believe in democracy in terms of economic policy opportunity and this is how we pursued it so far. Democracy is not only about political rights that have been propagated by the western countries.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun



I will add to what Professor Abdullah has said, specifically about whether the Constitutional provisions favouring the Malay ethnic group over the others are acceptable. Yes they are accepted, because when the Constitution was formulated in 1957, it was done with the help of legal experts from Britain, Pakistan, India, and Sri Lanka, and with the agreement of the major political parties in Malaysia. At the same time we all talked about the need for harmonizing and tolerance.

In some countries you might have a quota for the military and the provinces, but we have an open constituency and those who are eligible to vote at age

twenty. Our cabinet can have Malays, Indians, and Chinese, but the core cabinet is the main party because the Malays are in the majority. But this happens after someone wins through the elections and not before that.

Question

I am Maryam Hayat from the Department of International Relations. I would like to ask Professor Ruhanas, please tell us the names of the extremist religious groups during the 1980s and also what they did.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

In the 1980s there were groups like Al-Arqam, a well-known group. In the beginning they were not militants. They were a self-sufficient community. However, over the years, they started resorting to militancy and tried to overthrow the Government by force. The Government tried to arrest their leader but he fled to Thailand. With the help of the Thailand Government he was brought back and rehabilitated.

Another group was the KMM, which flourished in the 1980s and 90s. The leaders of this group were the people who went to Afghanistan to fight alongside the Mujahideen. In the 1990s, they came back to Malaysia and formed their group called the KMM. Now they are inert. The last one is called Armaona. In 2000, they entered illegally into an army camp, stole their weapons and proclaimed that they wanted to overthrow the government. But now, this group is not found any more.

Question

My name is Junaid Khan and my question is: what is the status of the State in Malaysia?

Question

My name is Javaid Ullah from the Department of International Relations. My first question is: what is the reason behind the successful ethnic

understanding, despite the fact that the population is not all Muslim? How can ethnic understanding be freed from external interventions? If there is any foreign intervention in any country's domestic politics, how will the ethnic understanding grow?

Question

My name is Attaullah Shinwari and I am from the Department of International Relations. My question is: what is important to you: adopting secular values or adopting religion, to help flourish the society and the State?

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

In Malaysia we didn't reject religion and it has been protected in our Constitution. We try to manage how we define our religion in everyday life. Religion is guidance but in a multi-racial society we cannot impose our own values on others. That's why we cannot impose Islam as the guiding force in Malaysian society. Is it secular to some extent? Yes. But on the other hand, in our everyday life, we value religion, especially in our Islamic education. The State authorities control all Islamic educational interpretations and definitions. We do have religious schools and madrassas, which are also controlled by the State. There are independent schools but they must register with the State. That is how we manage religion in our country.

Religion is guidance but in a multi-racial society we cannot impose our own values on others. That's why we cannot impose Islam as the guiding force in Malaysian society.

Prof. Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

Malaysia is a secular democracy and a Muslim country. It is not an Islamic State. It is very important for a country to avoid external interventions, especially the dependency on the external powers. Malaysia was never dependent on any one external power, except for the first few years after its

independence, and we have always maintained a neutral foreign policy; therefore, we don't want other countries, especially the major powers, to interfere in Malaysia.

Malaysia is a secular democracy and a Muslim country. It is not an Islamic State. It is very important for a country to avoid external interventions, especially the dependency on the external powers.

Prof. Ruhanas Binti Harun

Question

My name is Muhammad Yasin from the Department of International Relations and my question is: Pakistan came into existence because of the ideology of Islam and ninety seven percent of the population is Muslim [***Ed: the correct figure is estimated at between 90-95%***], so how can we implement such kind of secular democracy in Pakistan? And what is your suggestion, should we follow soft or weak Islam?

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

As I said just now, Malaysia is unique in its problems and its solutions. Can Malaysia be a model for Pakistan, Afghanistan or Lebanon? Yes and No. Yes, in terms of the spirit that we promote tolerance and accommodation. No, as those specific mechanisms that Malaysia produced, cannot be applied to Lebanon, which has a Christian President. In Malaysia we cannot have a Chinese as the King because we have the Malay Kings there for the last 1500 years. But the spirit of tolerance is much easier to implement in Pakistan because you are mostly Muslims and you have common values. However, we have to work hard as we have different religions in our country.

Question

I am Mudassir Riaz from the Department of International Relations and my question is: whether the Malaysian Government regulates the content of religious institutions?

Question

My name is Irshad Hussain from the Department of International Relations and my question is: whether religion or the economic policies and opportunities are the unifying factor in Malaysia?

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

Yes the State regulates the academic curriculum of religious institutions, because it is under the constitution and Islam is defined by the State.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

In Malaysia, Islam is both a unifying and a dividing factor. There was one policy introduced by Dr. Mahatir in the 1980s called Islamization. His thoughts about Islamization were to inject the good Islamic values into the Government administration and society. Some of these Islamic values were honesty, efficiency, tolerance and punctuality. But at the same time, if one political party says that Islam must be imposed and the other insists on official Hindu religion, then it becomes divisive. But we manage to avoid it by enforcing one of the policies, which celebrates all holy days of all our religions. We have two public holidays for Eid-ul-Fitr, one public holiday for Eid-ul-Adha, two days for the Chinese New Year, one day for Diwali, one day for Christmas, one day for the New Year, and in that sense it unites us.

Question

My name is Ikram Marwat and I am from the Department of International Relations. You said that Malaysia is a secular state so does it mean we should call Malaysia a non-Muslim state with a majority of Muslims? If tomorrow non-Muslims come into a majority, will you allow non-Muslims' activities in your Constitution or in your State?

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

I think you have a different understanding of the meaning of the term

“secular”. In the United Kingdom or France, they say that they are secular, which means that you cannot have the symbols of religion. When I go to France, I have to remove my headscarf because it goes against the principles of secularism in France. But when I talk about secular democracy, I am talking about the political system, meaning that we have the freedom of religion, of expression and other values attached to it. The secular democracy is not defined by the Bible, Torah or the Quran.

When I talk about secular democracy, I am talking about the political system, meaning that we have the freedom of religion, of expression and other values attached to it. The secular democracy is not defined by the Bible, Torah or the Quran.

Prof. Ruhana Harun

As far as Malaysia is concerned, non-Muslims are already in power and we share power together. We have a very important principle in our democracy and that is political power sharing. It does not say in our Constitution that the Prime Minister must be Malay or a Muslim. However this is conventional wisdom when we have Muslims as the majority of the population and when we have the State institution, the King, so it is very difficult for a Hindu or a Chinese to become the Prime Minister.



Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

For dealing with extremism and militancy, so far Malaysia has adopted a model to win their hearts and minds through education, negotiations and by propagating modest views. Malaysia is now one of the countries that propagate the Global Movement of the Moderates (GMM). But regarding the role of the OIC, it has its own functions in terms of propagating the investment of Muslim countries. When we talk about politics and religion, the OIC has done very little and it should be led by some leading Muslim countries like Pakistan, Indonesia, Turkey and Malaysia. That can build up the modern ideas of Islam that not only talk but prove that we are Muslims and we are developed countries at the same time.

LECTURES AT FATIMA JINNAH WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY, RAWALPINDI (FJWU)

Q & A Session and Comments

Fatima Jinnah Women's University, Rawalpindi (FJWU)

Question

I am Sadia from the Economics Department. Why would you show Islam as a confrontational religion? Why do you need to fight other religions by showing a kind of religious standardization? You said that Islam and politics co-exist in Malaysia but at the international level they consider Islam and politics should not co-exist in an Islamic state. Do you think one should use the ISA law for handling one's personal conflicts?

Prof. Ruhanas Harun



Malaysia is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. There is no confrontation between Muslims and non-Muslims. In Malaysia, the religion is defined by the State and the Muslims are Ahle-Sunnat-Wal-Jamaat (ASW), and we cannot be anything else. Shi'aism is not allowed to be practised or preached.

In the West, they say that religion and politics must be separated. But many Muslims believe that it is difficult to achieve that. At least it is difficult in Malaysia to separate religion and politics. That is why we need this co-existence and we must find ways and means. I have been ruled by the Islamic party almost half of my life.

ISA was repealed finally last year. We introduced a new law, but we cannot use the ISA for our personal gains. There may be abuse by the political power or by the Government, as they can declare anyone a threat to national security, and therefore the police will come to your house at 3 in the morning, knock at your door and say that you are a threat to the national

security, and will take you away. This law has been rarely used in Malaysia.

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

The ISA could be challenged in the courts, especially in the matters of illegal detention. It is not an issue that it is a kind of political tool used by the Government to detain politicians, especially those from the opposition. There is a mechanism of checks and balances. There is also a mechanism whereby the Internal Affairs Ministry can detain a person up to 60 days. The mechanism of checks and balances starts after sixty days of detention.



You asked about the standardization of Islam. In the Malaysian context, it is a kind of norm, unique in our context. We cannot apply it to other Muslim countries. Can standardization of religion be applied in Pakistan? I don't think so. The fact is that Pakistan has around 95 percent of Muslim population and your political system is not based on ethnic identity, whereas in Malaysia, 60 percent of our population is Muslim and 40 percent are non-Muslims. And even then religious matters are closely identified with the ethnic identity. It is a political matter. So that's why in the Malaysian context we need to standardize Islam, so that the Muslims are united in comparison to their relations with the non-Muslims and also the non-Malay community.

I just want to know how different the secular democracy of Malaysia is from the secular democracy of India. Do you draw any parallel inferences from these two countries?

Question

My question is to Dr. Ruhana: you mentioned the secular democracy in Malaysia, which is a very interesting notion. I just want to know how different the secular democracy of Malaysia is from the secular democracy of India. Do you draw any parallel inferences from these two countries?

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

There are different names given to Malaysia. Some say we are really democratic, others say we are an authoritarian country, or we are a semi-democracy, and then some people want to say that Malaysia is an Islamic state. So I tried to find a proper name for Malaysia, which will reflect the domestic content. Therefore, I say that it is a secular democracy and a Muslim majority country. That will encompass all the vulnerabilities and all the good things that we have.

What is secular? Secular is understood as a separation of religion and the State but when you look at the attributes of democracy, you have political pluralism. We have twenty political parties that participate in the elections. Democracy says that when you choose to elect a leader it must be in a democratic context, meaning that you cannot have a military coup to replace a political leader. We have periodical change, meaning that the Prime Minister should not stay in power for 50 years by keeping on winning the elections.

To differentiate democracy from Communism or authoritarianism, we talk in terms of another principle, which is mobilization; meaning that in a democratic society we have civil society and NGOs, and these NGOs and civil society members work for the people. They do not support the Government. So we have all that in Malaysia. Therefore I can call myself a democracy and we follow secular laws.

Question

You argue that you have liberal democracy in your country. At the same time you have a King or monarch who is a Muslim. You said that you have forty percent of non-Muslim population, so what about their representation? Can they become the King? How can you say that you are a liberal democracy when you have a King and what is the procedure of choosing that King?

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

Yes we can call ourselves a liberal democracy. Britain is a liberal democracy; but it has Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth on the throne for the last 60 years, and similarly also Sweden, Norway, etc. We get the term from liberal democracy because of certain elements that define democracy and the King has nothing to do with the system. The Malays are the original people of the country, who happen to be Muslims. The dynasty has been there for the last fifteen hundred years. And we have Indians and Chinese as well. They are recent immigrants as they came to Malaysia during the British times. Of course, they cannot become the King because monarchy is hereditary. The Constitution does not forbid the Chinese or Indians to be the Prime Minister.

Question

You don't allow Shi'as to practise their teachings. Is it not contradictory to the Malaysian principle of religious freedom?

**Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah**

We don't have a large number of Shi'as. Ten years ago we did some research and it reflected that there were about a thousand Shi'as who came here to Malaysia. However the Government has now given new data, showing that the number has increased. The reason why the Government prohibits the

practice of Shi'aism is to avoid the problems that the countries like Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, etc. are facing.

Although we said that Islam is defined by the State but it is very much defined according to the understanding of the Sunni sect: ASW. You have to understand the societal and cultural context of the Malaysian society. If we allow divergent views of Islam, we will get a lot of contradictions within the Malay-Muslim society. The focus of the country is to have a peaceful relationship with non-Muslims.

Furthermore, in Malaysia, Islam is closely related with our ethnic identity, so we say that Muslims are Malays and Malays are Muslims under the Constitution. In Article 53 of the Constitution, there is a definition of Malays. When you are Malay, you must profess Islam and you must adopt the Malay culture and language. For some countries this is contradictory to liberal democracy, freedom of religion and freedom of expression, but in Malaysia when we define freedom there are limitations because of the societal structure of the country. We cannot adopt the full liberal democracy defined by the West.

Democracy is not only about political rights but it is also about development and equal economic distribution.

Prof. Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

Monarchy is not only the uniqueness of Malaysia, but is also the uniqueness of other constitutional monarchs all over the world. Democracy can be expressed in many ways. Pakistan can have a different uniqueness of democracy, which is not similar to the Malaysian model. Democracy is not only about political rights but it is also about development and equal economic distribution. After the bloody ethnic conflict in 1969 we had to embark on a new economic policy to restructure the society. One of the manifestations of our new economic policy is in terms of educational development.

After 1970, the Government allocated 30 percent of the budget to education. The Malays in the rural areas were given opportunities to pursue

their studies overseas. In the 1970s and 80s Malaysian students overseas were Malays and I was one of the successful stories of the new economic policy.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

I just want to ask all of you students a question: What would you prefer, a country with a label of democracy, but where most of the people go hungry and where you have no security, because you are so democratic that you can kill anyone you want and explode bombs anywhere you like? And is it your political right to do this? Do you want to have that, or do you want to have a democracy where you have laws, rules and regulations, and security assured, but where you are subjected to certain rules and regulations? I think I would prefer to be secure, and where I can go out without fearing that someone is going to throw bombs into my car because I am democratic and I have the right to do this.

Question

I am Sana Bashir from the Behavioural Sciences Department. My question is: can you give us some guidelines in our context, as to how we can gain that understanding and tolerance among various ethnicities that you have, and what do you think does it take a nation to reach that level of maturity?

Prof. Ruhanas Haroon

The structure was imposed upon us so we had no choice. To make it a success you need political will, therefore, you need a leadership willing to make that a success. Malaysia was very fortunate that our first two Prime Ministers were men of selfless deeds. The first PM came from a royal family. His father was one of the Kings of the State. Therefore, grabbing opportunities and money for himself was not at all important. He was a lawyer and educated in Cambridge, UK, so he had already all these liberal ideas, but he came back to Malaysia. He was of the opinion that since Malaysia inherited the multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-religious society, there was a need to have liberal views and not to impose one's values on others.

You need that kind of a leader. We call our second Prime Minister the father of rural development because he tried to improve the life of rural people and established the “land for the landless and job for the jobless” principle. Now those landless people are working on their own lands. Can you do this in Sindh? For example, take some land and distribute it among the people. I think God has been kind to Malaysia.

We call our second Prime Minister the father of rural development because he tried to improve the life of rural people and established the “land for the landless and job for the jobless” principle.
Prof. Ruhanas Harun

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

We are also blessed with stability and continuity. We have been administered by the same political party in Government since Independence but with different Prime Ministers. So far, we have had six Prime Ministers since 1957, and we have regular elections. They turned out to be a kind of continuity in terms of policy implementation. I doubt we could achieve this if we had different political parties ruling Malaysia. Secondly, we try to accept our differences. We never impose our own values on the non-Malays and non-Muslims.

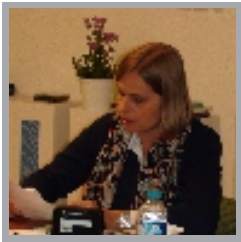
We try to accept our differences. We never impose our own values on the non-Malays and non-Muslims.
Prof. Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah



ROUNDTABLE AT HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG, ISLAMABAD (HBS)

The Heinrich Böll Stiftung Pakistan, in collaboration with the Centre for Research and Security Studies, hosted a roundtable at their Islamabad office in connection with the dialogue forum event “State, Religion and Democracy – A Malaysian Perspective”. The speakers from Malaysia shared their views on the topic with members of civil society, human rights activists, development professionals, academia, retired diplomats and defence personnel, and the media, present on the occasion.

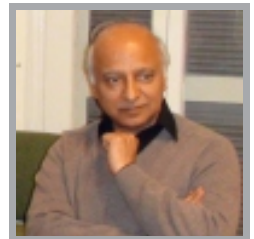
Ms. Britta Petersen, Country Director, HBS



With the cooperation of CRSS, we are jointly organizing a series of seminars on "State, Religion, and Democracy - A Malaysian Perspective." We have two eminent scholars visiting from Malaysia, namely Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam bin Abdullah and Prof. Ruhanas Binti Harun. Mr. Imtiaz Gul, the Chief Executive of CRSS, will say a few words before I invite Professor Kamarulnizam Abdullah to share his views with the audience.

Mr. Imtiaz Gul, Executive Director, CRSS

Thank you very much. This gathering is part of a small initiative that we started off with the collaboration of HBS. The idea was to convey to the people, particularly to our future leaders, the university students, as to how the segregation between religion and politics is being practised in Turkey, Indonesia, and Malaysia.



The first round involved scholars from Turkey; intellectuals from Indonesia were invited in the second round, whereas in this, the third round, scholars from Malaysia are here to enlighten us. Despite the hardships, we will keep on pursuing this path. Now, I give the podium to Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah.

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah



Thank you very much. I am glad to be here in Pakistan for the second time. This provides me an opportunity to understand Pakistani society more. My initial perception that I had earlier regarding Pakistan, was of a very conservative Muslim society. This time, I have observed a vibrant democracy in Pakistan, but at the same time, it seems very unstable.

However, the misconceptions are still there, which we may have corrected through our interactions with students, academia, etc. Pakistanis are more liberal in terms of understanding and interpretation of Islam, as compared to Malaysia, where now even the word "Allah" is explicitly associated with Islam and Muslims. It is a kind of big question mark now.

We are professing democracy but, at the same time, there are some limitations to our religious freedom. You will find ninety-five percent of Malaysian female students covering their heads with a scarf if you visit a Malaysian university. Wearing the hijab is not an issue at all, as you can also find some female students without it.

When you talk to Malaysian Muslim students you will find them very defensive and protective about Islam. Their understanding of Islam is very much a kind of theoretical textbook understanding. But the Government tries to portray Islam in Malaysia as a dynamic and progressive religion. It is a kind of contradiction and is very interesting for us as academics, because it is full of inconsistencies.

Malaysia will choose to promote the idea of a liberal and progressive Islam on the one hand but, on the other hand, the society and even some political leaders do not want to become liberal Muslims in terms of its interpretation, so they try to maintain a conservative interpretation of Islam.

So, how do we find democracy in the Malaysian context, given the background of the role of politics and religion in the country? We have been practising democracy since our Independence but the type of democracy

we practise has to be contextualized and conceptualized under the process of accommodation and integration that our society is undertaking. Malaysia is a multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. Our society is based on religion and race, meaning that, under the Constitution, if you are Malays, who are the majority indigenous population, you are recognized as Muslims and you profess Islam.

When you talk to Malaysian students you will find their understanding of Islam is very much a kind of theoretical textbook understanding.

Prof. Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

Other than that, you are considered non-Malays or “non-son-of-the-soil” and this is very important. In the era of the booming industrialization of Europe, during the colonial time, the British brought the Chinese and Indians to work in Malaysia. The initial policy was to have a migrant economy in the British Malay colony. But the problem with the British policy of that time was that they separated the three ethnic groups that were identified on the basis of their professions. The Chinese were involved in peasantry, whereas the Indians were associated with plantations and the Malays were fishermen.

These separate ethnic groups, with diverse religious identities, were neither eager to integrate into one society, nor was it ever the intention of the British Government to encourage integration. But, after our Independence, our first real challenge was integration.

Fortunately, the newly elected Government did not implement the policy of assimilation, which had been done by Indonesia. Malaysia, on the other hand, adopted the policy of integration. We identified our differences and the idea was “Unity through Diversity”, which was very challenging.

First, we needed a strong society and strong leaders of all the ethnic groups. Each leader would represent the interests of his/her respective ethnic group, which would reflect the essence of democracy. But integration was just one factor of the democratization process in Malaysia. We had negotiations amongst the ethnic groups, which resulted in the acceptance

of the Constitution. Under this bargaining, the non-Malays had to accept the Malays as the indigenous people of the country having special rights. Islam and the King were to be the elements of the newly independent State. In return, the Malays recognized the rights of the non-Malays to practise their own language and religion and have their own education systems.

Fortunately, the newly elected government after Independence, did not implement the idea of assimilation, that had been done by Indonesia, but Malaysia adopted the policy of integration.

Prof. Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

In this way, all the three major ethnic groups have adopted tolerance. Islam in Malaysia is based on Ahl-e-Sunnat Wal-Jamaat (ASW) and that is why we are considered as very conservative. Islam has been institutionalized by the State and is not open for liberal interpretation and one will be accused of defamation by the State if one tries to influence or propagate one's ideology that is considered contradictory to the ASW Islamic teachings.

As the country progressed, we had problems in terms of integration and accommodation but we have left it to the political leaders to negotiate and accommodate. Sensitive issues like religion are never discussed openly in Malaysia. We are fortunate to have had strong leaders and a stable democratic system for such a long time. We never had military coups. We are ruled by similar political parties. We have leaders with vision.

When we talk about democracy, it is not about political rights but more about economic development and economic opportunities. Under this concept, the state distributed land amongst the landless people and jobs. During the first ten years of this programme, the Government spent 10-20 percent of the GDP on education. In Malaysia, democratic policy is based on overall social structure and the idea of accommodation, social contract, high value of socio-political tolerance are foundations of this policy.

The political parties that represent each ethnic group try to negotiate and accommodate each other and they agree what to do.

Prof. Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

Malaysia is a secular democracy and a Muslim country. We would like to have both identities attached to us. I would like to present my viewpoint in five points:



1. Cohabitation is an expression between politics and religion, within a common framework.
2. There is a potential for a violent encounters between politics and religion. This can be avoided through harmonizing these encounters.
3. The conditions for cohabitation and harmonization differ from country to country. So, we must be aware of the country's specifics before applying the Malaysian model, for example, in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Lebanon, or Syria.
4. In Malaysia, politics and religion do co-exist. Sometimes, they even interfere with each other but we have managed to avoid violent encounters that have plagued other countries, like Pakistan.
5. In Malaysia, we have successfully controlled the misuse of religion, as in some other countries people are involved in killing innocent people in the name of Allah. We have managed to avoid this.

I must admit the controversies surrounding the mechanisms and the policies that Malaysia has introduced to manage all these problems, e.g. Muslims are forced to follow the ASW sect and they cannot follow Shi'aism.

In Malaysia, the issue of Muslims and non-Muslims is new because previously, we were identified on ethnic lines as Malays and non-Malays. The policy of economic development was not Muslims vs. non-Muslims, it was Malay vs. non-Malay; the indigenous people versus immigrants.

However, recently, it has been turned into Muslim vs. non-Muslim.

The strategy for combating extremism consists of:

1. A complex process of accommodation;
2. Co-option, when this is required;
3. Confrontation, when this is necessary.

The other engagement is through the role of NGOs and Government agencies, which is called de-radicalization. Officials of the Department of Islamic Development Malaysia (JAKIM) go to the detention centres and teach terrorists about the true spirit of Islam. NGOs are also called in to lend a hand in the Government's de-radicalization process. Detainees are also provided with economic and social skills under the Human Development Programme (HDP), because we don't want to keep them in prison forever; we wish to rehabilitate them back in the society. Therefore, politics and religion can cohabit in a secular mode of democracy.

Q & A Session and Comments

Heinrich Böll Stiftung Pakistan

Mr. Imtiaz Gul, CRSS

The rule of law is very important and crucial, as set by Turkey or Malaysia, and this is what we expect for Pakistan too. Now the floor is open for questions and comments.

Prof. Rasheed Khalid, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad

Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, a former military ruler, introduced many "Islamic" laws, which need to be repealed. Even the name of the Majlis-e-Shoora [Parliament] has not been repealed on the pressure of some hardline Islamic groups. Sunnis are further divided into two main groups in Pakistan, such as Bareilvi and Deobandi. Deobandis are close to Wahabis and they are a tiny minority but they try to incorporate other Sunnis into their fold.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

In Malaysia, we grapple with ethnicity, Malay versus non-Malay, and it is not between Muslims and non-Muslims. It is between Malays and Chinese, Malays and Indians. But, in Pakistan, the issue is among Muslims. You have Sunnis and Shi'as and my question is: do you think that your problem is bigger than ours, that you are not able to control this problem?

Prof. Rasheed Khalid

People in Pakistan talk in terms of guns, instead of dialogue. You can imagine the fear of the Government, to the extent that it could not hang the convicted and sentenced armed guard who had killed the Governor of Punjab, due to the likely reaction from the narrow minded extremist people. This is the problem, as logic is not in the picture in Pakistan.



Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

The ISA is not the only law used by the Government, which also uses the Emergency Ordinance. The ISA must be reformed instead of its abolition. Malaysia will be on the brink of major conflicts if these kinds of issues are not corrected or handled properly.

Ms. Tahira Abdullah, Human Rights Activist



My first question is for Dr. Harun: We used to be a very liberal, progressive, loving, tolerant society some 10,000 years ago in Meher Garh and after that in Mohenjo-Daro, Thatta, Harappa and Taxila, all the way up to 1977 but, today we are not so. We have become intolerant, militarized, militant, extremist and bloodthirsty, and we kill in the name of Allah. Similarly, I condemn the forbidding of the use of the name of Allah in Malaysia by anyone other than the Malay Muslims. It is not a copyright term. I also do not agree with the semantics of your calling yourself a secular country, when you are clearly an Islamist country. There is

an inherent contradiction in the formulation that you have presented before us. Just as Pakistan is a theocracy, we see with due respect, that Malaysia is also a theocracy, as you have Constitutionally laid down that all Muslims shall belong to the ASW and there can be no conversion or propagation by the Ahl-e-Tashayyo (Shi'as). Dr. Abdullah clearly said that Malaysians cannot be permitted to be practising Shias. How can you reconcile that with fundamental human rights?

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

There is no theocracy in our Constitution. In Article 11 it is not depicted that Islam is the religion of the Federation. While the Constitution does not say that Muslims can only be ASW, but some stupid politicians had proposed two weeks ago that we should rewrite our Constitution and insert the term "ASW" in it. This is not in the Constitution. Only the Minister of Interior two months ago said: "the number two man of a political party is a Shi'a and therefore I am going to arrest him". Of course, he was ridiculed.

Ms. Tahira Abdullah

My second question is for Prof. Dr. Abdullah: You said that you are against the repeal of the ISA law. I am amazed. Secondly, the strategy of accommodation, co-option, confrontation, tolerance and understanding is a good thing and I wish we had more of it in Pakistan. We could learn lessons from Malaysia in how to be accommodating, which we are not. However, co-option in my dictionary is a bad thing. As an academic, you can call these problems "small" in Malaysia, but we in Pakistan cannot do so, as our Taliban extremists and jihadis are funded by Saudi Arabia, Iran, Qatar, etc. and are fighting their proxy wars on the territory of Pakistan for their supremacy. They are fighting to gain physical control, not just ideological control, of the geographic entity that is currently Pakistan.

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

You must understand that Islam has been defined by the State in the Malaysian context in a broader way. Under the Constitution Islam is the

State religion. The way it is practised has now become a problem. The ASW is not under the Constitution. Islamic matters are under the jurisdiction of the State Governments. Why I say that I am against the abolition of the ISA, it is not that I want the ISA to be left as it was. I believe that the ISA should be reformed and not abolished. The role of the ISA is to counter terrorism, so we should reform it rather than maintain it as it is. We have been arguing against detention without trial so that ISA should be reformed to reflect the democratic society of Malaysia.

We should not give the State the free power to detain people, but in the end they intend to abolish ISA and we want to introduce the Security Ordinance of Malaysia (SOSMA), but they found it very difficult to implement it because they will have to undergo the due process of law. But the Malaysian police don't have the experience of dealing with terrorism. We still have the threats of terrorism especially the Jama'at-e-Islamia (JI). So how would you put terrorist groups under the SOSMA, whereby you have to use the normal process?

Mr. Imtiaz Gul

Basically you are trying to suggest that the conventional law is not enough to cope or meet with the threats emanating from the violent extremism.

Prof. Junaid Ahmad, LUMS, Lahore

It's wonderful to see the two scholars again and I had the honour of hosting them at LUMS. Law is important to me but what they are describing here seems like an ethos of inter-communal pluralism that had existed for a very long time. I saw this in Indonesia as well. Mutually agreed upon principles of understanding and inter-communal harmony are on the rise in some ways, just like in Pakistan, but without the interventions of a modern bureaucratic state structure.



I think what's going on in the societies like Indonesia and Malaysia is just a small version of what is happening in Pakistan. The law-specific policies

were symptoms of broader projects. We have to take responsibility and our establishment clearly takes part in it for their own benefits. I think these are the mistakes that other countries should learn from. It is very clear now that Pakistan is the direct victim in which Islam and all these types of ideologies are used for all sorts of material gains. I think that many religious communities sit so comfortably in Malaysia and Indonesia. The fear is that small groups can radically alter the discourse on these issues and then move in a certain direction.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

I will give two simple examples in response. As I mentioned earlier, conditions are different from country to country. I know Pakistan is very different and your context is different from ours too. Secondly, in Malaysia we are simple and practical people, whereas I have seen that Pakistan is very theoretical and complex.

We want peace, security and development. Why did I introduce the words “secular democracy”? Because I have seen people writing that Malaysia is not a real democracy, rather it is a semi-democracy. In fact, I live in Malaysia, a country where I can speak whatever I want. So when I say secular, I mean the opposite. In Saudi Arabia if you steal, they cut off your hand, but we don't have that in Malaysia. To me that means Malaysia is secular. Even in England, who puts the crown on the Queen's head? The Archbishop of Canterbury, so isn't that religion? So how can you say there is a complete separation of religion and the State? I don't want a complete separation because it's impossible. Therefore, we should find the middle path and that is a peaceful co-existence, provided you respect me and I respect you as a religion.

Secondly, when I say democracy, I want to distinguish Malaysia from the countries which have Communism, e.g. Vietnam is a Communist country because it has all the characteristics of an authoritarian society. We have some basic elements of democracy, e.g. how we choose our leadership, not through military coups. We never had any military coup in Malaysia because the Malaysian army is very professional. I am part of the military

establishment as I am with the National Defence University.

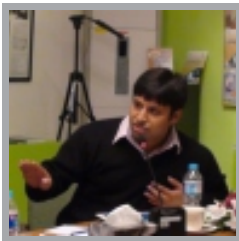
Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

I follow up to Tahira's comments, on the picture of the Pakistani society moving from liberal to a very intolerant society. I just wonder why it has happened thus, because the same problem is also starting to happen in Malaysian society, where the Malays, Indians, Chinese and even other ethnic groups are becoming more defensive about their ethnic identity, and even in terms of their religion. That is why the issue of the ASW has come up, and some of our groups have become intolerant to some extent, although they are still manageable. I think that when you talk about Pakistan, this is also happening in Malaysia, the rise of an intolerant society that does not understand or tolerate other religions.

I think that when you talk about Pakistan, that is also happening in Malaysia, the rise of an intolerant society that does not tolerate other religions.

Prof. Dr. M.K. bin Abdullah

Mr. Nishat Kazmi, HBS



My name is Nishat Kazmi and I have a couple of observations: (i) In your Constitution, regarding Article 31, I will just read it so that everyone understands it: “Islam is the religion of the federation but other religions may be practiced in peace and harmony in any part of the federation.” It is similar to the Constitution of Pakistan, except for the word “the” [religion], which is very important in legal interpretations. If we use the word democracy and if we use the words secular democracy, we just have to be careful. I very respectfully present my difference of opinion in the light of your own Constitution Article 31.

(ii) There is no concept of any illegal detention in the Constitution, which can be challenged in any court of law. For example in our Constitution we have provisions for the writ of Habeas Corpus, that allows any citizen to go to

court for the production of an illegally detained person. Unfortunately, there is something missing in your Constitution, which does not safeguard your citizens' fundamental rights.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

- (i) ISA has been repealed.
- (ii) ISA is not in the Constitution.
- (iii) The Malaysian Constitution is one of the most frequently amended in the world. So you have to go to the Parliament record and see where it is amended.

Mr. Imtiaz Gul

I think it is very important to have a legal framework and if the western world's oldest democracies can come up with the Patriot Act, Homeland Security law, anti-terrorism laws, then for a country like Pakistan it becomes even more pressing to have such laws. Obviously, it is not in line with fundamental human rights. But theoretically, the laws should be in sync with globally acknowledged fundamental human rights.

Practically, it is very difficult on the ground and living in a multi-ethnic, multi-faith society we have a legal framework to help the society to remain socially cohesive. We may have the juries and the civil society organizations have a problem with that. How many people did speak up against the Patriot Act in the United States? How many did speak up against the anti-terrorist laws in the United Kingdom? There was intense lobbying and the Government went in favour of reforming the law, but this is an infringement on the fundamental human rights. But the demand was to go for it to prevent further damage to national cohesion.

I think that Malaysia is also different in one other respect that we here call the Establishment, which created these terrorist organizations in the first place, in the name of Jihad against the-then Soviet Union. Now they are facing the music. Some people now say that they are Indian agents, some say Afghans, some people even say that not only are they financed by Iran

and Saudi Arabia, but also our own establishment is behind them and using them whenever they like. So that means we still don't know what sort of nexus we are facing. That is why the issue is not getting resolved.

Question

I am Yasin Ayaz from the Arid Agriculture University, Rawalpindi. My question is: knowing that Pakistan is a multi-cultural, multi-racial, multi-lingual, multi-religious country, what measures do you suggest to control the violence in FATA, KPK and Balochistan?

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

In Malaysia, previously, we did not use the word “multi-ethnic” society. The word used was a pluralistic society, and then we graduated to multi-ethnic because people say “pluralistic” has negative connotations. Malaysia differs from Pakistan on ethnic grounds:

- i. Our multi-ethnicity is also multi-cultural and multi-religious.
- ii. You are Pathan or Punjabi but you are all Muslim [*sic*]. You still have some attachment, despite all the bad things that Islam seems to represent here [*sic*]. In Malaysia, if you say I am Malay, immediately people know you are a Muslim. This is the uniqueness of Malaysian society and that is why we had to look for a unique strategy to manage it.
- iii. You can adopt the basic politics of accommodation, and the concept of bargaining.

Question

My name is Saima. If there are Indian-Muslims living in Malaysia for generations, but since they are immigrants and not the original Malays, so are they not to be considered as Malays? What is their status - will they be Muslims but not Malays? The question is about their rights, as laid down in the Constitution that the Muslim Malays have certain privileges, then why will the Indian Muslims not have the same privileges as Malay Muslims will have?

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

You have to understand that under the Constitution, Malay practices include Malay customs, language and also professing Islam, but the problem with Indian Muslims is that they don't use Malay as their language. Their language is Tamil, and their customs are different too. In this kind of society, the Malay Muslims are becoming more defensive, because they say that this is their land. It concerns the community and is about their future direction, whether they will become a minority in their own land? So you have to understand why the Constitution has been written like that.

Prof. Ruhanas Harun

The writers of the Malaysian Constitution were legal experts from Britain, Australia, Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan. The Constitution was endorsed with the agreement of the majority of the political parties and ethnic groups at that time.

In Malaysia the hereditary royal dynasty has been here for the last 1500 years, while the Chinese and Indians came in the 19th century. So when you say special rights and privileges, it is not about special rights and privileges, actually it is an affirmation/confirmation of what is already there. The Malay Muslim population was first Hindu and then they became Muslim in the 12th century, and they are the original people of this land and they speak their own language.

General (Retd.) Athar Abbas

I think one issue where the major difference lies between Malaysia and Pakistan is that we find ourselves in the eye of the storm. This has a lot to do with the Islamic revolutions or the great changes around us, like the Iranian revolution had a direct impact on the polity and society, and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and the whole freedom movement, which was converted deliberately by the Western powers into a Holy War (jihad) that had a direct impact on Pakistani



society. The trends of extremism and terrorism have a genesis in these two movements. The uprising in Kashmir is a third movement and the Indian troops use brute force against Kashmiri youth. So, all these factors have had a great impact on our society.

In the post 9/11 scenario, the State had suffered a lot and Afghanistan and Pakistan have virtually come in the line of fire because of the coalition war. These are the two major differences, and the third is the sectarian issue, which does not exist in Malaysia because there is only one sect allowed in Malaysia. We have many different sects in our country and, therefore, you see the foreign powers supporting their proxies here and there, and this creates lots of conflicts.

As far as the Pakistani Taliban are concerned, we have been dealing with them and we have gone through the full circle in dealing with them. The Afghan Taliban are fighting a foreign occupation but the Pakistani Taliban are fighting for taking over control of the Pakistani State, along with its bodies and institutions, which is a great difference between the two types of the Taliban. Their slogans are based on their ideology, for which they fight, claiming that their fight is to impose Shariah in Pakistan.

Second, their stated reason for fighting is that “Pakistan is a slave of America, it joined the US war in Afghanistan and is killing its own people” so therefore, they want to “liberate the State”. Third, they want to have all their prisoners released. They want to go to their strongholds where they have been displaced by the military operations. They want the army to leave that area which was once their stronghold. So these are the reasons for which they are fighting. They have misused the name of the religion of Islam and they have brought a bad name to our religion.

Prof. Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

We had also taken on that problem for a brief period, especially when JI was the forerunner of the terrorist movement in South Asia. JI was initially based in Malaysia, and was funded by Al-Qaeda. Through the experience of dealing with the Communist terrorists in the 1960s, we did manage to

counter it. The moderate approach of the society and the Government position on Islam emphasizes a lot on countering radicalism, especially the so-called Muslim radical groups.

This is made possible by the socialization process of the society through education, meaning that like you say in Pakistan, you are dealing with sectarian violence; in Malaysia we don't have that. We do have other problems of intra-religious misunderstanding, but through education and the socialization process, we do manage to understand each other. We try to overcome these differences, not try to highlight them. I am not saying that the society doesn't value religion. Sometimes you see that the Government may have a kind of superficial policy or Islamization process just to please the conservative society, yet basically Malaysia is a secular State.

Mr. Imtiaz Gul

Let me say that in Malaysia you are lucky because:

- (i) You are just 29 million people, and consist of 60 percent Muslims. Unlike Pakistan, you are not 200 million where about 95% are Muslims.
- (ii) You are not living in an area which is known for its **great games**.
- (iii) Malaysia was not carved out of a Hindu country as a separate Muslim State, like Pakistan was.
- (iv) You had a dictator and authoritarian ruler, Mahathir Muhammad, who committed himself to education and inculcation of the rule of law into the Constitution, and he had a clear vision about those basic principles which sustain the Malaysian society and guarantee the social harmony in your society.

That was the whole idea to invite you here, to listen to you. Despite all the contradictions that you have spoken about, we still think about and draw a lot of inspiration and guidance from the Malaysian model. We can have our own model, drawing lessons from Malaysia, Indonesia and Turkey. You said

in the beginning that you expected every woman would be in hijab in Pakistan, and that is not yet the case here, so I ask Tahira to still be hopeful for Pakistan!

Thank you all very much.



ANNEXURES

Annexe 1

Ms. Julia Indiaty Suryakusuma³

Introduction

In 1998, Indonesia entered the Reformation Era (*Reformasi*) which promised to unravel the New Order, led by Gen. (ret.) Suharto for 32 years (1966-98), and its legacy of state control, social repression and intermittent violence. One of the key mechanisms for this was, of course, decentralization and the grant to the regions of various levels of autonomy.

The wave of local elections through to late 2005 has brought with it some of the most radical changes Indonesia has experienced in decades. Of the 219 local elections conducted up to 2005, some 40% or so resulted in the removal of incumbents and the rise of new elites, cementing a broader social process that has been underway across the archipelago since 1998.⁴

We say 'new' elites but in many cases they are, in fact, the old elites **redux**, that is, traditional leaders pushed to one side under the New Order, reasserting themselves three decades later. Often they are male and generally draw their authority from traditional local sources, including *adat* (tradition) and religion.

In *realpolitik* terms, many local heroes want to differentiate themselves from the apparatchiks of the past and to strengthen their local support. One way to achieve this is to support or even lead local agendas sponsored by conservative social groups, often religious in nature. The result has been a wave of attempts to introduce conservative interpretation of *adat* or, more often, syariah-derived moral norms through regional regulations (*Perda* or *Peraturan Daerah*) at the provincial, district and sub-district levels.

³This paper draws on material in Suryakusuma, Julia. 'From Both Sides Now: Syariah Morality, Pornography and Women in Indonesia' in David Linnan (ed), *Legitimacy, Legal Development & Change: Law & Modernization Reconsidered* (Farnham UK: Ashgate, 2012).

⁴From 1998 to 2013, almost 1,000 local elections have been conducted.

Since 1945, political Islam has failed again and again to formally introduce the Jakarta Charter, the seven words deleted from the draft 1945 Constitution that would force Indonesian Muslims to observe Syariah and give the Indonesian state an explicitly Islamic basis.

Regional moral conservatism is now no longer isolated, if indeed it ever was. Its reflection at the national level is the enactment of the Anti-Pornography Law in 2008, which was in a sense, the Perda writ large.

This presentation attempts to look at the articulation between the state, religion and democracy in Indonesia, by looking at the Anti-Pornography law as a case study.

On October 30, 2008, after more than 10 years of debate, the Indonesian House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, DPR) ratified a new far-reaching Anti-Pornography Law, No. 44 of 2008, in an attempt to introduce conservative interpretations of shari'ah by stealth. If fully enforced, the new Law could criminalize much sexuality, tightly censor the arts and media, prohibit much traditional cultural expression, and force women to cover up almost completely, thus largely excluding them from public space. Why did this happen and what does it mean for Indonesia?

Often what becomes a social or political issue depends on who takes the first step to define it as one. Whoever defines the issue usually gains great control over how it is publicly understood and this can often translate into political power. This was the case with pornography in Indonesia. It was socially conservative Muslims—particularly hardline Islamists—who first raised publicly the dangers and destructive nature of pornography, claiming it threatened the moral fiber of the society and integrity of the nation. After decades of agitating, they have become more adroit at identifying issues and running socio-political campaigns than more liberal, pro-democracy groups (including women's groups), many of which have been publicly active only since 1998. This meant the conservatives were able early on to assert their own understandings of what constitutes “pornography.” They thus won control of the very definition of the term itself, thereby obtaining a huge – and ultimately decisive - advantage in the battle over whether the anti-pornography bill would be passed.

If You're Not With Us, You're Against Us

Pornography is notoriously difficult to define. One person's pornography is another's erotica, and in the case of Indonesia, our culture and tradition is replete with sexual symbols, and sensual expressions in the arts, both performing and visual. A visit to Bali, Papua or Candi Suku⁵ in Java is enough to demonstrate this. For many socially conservative Muslims in Indonesia, however, the issue is often not one of substance. They do not propose to emulate the Taliban at Bamiyan by destroying national heritage, but rather to capture issues they feel will resonate with many, act as a rallying point and allow them to publicly identify themselves as “guardians of morality” – and thus entitled to exercise political power.

According to Neng Dara Affiah⁶, the Islamists' strategic use of language enabled them to polarize the debate into highly simplistic, but easily understood extremes. Whoever was not with them against pornography, was, in their terms, against them—and thus *for* pornography (Affiah 2009a⁷) at one point, Affiah herself was summoned by the Central Board of Nahdlatul Ulama, and questioned. “You wear a *jilbab* [headscarf] and are from a *pesantren* [traditional Muslim boarding school],” they said, “How can you reject the Pornography Law? You should repent!

Another example of conservative Islam's manipulation of meanings relates to the word “liberal.” This has been stigmatized as a creation of the West, and therefore evil and immoral. In this way, the progressive Liberal Islam Network (*Jaringan Islam Liberal* – JIL)⁸ has been branded as an enemy of not just Muslims but of all Indonesians. JIL is, in fact, a group of progressive Muslim scholars who believe in individual freedom and that Muslims in a

⁵Candi Suku is a fifteenth century Javanese-Hindu temple on the slope of Mount Lawu on the border between Central and East Java. It has a single pyramid surrounded by tortoises and a male figure grasping his penis. One of the statues, a giant 1.82 meter phallus with four balls representing penile incisions, was relocated to the National Museum of Indonesia, making it formally part of Indonesia's national heritage.

⁶Affiah is a commissioner of the National Commission on Violence against Women (See <http://www.komnasperempuan.or.id/>), and Head of Research and Development of the Fatayat NU, the women's wing of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU—the world's largest Muslim organization)

⁷Affiah is the author of a memoir: *Muslimah Feminis: Penjelajahan Multi Identitas* (A Muslim Feminist: an Exploration of Multiple Identities), Penerbit Nalar, Jakarta 2009 (Affiah 2009b).

⁸See <http://islamlib.com/en/pages/about/>

plural society like Indonesia should not be tied to literal interpretations of the scriptures. Instead they argue for more relative interpretations, based on social contexts and realities. Members of JIL are few. They have little social, let alone political power although they do have some intellectual clout. Yet, at the grass roots level, rejection of JIL has been widespread and uncompromising. This is in part because of the negative connotations that the conservatives have been able to attach to the term “liberal” (Neng Dara Affiah 2009, personal communication 16 March 2009), in similar fashion to the way religious conservatives in the US have made the term one of opprobrium there too.

Similar strategies were used during debate over the anti-pornography bill, and the substance of the drafting quickly became much less significant than the polemics involved. Affiah, for example, recounts how at a public dialogue that formed part of the process of the drafting of the bill, her attempt to discuss the critical issue of the definition of “pornography” was summarily cast aside. What was important for the Islamists was the political battle and the symbolic struggle they saw themselves as engaged in. The nuances of definitions were a distraction, and they actively sought to exclude their opponents from the drafting processes. In this way, the conservative anti-democratic groups put pro-democracy groups - including women's groups - at a huge disadvantage. Alarmed but helpless, the latter could only intervene after the drafting process was well advanced, and were able to make only superficial changes. This was ironic, because international regulations on anti-trafficking, especially child trafficking and child pornography have long been central to the Indonesian's women's movement.

As this suggests, the Anti-Pornography Law is, in fact, not really about pornography. It is about denying women and sexuality public space. It uses pornography as an excuse, equating expression of sexuality outside the marriage bed - even the very presence of women outside the home—with obscenity and criminality. And it could lock up artists and writers who present these themes, as do many artists in most societies, including Indonesia. So far, however, this hasn't happened in a widespread or consistent fashion, but there is a real *Kulturkampf* in progress.

It seems obvious that the Indonesian government is too often driven by a kind of misplaced panicky political fear of offending the 80 per cent-plus Muslim electorate, and so becomes the dog that is wagged by the tail of minority Muslim radical conservatives and hard-liners, for example, by passing the Anti-Pornography Law. But the government is also aware that the Muslim electorate is not homogenous. It cannot ignore protests by artists, activists, intellectuals, some Muslim religious leaders and many members of non-Muslim ethnic groups, including some regional leaders. These all see the Law as a direct threat to the diversity and democracy at the heart of new post-Suharto “*Reformasi*” Indonesia.

The government's reaction so far has mainly been to simply ignore the Law. Ariel⁹, aside, no artist has yet been arrested under the Law and neither has any member of a religious minority - and hard-core pornography is still widely available.

There is, in fact, a huge market for pornography in Indonesia, which it seems; few really want to eradicate—not the consumers, and certainly not the producers and marketers or those who profit from its existence (including corrupt law enforcers). This strengthens the perception that the Pornography Law is really more about conservative Muslim politics than any serious attempt to combat the pornography industry. After all, pornography was already prohibited by a wide range of prohibitions contained in the Criminal Code, broadcasting laws and laws on child protection. What was needed was enforcement, not redundant new regulation.

Regulating moral behavior by fiat is something that most authority figures erroneously believe is easy. They pass a law, impose a regulation or pronounce a fatwa (edict) and believe that will do the job. Not in most countries and certainly not in Indonesia! In fact, this country is a perfect

⁹In late June 2010, Nazril Irham, better known as 'Ariel', a popular Indonesian rock singer with the band 'Peter Pan', was charged under the Anti-Pornography Law in relation to a privately-recorded video of him having sex on two separate occasions, with Luna Maya (his girlfriend, an artist) and Cut Tari (a TV presenter), that had been uploaded without his consent, and gone 'viral' on the Internet.. On January 31st, 2011, Ariel was sentenced to three and a half years imprisonment and was fined Rp. 250 million (US\$ 28,000) (<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/01/31/three-years-and-six-months-jail-term-ariel.html>).

example of the shortcomings of law as a means of social engineering. Like the anti-smoking ban first introduced in February 2006 in metropolitan Jakarta, the Anti-Pornography Law has had little impact on people's behavior. So, for example, the opening film at widely-publicized V Jakarta International Women's Film Festival held in April 2009 included full-frontal nudity that was advertised in advance, but it did not attract any attempt at enforcement of the anti-pornography provisions by either state or religious authorities.¹⁰

Weapons of Mass Distraction

In the midst of the many far more pressing problems that Indonesia faces, the debate over the Law seems now a largely symbolic one. And interestingly, despite their success with the passing of the Anti-Pornography Law, conservative Muslims still face strong resistance from mainstream liberal and tolerant thinking, from non-Muslim minorities, from a popular dislike for moral authoritarianism, and from an increasingly prosperous middle-class that fears a religious or repressive government. For these groups, as for conservative Muslims, the Law remains a proxy for a broader and persistent debate: should Indonesian Muslims be forced to follow *shari'ah* law and, if so, whose version of *shari'ah*? Disagreement was intense among Indonesia's founders in 1945 and there is no sign that much has

¹⁰On the other hand, the Q! Film Festival (See <http://www.qfilmfestival.org/>), the biggest LGBTIQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, questioning) film festival in Asia encountered resistance from the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI, Front Pembela Islam) from the moment it began in 2002. Somehow the organizers of the festival were able to persuade the FPI to leave them alone until 2010, when the Q! Film Festival again received violent protests from the FPI, as well as calls from the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI, Majelis Ulama Indonesia) for its banning. Despite all this, the Q! Film Festival continues to be held and, again, neither the Anti-Pornography Law nor any other regulation has been invoked to stop it. See Suryakusuma, "Thank Q! The Gayest Indonesian Film Festival", Garuda Inflight Magazine, September 2009, The article was not uploaded onto the Garuda Magazine website – published by Indo Multi Media, an English language publishing group – as the management of Garuda considered it offensive, inducing SARA, an New Order acronym meaning "ethnic, racial, religion and inter-group", conflict, because it happened to come out during Ramadhan, the fasting month. The article can be read on the Suryakusuma website http://www.juliasuryakusuma.com/column.php?menu_id=3&year=2009&month=9&column_id=270. See also Giado, "Long-Running Gay Indonesian Film Festival Faced Attacks", Illume, October 19, 2010 (<http://www.illumemagazine.com/zine/articleDetail.php?Long-running-Indonesian-Gay-Film-Festival-Faced-Attacks-13350>).

changed after fifty years of debate – except that now women are part of the argument too.

In fact, the debate today is far more complex than it has ever been before. For the thirty-two years of Suharto's repressive New Order, Islam in Indonesia was cloistered and controlled, its expressions watchfully – sometimes violently – restricted by the state. Since 1998,

however, the modernization, globalization and the democratization accelerated by the openness and political deregulation of post-Suharto Reformasi have liberated a multitude – both reactionary and conservative Muslims, as well as supporters of the new liberal democratic system.

The result is that today Indonesian Muslims of all persuasions can play out their faith in many spheres – political, economic and popular – in myriad ways unimaginable before. Some of the results are conservative, dogmatic, reactionary, or progressive and liberal, others are outright weird and wacky, but most show creativity and adaptability, as new ways are found to express old beliefs. This type of hybrid, localized faith has always been a feature of Indonesian Islam, and it made this country a showcase of Muslim diversity. Given Indonesia's ethnic, cultural and social plurality, is that surprising?

Yes, Indonesia has hard-liners who use religion to justify destructive and atrocious acts of violence but it also has influential liberal intellectuals and long-established, softer Sufi (mystic) traditions, as well as syncretic groups (mixing Islam with local animistic and pagan beliefs), all part of our rowdy, adolescent democracy. Now add to this potent brew the new savvy preacher-businessmen. They use commercial methodology and the latest information technology to mass-market their wares to eager consumers, hungry for instant, pre-packaged *nafkah batin* (spiritual sustenance) in an increasingly materialistic, chaotic and confusing world.¹¹

Sometimes the new *modi operandi* interact with more traditional expressions of faith, and sometimes they replace them. Overall, the (very visible) trend is the commodification of piety and a conflation of the sacred, mundane and profane. It is hard to imagine a televangelist in the West

¹¹So, for example, new-fangled *da'i* (preachers) is all the rage, providing religious advice,

delivering sermons in *sinetron* (Indonesian TV soap operas) style, sprinkled with humour and even sexually-suggestive jokes, or serenading his wife during a mass sermon with the Everly Brothers' "Let It Be Me". These things could probably only happen in Indonesia, which has always displayed an eclectic character and an ability to comfortably combine the sacred with the mundane, and the religious with the sensual and sexual.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that the post-Suharto reengagement of Islam and public life in Indonesia has changed Indonesian society but it has also changed Indonesian Islam. It is democratic and exciting, but sometimes it can be anarchic too, with anyone able to issue a *fatwa* online, and religious consumers shopping around for whatever answer suits them. After thirty-two years of repression and 15 years of euphoric freedom, Islam in Indonesia is still trying to find a balance, and some wobbling along the way is inevitable.

It's quite possible that the Anti-Pornography Law is just part of that wobble, but it is not to be dismissed as nothing more than that, for two reasons. The first is that while conservative Muslims have been pacified and given a symbolic victory, the Law is still there for anyone to invoke. The second is more a question than a reason: what long-term real effect will the Anti-Pornography Law and the conservative Islamic movement have on the social construction of womanhood, and on the women's movement?

Cherchez la Femme: What are Women Doing About It?

Pornography, in the conventional sense of the word is a more-or-less inevitable product of the free-market, of Indonesia's engagement in the solace and entertainment. And why not? If Indonesians have info-tainment and education, why not "dakwah-tainment" too? After all, dakwah or "call" (to religion) is a compulsory for all Muslims. Traditionally it referred to preaching, predication and Islamic outreach but now even activities with no primary religious meaning can be considered dakwah. Performing one's vocation, carrying out family duties, doing business, art and even fashion shows all qualify. Needless to say, Muslim fashion in Indonesia means fancy, funky, elaborate and often extravagant, designs, and, of course, a riot of colors. This is Indonesia's creative conservatism at its best, and it enables women to follow what they see as spiritual dictates but still feel sexy. There are also the alms-giving via mobile phone; mass religious rallies in soccer fields; glossy Muslim women's magazines (as well as hardline jihadi ones); Islamic medical treatments; a booming halal industry; multi-level marketing of halal products; and fast-growing sharia banking services as well as Islamic microfinance. These are just some of the manifestations of a new consumer-oriented approach to Islam.

global economy. It has long been present in Indonesia but that is not what the Anti-Pornography Law is really about. Rather, it is a regressive attempt to create a social construction of womanhood aimed not just at containing and controlling women, but also at creating a society in line with a particular vision of what an Islamic society should be - one very different indeed to Islamic society in Indonesia today.

The hard-liners on the Muslim right apparently believe that changing law will change behavior, despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary presented by Indonesian history and the very obvious shortcomings of the national law enforcement system. The modus operandi of the Anti-Pornography Law thus smacks very much of New Order ways, when state ideology on womanhood was a means to buttress state ideology and power, as well as the systematic repression of civil society. The New Order believed firmly in social engineering by law and the Islamists seem to have inherited this approach, despite their long opposition to the New Order itself.

But if in the New Order, tensions and conflicts were vertical, they are now decidedly horizontal, playing out between a politically motivated and very vocal “religious” minority, and the rest of Indonesian society, usually much less ready to voice their views. The Anti-Pornography Law has, however, been a trigger for the latter group to rise up and express powerful resistance in the form of demonstrations, petitions, letters to the DPR, street rallies, discussions, talk-shows, and internet blogs and so on.

What are women doing in the midst of all this? While there are similarities between the process of controlling women between the New Order and the Reform Era, there is one major difference: Indonesia now is a democracy. The women's movement has had a chance to wake up from its thirty-two year slumber and many women are not willing to passively accept this revival of old tactics by the new groups. The women's movement in Indonesia is, however, by no means monolithic. There are, in fact, many who agree with the Anti-Pornography Law¹². This is partly because of the manipulation of the term “pornography,” discussed at the beginning of this paper, but also because of a lack of gender awareness among many women.

The groups that oppose the Anti-Pornography Law are also made up of both secular and religious women's groups.¹³ These groups - which include men as well - face huge challenges in pursuing their opposition to the Anti-Pornography Law, as they face accusations that by doing so they are "betraying their faith." But just as it brings challenges, the new Law also brings opportunities.

Women's resistance to the Anti-Pornography Law provides a lens through which to see the rise of women since the onset of Reformasi, and their active involvement in areas as diverse as politics (in both the executive and legislature), law, literature, performing arts, the media, human rights, and social activism, among others (Allen 2009). Ironically, the Anti-Pornography Law has given women—both secular and religious—the opportunity to rally for, and defend, their rights by engaging in a public discourse that directly involves them, their bodies and their sexuality. This would have been difficult to do prior to the controversy emerging over this Law. In fact,

¹²One example is Meutia Hatta, the Minister of Women's Affairs, who has even claimed that the passing of the Anti-Pornography Law was a "historic moment in Indonesia's democracy, and that its aims were noble." Hatta even went so far as to 'guarantee' that the Pornography Law would not oppress women at all, and in fact was a means for the state to 'protect its citizens'. She also said that it would in no way be a threat to Indonesia's pluralism. (see <http://www.kompas-tv.com/content/view/7569/2> and <http://beritasore.com/2008/11/03/meutia-hatta-uu-pornografi-tak-diskriminatif/>).

¹³The former include, among others, LBH APIK, Solidaritas Perempuan (Women's Solidarity), Komnas Perempuan (short for Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan, National Commission on Violence against Women), KPI (Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan dan Demokrasi, the Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy), SPEK-HAM (Solidaritas Perempuan untuk Kemanusiaan dan Hak Asasi Manusia, Women's Solidarity for Humanity and Human Rights), and others. The latter, Islamic-based groups, include some of those mentioned earlier (Rahmina, Fahima, Puan Amal Hayati), as well as individuals who work within Islam, such as like Siti Musdah Mulia (a well-known Muslim intellectual, a professor at the Islamic State University (Universitas Islam Negeri, UIN) Jakarta) and an adviser to the Minister of Religion. In 2004, she led a team that drafted a controversial and progressive 'Counter Legal Draft' to replace the national Compilation of Islamic Law. The draft was rejected. In 2007, the US awarded her an International Woman of Courage award); Ciciek Farha (Farha Abdul Kadir Assegaf was head, and is now board member, of Rahima, a progressive Muslim NGO, and a highly-regarded gender researcher and scholar working on women in radical Islamist organizations) Neng Dara Affiah, and Kyai Haji Husein Muhammad. A unique case is Affiah's Fatayat NU, the women's wing of the Nahdlatul Ulama (See Candland and Nurjanah 2004), the only Muslim mass organization that publicly opposed the Law.

according to Mariana Amiruddin¹⁴, the Anti-Pornography Law is the first regulatory instrument in which women's bodies are overtly identified as the problem: the cause of moral degradation (Allen 2009). The debate over the Anti-Pornography Law has thus publicly demonstrated the feminist dictum “the personal is political” in a way that has never happened before in Indonesia.

Conclusion: A Polarized Future

In this sense, the debate and controversy surrounding the Anti-Pornography Law is a manifestation of democracy in action in Indonesia, and a sign that Indonesia's newly revived civil society is thriving, despite more than thirty years of repression and domination by the state. *Reformasi* gave repressed Muslim groups the chance to come out of the woodwork, but gave the same opportunity to the women's movement as well. *Reformasi* has, in fact, been witness to the resurrection of the women's movement, and of women's consciousness in general. In this way, the Anti-Pornography Law has served to clarify the issues that matter to women activists and intellectuals. It has defined the battlefield between them and the forces of patriarchal religious conservatives more clearly: a *Kulturkampf* within Indonesian Islam.

The performance of Islamic political parties demonstrates the divisions within Islam. The trend since the end of the Suharto era in 1998 is clear. In 1999, the first free elections of the Reform Era, Islamist parties (which include the nationalist Islamic parties (see Fealy 2009)¹⁵ gained 35% of votes in total. In 2004, the figure was still a close 33%, but in the April 2009 legislative elections, they secured only 25.5%. When this is compared to the 44% they won in 1955, the decline seems greater still. The trend clearly indicates that historically moral Islamization and legal *shari'ah*-ization are not what the electorate wants. This suggests that the Muslim social conservatives in Indonesia may, in fact, be a minority with declining

¹⁴Amiruddin is editor-in-chief of Jurnal Perempuan, a feminist journal.

¹⁵The two nationalist, sometimes also called pluralist, Islamic parties are the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB) and National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN), who, unlike the pure Islamist parties such as the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP) and the Crescent Star Party (Partai Bulan Bintang, PBB), do not call for the implementation of shari'ah in Indonesia.

electoral clout. Like their Christian Right counterparts in the US, their efforts to gain political control lead them to mix law, morality and “religion”, and, in the process, create much unrest - as well as resistance from those who are, in fact, the majority.

There is also a fundamental difference in the constellation of forces in *Reformasi* as opposed to the period before 1998. If in the past, the state stood above and dominated civil society, in post-Suharto Indonesia, the state stands in the middle, mediating and moderating the pro-democracy camp, the anti-democracy camp, and the forces of globalization, which include the free market.

In the pro-democracy camp are the secular, the religious, politicians, activists, intellectuals, the press, artists and women, but in the anti-democracy camp you find exactly the same combination. The legal restrictions on so-called “pornography” so fiercely debated in the public arena in connection with this new Law are thus not solely a moral issue but also a vital source of legitimacy for social conservatives. “Pornography” is used by the anti-democracy camp to hold Indonesia back, making it a state akin in many respects to the New Order but this time imbued with their notion of “Islamic values” and thus under their control. They must now contend, however, with a multitude of other genies released from the same *Reformasi* bottle - including civil society groups that have also woken up from their fear-and repression induced-slumber.

Since 1998, the conflict between these groups has become more polarized. Conservative groups using the banner of Islam now face women's groups and their other progressive allies, some of whom also look to Islam for legitimacy. This won't be easy for the conservatives. For them, women's power symbolizes a progressive force, one that they dismiss as liberal, western, immoral, and with which they are distinctly uncomfortable. For the pro-democracy forces, however, the issue is not just about women's bodies, but also a body politic – be it gendered, ethnic, or religious – that refuses to be subjected to the dictates of a conservative few, who, like the New Order apparatchiks before them, are motivated by power. In this sense, the battle over the issues raised by the Anti-Pornography Law is far from over.

In fact, it may have only just begun. We now live in interesting times - and in Indonesia that is not always a curse.

Annexe 2

Mr. Toaha Qureshi MBE

United Kingdom's legal framework is based loosely on the religion of the country but at the same time, the state has not assumed the role of a religious authority to adjudge 'Sharr' or 'Khair' i.e., bad or good. While there is no written constitution in the UK, the state, as a secular entity, follows an un-codified constitution and sets of regulations to ensure social harmony and adjudicates in matters of crime, violation/breach and flouting of the law.

Secular governance in the UK can be seen in the passing of a same-sex marriage bill in the House of Commons. Although, the bill was opposed by not only the Muslims but also Christians and Jews in the UK, it was passed by a majority and enacted because of democracy. Thus, in the United Kingdom, governance is kept separate from individuals' beliefs so as to avoid any interfaith conflicts while the individuals also enjoy their freedom to have their own convictions. The state only acts as the implementer of the law.

Recent failure of the British Prime Minister with regards to the proposed attack on Syria is another wonderful example of the success of democracy in the UK. Not to mention, it was also this decision of the UK Parliament that made President Obama rethink his plans to attack Syria, thereby averting a colossal catastrophe that could have been of the same magnitude as the ones we witnessed in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya and Egypt. Pakistan, particularly the communities living in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, should be appreciated for exhibiting exceptional resilience for the last 35 years since when the Afghan war started and clearly, these communities have been the ones that suffered the most.

While discussing the secular governance in UK, it is worth mentioning that there are 26 bishops of the Church of England sitting in the Upper House i.e., the House of Lords, because of their religious affiliation with the Anglican Church. It is comparable to having 26 senators in the senate. When the parliament or the House of Commons passes a bill, the Upper House or the

House of Lords has the power to send it back to the House of Commons in case it is not satisfied with some aspects of the bill. Hence, while we may think that governance in the UK is entirely done in a secular fashion, on the other hand, religion has not totally been removed from UK's decision making institutions. The presence of 26 bishops in the upper house raises a question as to whether the religion has an influence on the democratic process or not. Can state be isolated from the religion? And can religion be moved away from the state?

Recently, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, a leading Jewish organization, has also been proposed for the House of Lords' membership. A number of practicing Muslims are members of the House of Lords as well as of the House of Commons. Besides, there are also many practicing Muslim members of the European Parliament, meaning that religion has not really been removed. However, it does not affect ordinary people's life as much. The influence of religion can be seen in Prince Charles' life too whose title used to be the 'Defender of the Faith', i.e., either the Christian faith or the Anglican Church. He has now changed his title from the 'Defender of the Faith' to 'Defender of the Faiths', meaning not the defender of just one faith. This is an example of how the British are dealing with their religiously diverse society by exhibiting tolerance towards Muslims, Jews, Sikhs, Hindus and all other ethnic groups equally. Hence, the state there governs in a secular way to cater for all religions and ethnic groups.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Head of the Anglican Church, for example, strongly defended *Sharia* laws with regards to the Muslims' daily life, saying categorically that Muslims should have the freedom to implement their Sharia Laws on certain occasions to protect their women. For example, if a woman applies for a divorce in the UK, it takes years and years and she is stuck for a number of years to get divorce papers from the court. And at the same time, the largest banks in the United Kingdom have introduced Islamic banking and Islamic mortgages (Islamic loans). Hence, there remains no good reason anymore to be afraid of the religion of Islam. Not only is Islam absolutely compatible with any democratic system, Pakistan is also an Islamic Republic already. Therefore, it is only the misuse, abuse and political expedience of Islam that needs to be stopped.

Now we come to the counterterrorism or counter radicalization and rehabilitation strategies. How have the Muslims been involved in this whole process? What have been the problems and what are the solutions? How is the Muslim community in the UK coping with the situation? What are the challenges and issues there, and how has the British Government addressed the issue of radicalization, extremism, violence and terrorism in the UK?

Stockwell Green Community Services (SGCS), the organization I chair, was the first institution in Europe that designed and executed a counter-radicalization program called SEED. The program was designed to address economic disadvantages and radicalization among the British Muslims and was run successfully for four years. It was evaluated by the Middlesex University of the United Kingdom. The organization also ran some programs before the 9/11 as well. During the whole de-radicalization programme, the Mullahs, the British Minister and the Police all sat together to talk about the role of education and that of the mosques in the development of local communities back in 2000 before the 9/11 happened. It signifies how the Muslim community, especially the Pakistani community, was practically well-advanced and addressing the issues of radicalization, extremism and terrorism even before the 9/11 and 7/7 incidents. In fact, the authorities at the time had been in a kind of slumber when the Muslim communities were, verbally as well as in writing, cautioning them of potential terrorists. It was the apathy of the authorities and the absence of any preemptive mechanism that resulted in the atrocities of 21st July in London.

The United Kingdom has now designed a triangular model of containment where the community leads, devises the mechanism, processes it and involves the Metropolitan Police in case of London, and other authorities in case of other areas like the Local Councils or districts here in Pakistan. The model, designed back in 2001 and 2002, is working so effectively that the Home Office and the Association of Chief Police Officers in the UK have adopted it and now it is even being looked into in Spain, Holland and Germany. This is how people living in the United Kingdom have spread this counter radicalization strategy throughout the European Union through a very simple program.

We had already designed and executed de-radicalization programs before the whole process of a counterterrorism strategy started by the UK government and it is because of this that the government was very keen to work with us. We suggested that instead of leaving the Muslim community as part of the problem, encourage and empower them to be part of the solution. This proposal was accepted by the Prime Minister, the Police Chief, the Home Office Ministry, the Intelligence Agency, the Scotland Yard and the Metropolitan Police throughout the country and now the Muslims are leading the counter-extremism programme which is well cooperated by the police and the local authorities.

It takes three years to rehabilitate one person. Education, religious monitoring, cleansing, providing jobs, and setting up a business for him are all vital aspects of rehabilitation. I wish Pakistani Government, its authorities and the communities could also start adopting the same model and not just leave it to the government to take the first step towards peace.

It might be extremely difficult to encourage the terrified communities in Pakistan to adopt this model unless people take full ownership of it and exhibit serious will power. One authority, one department or one community will not be able to contain the monster of extremism. In the UK, it is not just the Muslims, but the Jews, Christians, Hindus and Sikhs are all part of the de-radicalization programme.

At an international conference on “Dialogue among Civilizations”, my suggestion to the representatives from Pakistan and the United Kingdom was to encourage dialogue with the Taliban. I drew on the example of the dialogue which was held with the nationalist/terrorist groups in Northern Ireland which brought peace by disarming groups such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Although the IRA was responsible for mass killings, attempted murder and various bombings, they were brought to a halt through peace talks and dialogue. There are more than two thousand mosques, Islamic schools and Islamic seminaries in the United Kingdom and the people have full freedom to wear a turban or a big rope in public. One can even build a mosque provided one has permission from the government. Nonetheless, now it is becoming a problem because in Europe,

far right extremism is rapidly spreading. There are attacks on the Jews, Sikhs, Muslims and those Christians who support Muslims, Jews and Hindus. They are also cursed and attacked by the extremists as seen in Norway and UK (Steven Copland or David Copland, the nail bomber). There are many attacks by the far right extremists, which are not related only to Islam but also some terrorist camps where people are trained by both Christians and Muslims. Despite these safe houses, what is needed to be learnt from this aspect is how the communities and the authorities got together and never allowed 7/7 (2005) to happen again.

Unfortunately 7/7 happens every day in Pakistan. In Pakistan, the issue of mullah (clergyman) and madrasa (religious school) is also heard quite often in many conferences where it is said that the issue is in the madrasa, the Islamic school, and the mullah. I think if some mullah becomes an extremist and preaches terrorism, it has nothing to do with religion. It is he as an individual and does not mean that all mosques are preaching terrorism or extremism. It should also be noted that these mullahs are not mostly qualified. Pakistan is a unique country established on the basis of religion and that is why it was given the name of Islamic republic of Pakistan. However, that does not mean that minorities must not be given any rights. Minorities are also Pakistanis and they should be given every right that other Pakistanis deserve.

In Europe, there are some extremist mullahs and they are also not qualified. If someone grows a beard and starts wearing a turban to look like a perfect mullah and becomes an extremist, it has nothing to do with the religion of Islam. It is only he as an individual. In the UK no mullah, madrasa or a mosque promotes terrorism. More than a thousand young people have been arrested under terrorist acts and none of them was from a mosque, nor a member of any madrasa. They were students of universities and their parents were paying hefty amounts of fees to private schools and colleges.

We took the ownership of the problem in the UK and averted many catastrophic events after having only one 7/7. We need to take the ownership in Pakistan too. Let's have the inclusive society run the state alongside the democratically elected governments. The slogan we had

when 7/7 happened because we were working on these kinds of issues well in advance was “united we stand, stronger we are”.

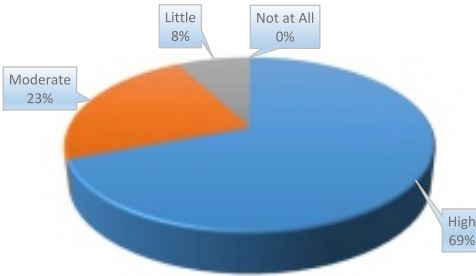
Annexe 3

**QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES FROM
TURKISH, INDONESIAN
& MALAYSIAN PERSPECTIVES
A SURVEY REPORT**

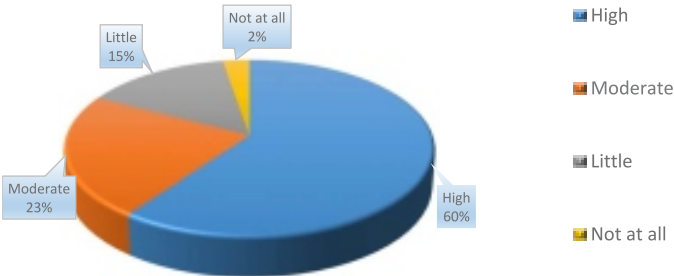
QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES - TURKISH PERSPECTIVE

Question 1: How much influence of religion do you see in the politics of Pakistan?

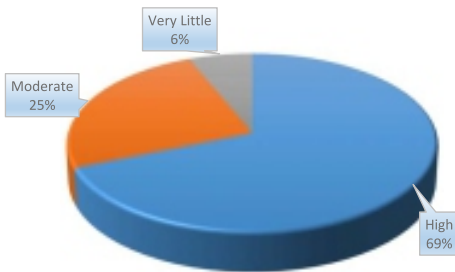
National Defence University



University of Peshawar

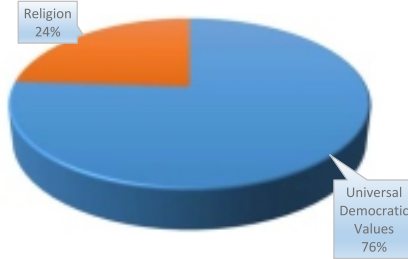


Forman Christian College

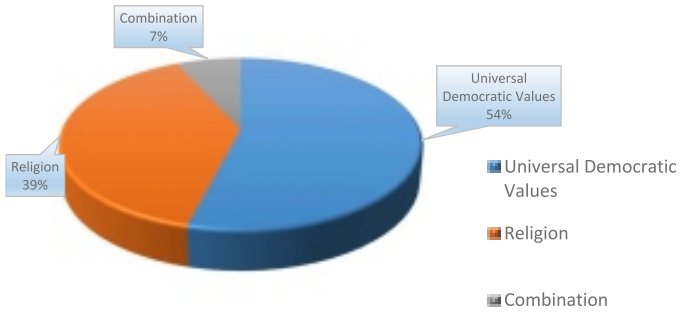


Question 2: What should guide the State?

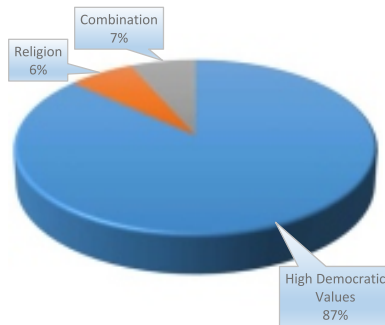
National Defence University



University of Peshawar

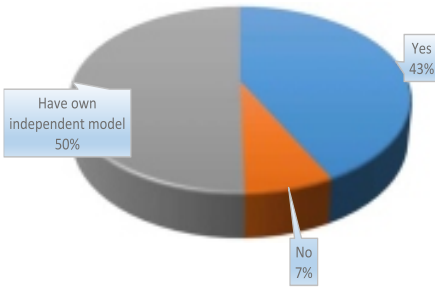


Forman Christian College

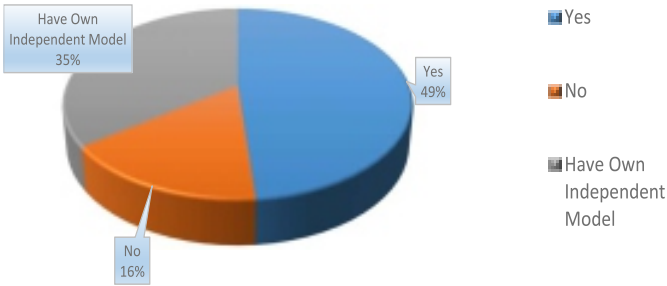


Question 3: Do you think Pakistan needs to learn from the Turkish model in which religion and politics are separate?

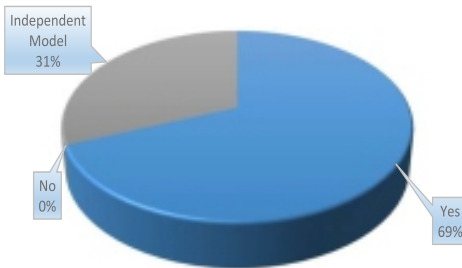
National Defence University



University of Peshawar

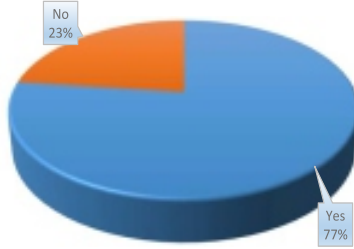


Forman Christian College

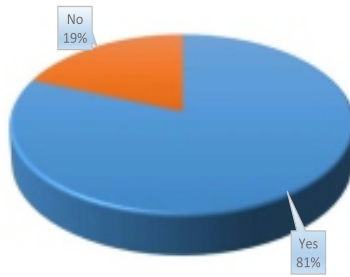


Question 4: Should Pakistan follow the Turkish model (Diyaret) for regulating faith-based institutions such as mosques, madaris, to prevent social friction and hate speech?

National Defence University



University of Peshawar



■ Yes

■ No

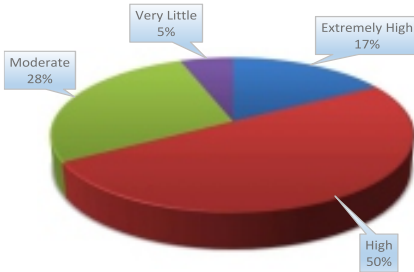
Forman Christian College



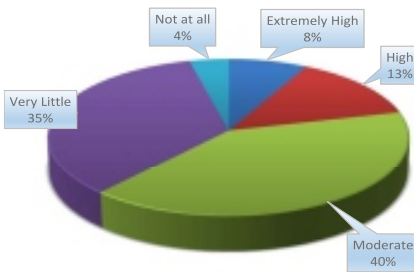
QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES - *INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE*

Question 1: How much influence of religion do you see in the politics of Pakistan?

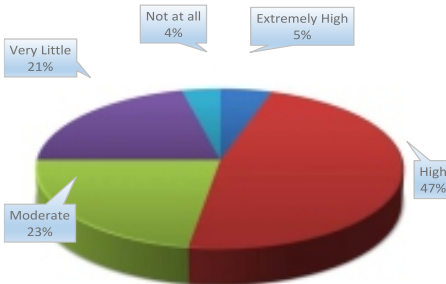
Quaid-i-Azam University



Fatima Jinnah Women University



University of Peshawar



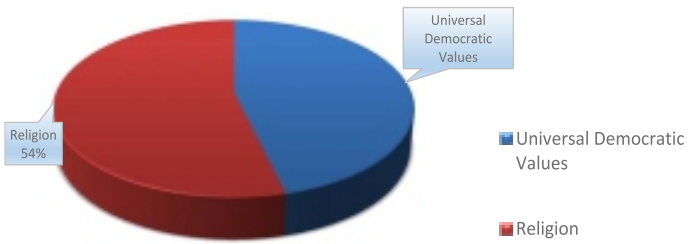
- Extremely High
- High
- Moderate
- Very Little
- Not at all

Question 2: What should guide the State?

Quaid-i-Azam University



Fatima Jinnah Women University

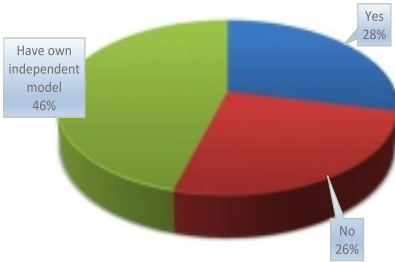


University of Peshawar

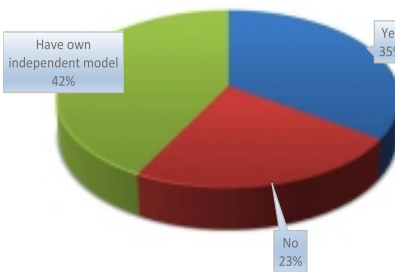


Question 3: Does Pakistan need to learn from the Indonesian model in which religion and politics are separate?

Quaid-i-Azam University



Fatima Jinnah Women University



University of Peshawar



Question 4: Should Pakistan follow the Indonesian model for regulating faith-based institutions such as mosques, madaris to prevent social friction and hate speech?

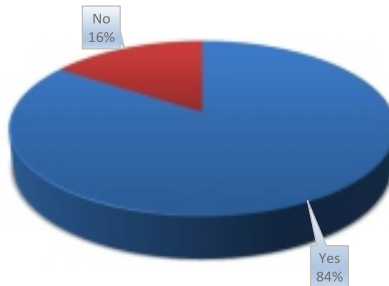
Quaid-i-Azam University



Fatima Jinnah Women University



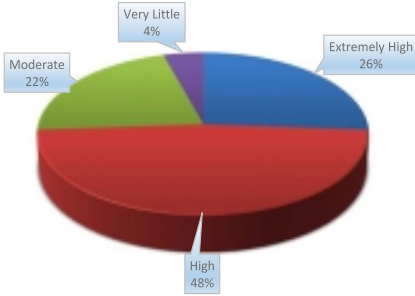
University of Peshawar



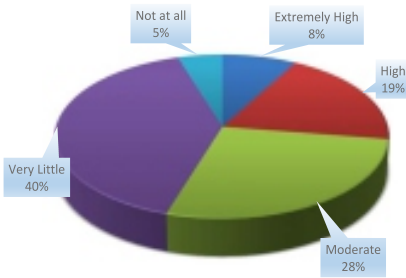
QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES - MALAYSIAN PERSPECTIVE

Question 1: How much influence of religion do you see in the politics of Pakistan?

Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS)

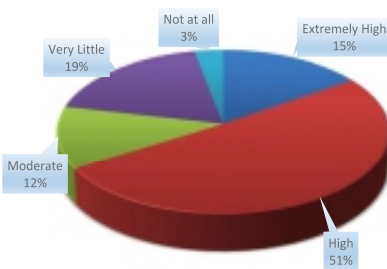


Fatima Jinnah Women University



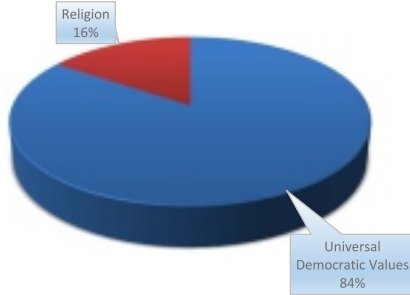
- Extremely High
- High
- Moderate
- Very Little
- Not at all

University of Peshawar

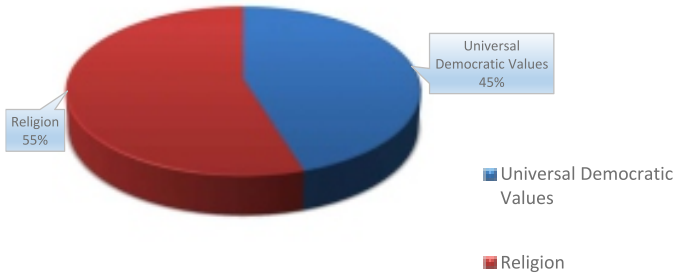


Question 2: What should guide the State?

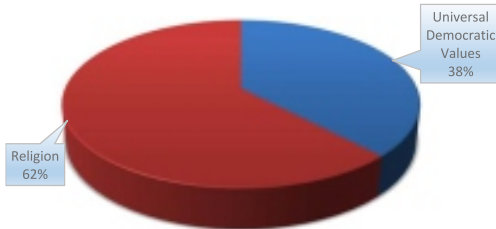
Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS)



Fatima Jinnah Women University

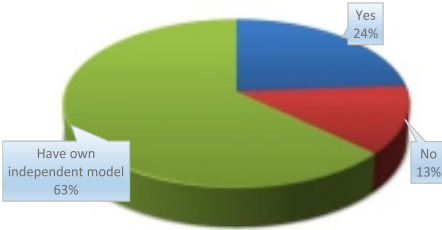


University of Peshawar

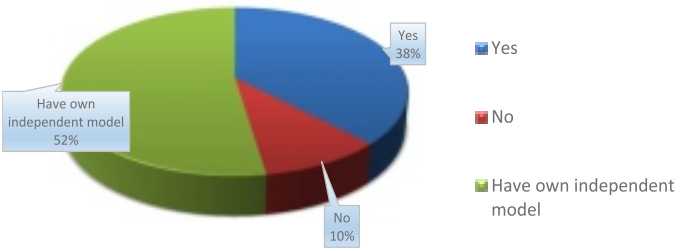


Question 3: Does Pakistan need to learn from the Malaysian model in which religion and politics are separate?

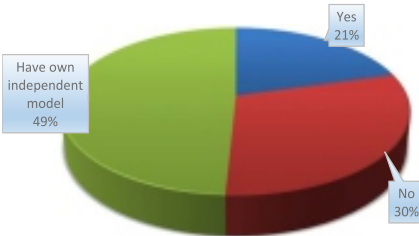
Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS)



Fatima Jinnah Women University

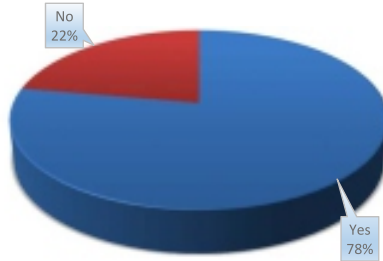


University of Peshawar



Question 4: Should Pakistan follow the Malaysian model for regulating faith-based institutions such as mosques, madaris to prevent social friction and hate speech?

Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS)



Fatima Jinnah Women University

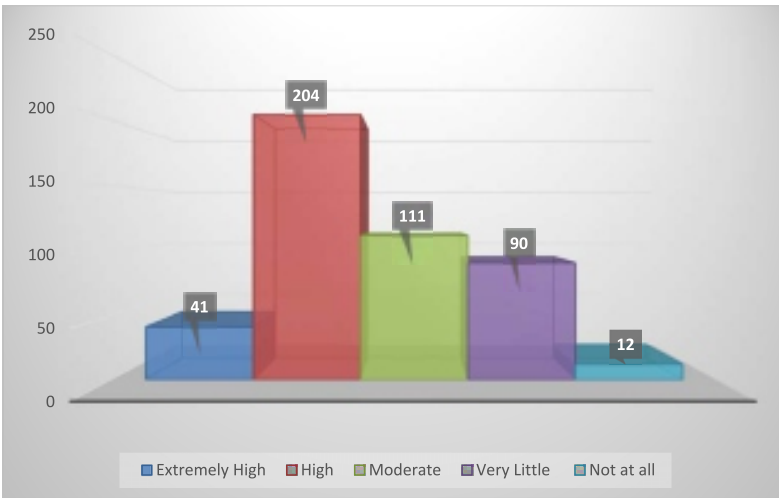


University of Peshawar

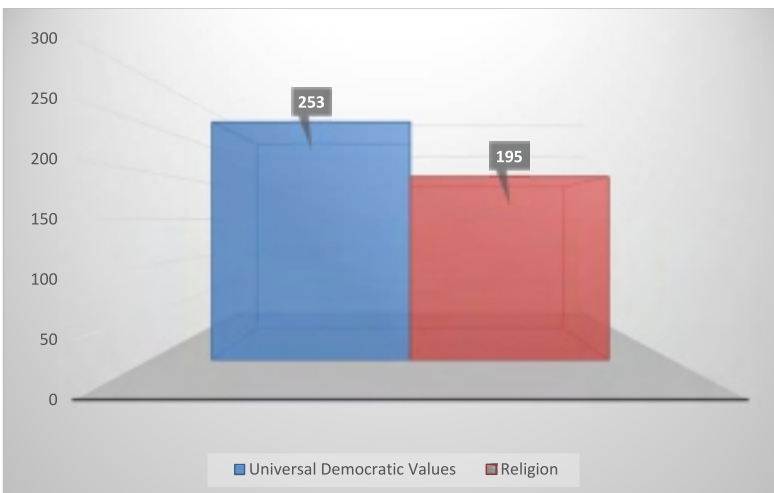


OVERALL QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

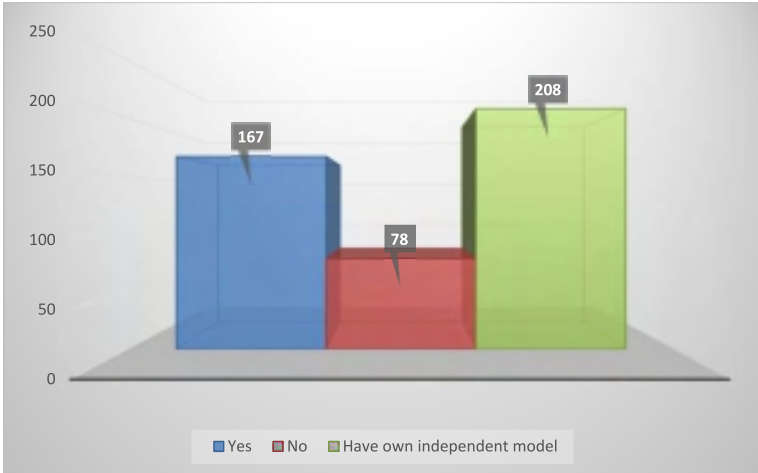
Question 1: How much influence of religion do you see in the politics of Pakistan?



Question 2: What should guide the State?



Question 3: Does Pakistan need to learn from these models (Turkish, Indonesian and Malaysian) in which religion and politics are separate?



Question 4: Should Pakistan follow these models (Turkish, Indonesian and Malaysian) for regulating faith-based institutions such as mosques, madaris to prevent social friction and hate speech?

