Chapter 6
Development of Modern Political System in Pakistan, Indonesia and the Arab World
CHAPTER VI

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN POLITICAL SYSTEM IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES

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PAKISTAN:

Official Name: Federal Republic

Capital: Islamabad

Population: 150,694,740 (July 2003 est.)

Independence: 14 August 1947 (from UK)

Chief of State: President Pervez Musharraf (since 20 June 2001)

Head of Government: Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz (since 2004)

Languages: Punjabi 48%, Sindi 12%, Siraik 10%, Pashto 8%, Urdu (official (8%), Baluchi 3%, Hindko 2%, Brahui 1% Burushaki and others 8%

Religions: Sunni Muslim (77%), Shi'a Muslim 20%, Christian, Hindu and others 3%.

* India Yearbook 2005, p. 383

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6.1 **PAKISTAN:**

This Muslim Country has 149,030,000 population according to official estimates at mid-year of 1424/2003. Its president is the head of state and acts on the advice of the Prime Minister in Council of Ministers. He is elected by an electoral college, comprising the two chambers of the Federal Legislature and the four Provincial Assemblies, to serve for a term of five years. He must be a Muslim. The president may be impeached for violating the constitution or gross misconduct. The Federal Legislature consists of the president, a lower and an upper house. The lower house, called the National Assembly, has 207 members elected directly for a term of five years, on the basis of universal suffrage (for adults over the age of 21 years), plus 10 members representing minorities. The upper house, called the Senate, has 87 members who serve for six years, with one-third retiring every two years. Each provincial assembly is to elect 19 Senators. The tribal areas are to return eight members and the remaining three are to be elected from the Federal Capital Territory by members of the Provincial Assemblies.

Two sessions of the National Assembly and the Senate are prescribed for each year with not more than 120 days between the last sitting of a session and first sitting of the next session.

The role of the Senate in an overwhelming majority of the subjects shall be merely advisory. Disagreeing with any legislation of the National Assembly, it shall have the right to send it back only once for reconsideration. In case of disagreement in other subjects, the Senate
and National Assembly shall sit in a joint session to decide the matter by a simple majority. Pakistan comprises the four provinces of Sindh, Baluchistan, Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, plus the federal capital and Federally Administered Tribal Areas. Right now (February 2005) the Head of state is General Pervez Musharraf who was sworn in 20 June 2001 and his Prime Minister is Mr. Shaukat Aziz (since 2004).

6.1.1 POLITICAL BACKGROUND:

The oldest history of Pakistan is traced back to Indus Valley civilization which existed 4000 years ago, while Muslim rule began with the arrival of Mohammad Qasim Thaqafi in the year 712AD, followed by Umayyad and Abbasid Rule which gave in to the petty dynasties and ultimately Delhi Sultanate (1206 – 1526 AD). It come under the Mughal Empire and remained a part of it till the end. Then the British ruled over most areas from 1256/1840s; it was separated from India to form a state for the Muslim majority in, 1367/1947; consisted of west Pakistan (Baluchistan, North-West frontier, west Punjab, Sindh) and East Pakistan (East Bengal), physically separated by 1610 Kms and it occupied Jammu and Kashmir, 1369/1949 and proclaimed an Islamic republic in 1376/1956; the differences arose between the East and the West, and Pakistan was engulfed into a civil war in 1391/1971; East Pakistan became an independent state (Bangladesh); the West Pakistan was ruled by – Z.A. Bhutto who dethroned by military coup by General Zia ul- Haq in 1398/1977, with execution of former Prime Minister Bhutto in 1400/1979; New Constitution (1378/1985) strengthened Zia’s powers; Benazir Bhutto was elected Prime Minister in 1409/1988 but
deposed in 1410/1990; Ethnic (Muslim/Sindh) violence, especially in Karachi took place in 1414/1994 and still going on; once again a military coup occurred in 1999 and the coup leader, General Pervez Musharraf, was declared president in 1422/2001; Sensitive border area with Afghanistan, following the US-led anti-Taliban campaign, 2001, focusing on Afghan refugees. Pakistan pro-Taliban fighters, and Taliban escapees; ongoing tension with India over Kashmir, with some fighting, 2001, escalating into a major crisis, mid 1423/2002; governed by an elected president and a bicameral Federal Parliament.

6.1.2 MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH, (QUAID-I-AZAM), FATHER OF PAKISTAN:

The British ruled over the Indian subcontinent for nearly 200 years from 1170/1756 to 1367/1947. After the Indian Mutiny of 1247/1857, the British government abolished the powers of British East India Company, which had ruled the subcontinent on behalf of the British Crown, and took on direct powers of governance. Political reforms were initiated, allowing the formation of political parties. The Indian National Congress, representing the overwhelming majority of the people, was created in 1303/1885. The Muslim League was formed in 1324/1906 to represent and protect the position of the Muslim Minority in India when the British introduced constitutional reforms in 1327/1909, the Muslims demanded and required separate electoral rolls. This granted Muslims representation in the provincial as well as national legislatures until the down of independence in 1367/1947.

The idea of a separate Muslim state in South Asia was put forward in 1349/1930 by the poet and philosopher Sir Mohammad Iqbal.
He suggested that the North-Western provinces of British India and the native state of Jammu and Kashmir should be joined into such a state. The name “Pakistan, coined by the Rahmat Ali a great leader of Muslim League which came to be used to describe this grouping, is thought to have originated as a compound abbreviation made up of letters of the names of the provinces involved, as follows: Punjab, Afghania (North West Frontier Province), Kashmir, Indus-Sindh, and Baluchistan. An alternative explanation says the name means “Land of the pure”. By the end of the 1349/1930s, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Leader of the Muslim League and considered the founding father of Pakistan had also decided that the only way to preserve Indian Muslims from Hindu domination was to establish a separate Muslim state. In 1359/1940 the Muslim League formally endorsed the partitioning of British India and the creation of Pakistan as a separate Muslim state. The British decided on 1367/August 15, 1947, transferred power dividedly to India and Pakistan.

6.1.3 PAKISTAN’S NUCLEAR:

This power has given higher degree of Militarian powerful to Pakistan and it has became as a more powerful Muslim country. With Bhutto in office, relations between India and Pakistan became more tense. Bhutto openly supported the Muslim rebels in Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir, who were involved in sporadic fighting against the Indian army. He also announced that Pakistan would continue with its nuclear weapons development programme, raising concerns that a nuclear arms race could start between Pakistan and India, which is believed to have had nuclear weapons since the 1390/1970s. In 1417/1996 the united
state of America returned to a policy of delaying delivery of military
equipment to Pakistan owing to China having supplied nuclear-
weapons-related materials in 1416/1995. In 1419/April 1998 Pakistan
openly tested a surface-to-surface missile with a range of 1500 Km (930
mi). Following five underground nuclear tests by India in 1419/May
1998, Pakistan responded within days with six nuclear tests. The events
further heightened tensions between the two countries.7

6.1.4 POLITICAL PARTIES AND LEADERS OF PAKISTAN:

General Pervez Musharraf dissolved the Parliament following the
military take over of 1420/12 October 1999, however, political parties
have been allowed to operate; list of main political parties of Pakistan is
given below:

1. Awami National Party (ANP) [Wali Khan]
2. Balochistan National Movement (BNM) [Dr. Hayee Baluch]
3. Baluch National Party (BNP) [Sardar Akhtar Mengal]
4. Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP) [Akbar Khan]
5. Jamiat-al-Hadith (JAH) [Sajid Mir]
6. Jamiat Ulema-i-Islami, Fazlur Rehman Faction (JUI)
7. Jamaiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP) [Niazi Faction]
8. Millat party [Farooq Leghari]
9. Milli Yakjheti Council (MYC) is an organization which
   includes Jamaat-i-Islam or (JI) [Qazi Hussain Ahmed]
10. Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (JUI) [Sami ul-Haq]
11. Tehrik-i-Jafria Pakistan (TJP), [Allama Sajid Naqvi]

12. Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP) [Noorani Faction]

13. Mutahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), [Altaf Faction]

14. National People’s Party (NPP) [Ghulam Mustapha]

15. Pakhtun Khwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) [Mohammad Khan Achakzal].

16. Pakistan Quami Party (PQP) [Mohammad Afzal Khan]

17. Pakistan Awami Tehrik (PAT) [Tahir ul Qadri]

18. Pakistan Muslim Leage’ Junejo, Function group (PML/J) [Hamid Nasir]

19. Pakistan Muslim League (PML/N) [Nawaz Sharif Faction]

20. Pakistan National Party (PNP), [Hasil Bizenjo]

21. Pakistan people’s Party (PPP) [Benazir Bhutto], The PPP’s contribution to politicization of the country’s politics will always be regarded as a notable achievement—particularly in the Punjab.

22. Pakistan People’s Party/ Shaheed Bhutto (PPP/SB) [Ghinva Bhutto]

23. Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI) [Imran Khan]

Political alliances in Pakistan can shift frequently.

However, the political parties in Pakistan may profess to believe in democratic politics or in democracy as form of government, their leadership has offered no proof of the truth of their claim.
6.1.5 **ISLAMIC POWER GROUPS IN PAKISTAN:**

General Musharraf has had to withdraw his proposed amendments to the blasphemy law and modify the provisional constitutional order of 1420/1999, deleting Islamic provisions, due to sever opposition from such groups. His instructions to Madrassas to file detailed information about themselves are being observed in the breach and are as good as not being there. There is also an effort to control exhibition of weapons at meetings organized by extremist groups but it is also not making much headway. In the eyes of some such groups, Pakistan is not even an Islamic State since it does not conform to the government at Medina that existed under Prophet Muhammad and, therefore, it has no right to regulate activities dear to Islam such as **Jihad** (holy-war). The JL Chief, Qazi Hussain scaled new heights of opposition and bravado when he recently asked the corps commanders to overthrow Musharraf for having permitted Nawaz Sharif to go into exile.

There is pressure from western countries including USA, Russia and China upon Pakistan to control the Jehadi outfits in the country, as operatives trained at these institutions have been active against the interests of those countries. Evidence is yet to be available that the Pakistani establishment feels confident about responding to these approaches effectively. However, many Islamic groups are against the increasing pressures of foreign countries, especially USA.

Without the agreement of Islamic groups in Pakistan it will be difficult for any government there to work for an accommodation with India. The call for bilateral talks for the purpose under Tashkent and Simla agreements had failed to yield any results when the Islamic lobby
was not as powerful as today. In today's environment shall be even more difficult.

6.1.6 FUTURE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN:

A Lahore newspaper published a brief report from Washington in January 2001 saying that a United State of America commission on National Security had made certain predictions about South Asia for the next quarter century, which saw Pakistan split as a result of war in Afghanistan. The commission saw India fighting a war with Afghanistan over the Taliban Policies, over Afghanistan’s Shia-Hazara population, drugs, the Wahabi interpretation of Islam, and over 'sheer geo-strategic rivalry'. This Indo Afghan War is supposed to include Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, each seeking to absorb the Uzbek and Tajik minorities of Afghanistan.

According to the Commission, the collapse of nuclear Pakistan will start a competition between Iran and India over the territories of Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan. There is a possibility of a 'major' Indo-Pakistan war after a military 'miscalculation'. But India is seen as the new world power by the end of 25 years by reason of economic recovery and growth. Pakhtun is seen as dwindling economically till its various nationalities, the Pakistan, the Baluch, and the Muhajirs, being to seek their own separate states. Then the commission delivers the caveat that the conflicts predicted by it may not happen at all.

Iran’s economic and human indicators are also projected into the future. It is double the territorial size of Pakistan with only half as much population, which has been 'capped' effectively by official 'Islamic'
contraception. If Iran acquires nuclear weapons capability in the years to come it will emerge as a regional power friendly to the Western World after its Islamic intensity, already on the wane in 1421/2000 is replaced by a reversion to its great ‘civilization’.

The next 25 years may see a ‘globalised’ South Asia with ‘provinces’ competing with one another economically in conditions of peace. The politics of Assam in India and Baluchistan in Pakistan are propelled by an awareness of resources, which can be ‘sold’ to the ‘federation’. As a reaction to these tendencies, both India and Pakistan are moving towards the view that provinces must be paid a fair price for resources used by the other provinces.

But developments dreaded by many may not come to pass. ‘Nuclear powers’ who collapsed economically in the past (USSR, South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, North Korea, etc.) all accepted ‘reform’ of behaviour instead of ‘imploding’ and unleashing proliferation on scared world. After economic collapse, most nations concentrated their energies on the national economy and many emerged as powerful states ‘without’ nuclear weapons. The Japanese-German model of supremacy without arms seems to take hold in the beginning of 2000. But internal wars is also a pattern to emerge in Asia and Africa at the same time. The world is on the threshold of change. It is to be seem what direction it takes.

6.1.7 THE PUBLIC OPINION AND STATUS OF PRESS IN PAKISTAN:

the most influential. The daily newspaper with the largest circulation is ‘Daily Jang’. Although the English-language press reaches only a small percentage of the population, it is influential in political academic and professional circles. The four main press groups in Pakistan are ‘Jang Publications’ (The daily Jang, The News, The Daily News and the Weekly Akhbar-e-Jehan) the Dawn or Herald Group, the Nawa-i-Waqt group and the National Press Trust (Mashriq). The establishment of an independent press council was under consideration in 1425/2004\(^\text{15}\).

In is important to note that despite military regimes the newspapers of Pakistan have been largely free and outspoken. Of course sometimes they have to obey orders of the rulers, but they succeeded in forming or at least influencing the public opinion. The ruling classes also realized the power and prestige of big newspaper and tried to appear than of their leaders in various ways. A free press is, of course, a weaker of public opinion.
INDONESIA:

Official Name: Republic

Capital: Jakarta

Population: 234,893,453 (July 2003 est.)

Independence: 17 August 1945

Chief of State: President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Since October 2004)

Head of Government: The president in both the chief of State and head of government.

Languages: Bahasa Indonesia (official), English, Dutch

Religions: Muslim 88%, Protestant 5%, Roman Catholic 3%, Hindu 2%, Buddhist 1%, others 1%.

* Yearbook 2005, p. 317
6.2 INDONESIA:

6.2.1 INDONESIA; RECENT POLITICAL HISTORY:

The Republic of Indonesia consists of a group of about 18,108 islands and its population according UN estimates at mid year of 1423/2002, was 217,131,000\(^\text{16}\).

Indonesia was formerly the Netherlands East Indies. Dutch occupation began in the 17\(^{\text{th}}\) century and gradually extended over the whole archipelago. Nationalist opposition to colonial rule began in the early 20\(^{\text{th}}\) century. During the second World War the territory was occupied by Japanese forces (3 years). In 1365/1945 a group of nationalists proclaimed independence of Indonesia. The first president of the self-proclaimed republic was Dr. Sukarno (1901-1970), a leader of the nationalist movement since 1339/1920. The declaration of independence was not recognized by the Netherlands, which attempted to restore its pre-war control of the Islands. After four years of intermittent warfare and negotiations between the Dutch authorities and the nationalists, agreement was reached on a formal transfer of power. On 27\(^{\text{th}}\) December 1949 the United States of Indonesia became legally independent, with Sukarno continuing as president. Initially, the country had a federal Constitution, which gave limited self-government to the 16 constituent regions. In 1370/August 1950, however, the federation was dissolved, and the country became a unitary Republic of Indonesia. The 1369/1949 independence agreement excluded West New Guinea (Subsequently Irian Java and known as Papua from 1 January 2002), which remained under Dutch control until 1382/ October 1962\(^\text{17}\).
6.2.2 POLITICAL VIEWS OF SUKARNO AND HIS SUCCESSOR SUHARTO:

The State’s first president, Sukarno (1949-70), who called himself ‘a convinced nationalist, a convinced Muslim, a staunch Marxist’, urged, like Ataturk, that Islam should remain a private religion. Both Sukarno and his successor Suharto regarded Islam with considerable apprehension and caution, and tried to maintain Indonesia as a secular state in which the political activities of religious groups were strictly regulated. As a result the state managed to check Muslim political ambitions while rural Ulama, reformers, and modernists continued to present a variety of Islamic opinion and practice to Indonesia’s Muslims.

Sukarno followed a policy of extreme nationalism, and his regime became increasingly dictatorial. His foreign policy was sympathetic to the people’s Republic of China but under his rule, Indonesia also played a leading role in the Non-aligned Movement.

In 1387/February 1967 Sukarno transferred full power to Suharto, and he became Prime Minister in October 1967 and in 1968 he became president and re-elected to the presidency in 1393/ March 1973.

During 1405/1984 suharto’s attempt to introduce legislation requiring all political, social and religious organizations to adopt ‘Pancasila’, the five-points state Philosophy (belief in a Supreme humanitarianism; national unity; democracy by consensus and social justice) as their only ideology encountered opposition.
6.2.3 POLITICAL TRANSITION IN POST-SUHARTO PERIOD:

The downfall of Suharto in 1419/ May 1998 was celebrated as heralding the birth of a ‘new Indonesia’, and a ‘second independence’ from the oppressive rule of their own ruler and its worst manifestation in the form of “Cronyism, corruption and collusion” (KKN). The change brought a rising expectation and a hope that it would usher in a new era of democracy in Indonesia, as well as good governance, transparency and accountability of its new leaders.

Mark Malloch Brown, head of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) considers Indonesia’s current problems as a ‘democratic birth-pains problem’ when he says that one can not expect” … this government to solve all the problems. A first government elected under these circumstances has a double crisis. It lacks the legitimacy and the consensus within its own rank to take certain bold decisions, yet, on the other hand, because it is the first democratic government there is a huge crisis of expectations … it is caught between those weak capacities and those huge aspirations for it.

The government that took over in 1420/October 1999 under the leadership of Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati Sukarnoputri as president and Vice-president respectively, was a legitimate one, the result of a fair election and Parliamentary process and was committed to an inclusive style of policy-making, economic recovery and national unity. Under their leadership, Indonesia was becoming more liberal and humane in many ways as the harsh policies of the Suharto’s 32 years of rule were overturned.
Until 1421/August 2000, Wahid’s government was based on compromises and included a hodge-podge (Indonesian gado-gado) of reformers, holdovers from Suharto’s ruling Golkar, and representatives of the military. After sidelining the military and consolidating democracy, Wahid’s government was under increasing pressure to speed up economic reforms or risk losing the fragile gains in stability it had achieved. Political parties that have been formed in the post-Suharto era have not been able to overcome the shortcomings of the old party system characterized by narrow sectarian interest and lack of organizational capacity. They still rely for the societal support on their leaders rather than on collective action based on party-building, elite recruitment and constructive programme and action at the grassroots level. All three new major political parties – Partai Demokracy Indonesia (PDI) Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) and Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) are known not by their disciplined organizational party machinery which is able to mediate the interests of their supporters, but their charismatic leaders- Megawati, Abdurrahman Wahid and Amien Rais, respectively. The process of ‘reinvention’ and democratization, therefore, was going to be long and difficult- until the time when the political parties of Indonesia will be able to transform themselves from ‘Partai takoh’ (Parties of Prominent individuals) to parties with disciplined cadres and committed members based on organized collective behaviour.24

In the broader picture of Indonesia politics, they might not have made a major imprint as yet because of the miniscule size of such groups. Seen from a longer perspective, however, the emergence of such citizens watch groups will go a long way not only in the creation of
healthy civil society, but also in laying the foundations for grass root democracy in Indonesia.

6.2.4 STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT:

Indonesia has a considerable geo-strategic importance and a significant economic potential. Its stability and prosperity are in Germany and Europe’s interest. With a population more than 210 million people it is the fourth most populous country and after Suharto’s downfall also the third-largest democracy in the world after India and United state of America. As more than 80% of Indonesian are Muslims, that makes it the biggest Muslim country worldwide. Undoubtedly, Indonesia’s democratization has made progress after Suharto’s departure. There were free elections, Parliament has become more active then before, decentralization legislation was passed, and freedom of the press exists. However, Indonesia is still being considered to be in a lengthy period of high instability and prone to crisis. Conflicts are caused on ethnic, Social, religious, and political grounds. They are often instrumentalized by political interest and justified on a religious basis.

6.2.5 THE PRESS AND ITS ROLE:

In 1411/August 1990 the government announced that censorship of both the local and foreign press was to be relaxed and that the authorities would refrain from revoking the licences of newspapers that violated legislation governing the press. In practice, however, there was little change in the Government’s policy towards the press. Following
the resignation of president Suharto in 1419/May 1998, the new Government undertook to allow freedom of expression.

6.2.6 THE ROLE OF TELEVISION:

In 1410/March 1989 Indonesia's first private commercial television station began broadcasting to the Jakarta area. In 1417/1996 there were five privately-owned television stations in operation.

6.2.7 PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION, DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS AND REFORM NEEDS:

It became obvious through the Asian economic crisis that it is the political, legal and economic order, which, in the long term, decides on the prosperity of nations.

After 32 years of authoritarian regime, however, Indonesia lacks almost entirely functioning, stable institutions. It is a potentially rich country, but without institutions that generate prosperity. Its natural wealth disappears through inefficiencies and other problems. Therefore, the country needs at the same time stabilization and the determined building up of a political system characterized by freedom, democracy and rule of law. Conflict prevention and internal peace, continuation of the democratization efforts especially on the local level (provinces, regions), legal reform, economic recovery within a social market economy based on competition which makes prosperity for all possible—these are core elements of the reform needs, in Indonesia. For this reason the country needs a competent, democratically minded political leadership.
The development of a workable political system is an institutional, collective and individual learning process that needs time. Additionally, an ethical and moral transformation process is necessary in Indonesia in order to come to terms with the burdens of the past and to prevent possible future conflicts.

6.2.8 **Head of State Government of Indonesia:**

1. 1949 – 56 (Ahmed) Sukarno
2. 1966 – 98 Suharto
3. 1998 – 99 Habibie
4. 1999 – 2001 Abdurrahman Wahid
5. 2001 – 2004 Miss Megawati Sakarnoputri
6. 2004 - Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

6.2.9 **Versatile 'S-B-Y' Inaugurated as Country's First Directly Elected President**

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono – known to his countrymen simply as S-B-Y took office on 4 October 2004. He is a man of contrasts. A general and his country's one-time security chief, Yudhoyono is respected for his intellectual bent and cautious decision-making style. He made a name for himself with his antiterrorism efforts and then established himself as a popular leader in a country whose 238 million (2004 est.) People make it the world's largest Islamic-majority state. Yudhoyono has singled out. The economy, corruption and terrorism as his first priorities.
Yudhoyono can be expected to be as friendly toward the United State as political prudence permits in a country where tens of thousands have demonstrated against the U.S.-led war in Iraq. He studied in American Universities and received training from the U.S. Military.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as a new President of Indonesia and his stance regarding political reformation.

We will reinforce our security services, police and immigration in recognition of terrorist activity. We should demolish corruption fully in both structural and cultural ways. I have mentioned the police and public prosecutor to scrutinize all the corrupted files as quickly as possible. We have forbidden to use the army for our political or other purposes, because it disturbs the trend of the improvement of democracy. Nowadays, in Indonesia, the violence of human rights has been decreased by the army. If it is seen in some parts like "Acheh" or "West Popna, at attempt will be made to held military courts. We have the opportunity to make the new policy to end the struggle in "Acheh".

He remarks in response to the question of: Do you enjoy being a President?

Yes, why not, it is a responsibility for me, not an entertainment, it is a mission, a challenge and also a learning. There is a lot of problems that I should face them.
6.3 **THE ARAB WORLD:**

What is the exact commutation of 'The Arab World'?

The Arabic-speaking peoples are searching for identity. Even since World War II, they have talked of unity while remaining as separated as ever; they have spoken of one "Arab Nation", while acting as a dozen different nations. The only things which they have in common are language, religion and culture.

One of the factors which separate; the Arabic-speaking countries is the form of government. There are monarchies, republics, dictatorships, Para-democracies, and small sheikhdoms on the Persian Gulf, which defy classification. Other, the degree of education and general attitude toward the modern world. Countries like Lebanon and Egypt, which have numerous universities and attitudes within comparative to Yaman and Iraq and also in the area of economic the United Arab of Emarates to compare with Bahrain and Iraq.

After World War II, two factors kept the possibility of unity alive among the Arab countries:

1. Israel, that its establishment enraged all of the Arabic Speaking people and countries.

2. The appearance of a popular and charismatic leader in the person of Gamal Abd al-Nasser. Photographs of Nasser could be seen in practically in every Arab Market place, home, and tent from Yaman to Morocco.
6.3.1 Syria and Arab World:

The history of Arabic-speaking countries of the Fertile crescent during the quarters of a century after war II is in part the story of the reaction of each country to Israel and to the leadership of Nasser, carried on in a context of an inter-Arab cold war. Syria is one of the best examples of the Arabs’ desire for unity and their difficulties in achieving it. Syria can rightly claim to be the home of modern Arab nationalism. The division of Ottoman “Syria” into four independent countries (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine), with the latter of them an alien implant, has never been accepted by ardent Syrian nationalists.

In the relatively free elections which took place after the coup of 1374/1954, the Ba’th (Resurrection) party gained 15 Seats. This was not very impressive, but in the light of the role the party played in Syria it was quite significant. The Ba’th party was created (by Michel Aflaq) in 1373/1953 from a fusion of two parties which had been Pan-Arab and socialist in their orientation; the party was led by Michel Aflaq, a Christian and Salah al-Bitar, a Muslim. Ba’thists became influential and organized branches in Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq. The main rival of the Ba’th in Syria, in organization, ideology, and influence, was the communist Party.

Right now the policy of Syria in the inside country, is like the period of Hafiz Asad, the father of Bashar Asad, present president, both being elected as a single candidate for life. On other hand their foreign policy had not undergone any change, as it opposed Israel and has good
relationship with USA and very good relationship with Iran and other Muslim Countries. But during the war between Iran and Iraq, the relationship between Syria and Iraq became strained because the Syrians took the side of Iran.

6.3.2 Iraq and Arab World:

Arab nationalist rhetoric certainly formed part of their official credo and was adhered to as an ideal by a considerable number of Ba’thists and others in Iraq. However, the men in command showed themselves to be as jealous of Iraqi sovereignty and thus preoccupied with the organization of power within the territorial state, as had any of their predecessors. With the great increase in the government’s revenues after the oil price rises of the 1390/1970’s the trend of placing Iraq first was ever move marked. The Arab world came to be seen by the regime as a stage on which Iraq could assert its own primacy and thereby the supremacy of the leader of Iraq, adding to the stature of the dominant figure of Saddam Husain.

The emergence of Saddam Husain and his construction of a dictatorship demanding obedience and using violence on a scale unmatched in Iraq’s history are the dominant themes of the politics of this period. The factors, which made it possible, as well as its consequences for Iraqi’s political life, do not suggest a radical break with the past. On the contrary, the methods Saddam Husain has used, some of the values he espouses and the political logic of the system that he has established in Iraq have all been prefigured in previous regimes to varying degrees34.
The dictatorship of the more than past thirty years has been in part the result of just such competitive and ruthless struggles, conducted with a view to excluding and suppressing alternatives in the shaping of the history of Iraq\textsuperscript{35}.

In 1401/1980, Saddam had countered the potential threat of an expansionist revolutionary Islam by invading Iran. With the support of moderate Arab States, the United States, and Europe, and heavily financed by the Gulf States, Saddam Husain became the defender of Gulf Arabs against Iran. Thus, Iraq received economic and military support from its allies, who conveniently overlooked Saddam’s use of chemical warfare against the Kurds and the Iranians and Iraq’s efforts to develop nuclear weapons.

6.3.3 SADDAM’S AGGRESSIVE ARAB NATIONALISM:

Two years after the Iran–Iraq truce of 1409/1988, the politics of the Gulf and of the Middle East had been reversed. Saddam Hussain did what his Gulf patrons had earlier paid him to prevent. Having turned back the threat to the Gulf from Iran, he overran Kuwait and confronted his Gulf\textsuperscript{26} neighbors in the name of Arab nationalism and Islam. Ironically, he accomplished this with a military machine paid for in large part by the tens of billions of dollars Kuwait and the Gulf States had poured into Iraq and the weapons and Technology provided by the Soviet Union, Germany, and France. Even more ironically, Saddam attempted to legitimate his “naked aggression” not only in the name of Iraqi nationalism, but also in the name of Arab nationalism and Islam. Saddam simultaneously sought to appropriate or claim the historic roles of ‘Nebuchadnezzar’, Gamal Abd al-Nasser, and Salahuddin Ayyubi\textsuperscript{37}.
While Saddam Husain failed to win the support of the leadership in the Arab world, he enjoyed a degree of popular support often not fully appreciated in the west, where the tendency was to focus on those governments that supported the USA initiative and to equate the position of these Arab rulers with that of their people. As a result, little distinction was made between the differing perspectives of Western nations supported by their Arab allies and the views of a significant portion of the populace whose deep-seated grievances and frustrations were given a new voice and champion in Saddam Husain.  

At last the wrong policy of Saddam opened the political space and military opportune for the west especial America and England that attacked Iraq and occupied it and so became dangerous to Islamic countries especially Iran that has border with Iraq.

6.3.4 The Israeli – Arab wars:

Wars between Arabs and Israelis have taken place from the day the state of Israel was implanted by the West on the land of Palestine in 1368/May 1948, dominating the headlines and featuring prominently in books about Israel. The balance sheet, after more than fifty years of Israeli-Arab conflict, indicates that on the battlefield there has been no clear victor-neither Arab nor Israel.

For the Middle East in general, and for the people of Palestine in particular, 1368/1948 was clearly a turning point. It was the year in which the British Mandate for Palestine terminated, a Jewish state called Israel was established. Thousands of Arab Palestinians became refugees in their own home, and regular armed forces of Transjordan, Egypt,
Syria and other Arab countries entered Palestine-Israel and clashed with Israel forces. Thus began the first all-out Arab-Israel war which-like the civil war which preceded it-revolved around land. In that war Israel held ground and even defeated Egypt and Lebanon. But the Jordanians and Syrians did well and in the War 1967 defeated Egypt, Jordan and Syria. In the Yom Kippur War, where Egypt and Syria managed to win an important battle in the initial phase of the conflict but were later forced to yield their gains to the victorious Israelis. Then, during the years of the “Intifada”, Israel failed to contain the disturbances, and the Palestinians uprising which began in 1987 was ended temporarily after the singing of Oslo agreement in 1993, only to start again with much more ferocity in 2000. Wars, however, are a clash not only of arms but of words, and if, as we have just stated, there was no victor on the battlefield. There was indeed a clear victor in the war of words.

During the first decades of the state, Israel was the gathering place of Jewish immigrants from the four corners of the earth, and rather than a homogeneous society it was an assembly of communities and diverse people, some of whom were still ‘adding up the grocery bill in Arabic; others dreaming in Yiddish and singing to their children lullabies in English or Russian.

In 1987, two thirds of Israelis stated that they would not support social services cuts in order to increase the defence budget, and in 1992 only 24 per cent of Israelis said they would be willing to finance increased defense spending. These changes in the environment and within Israeli society were significant in that they had a strong effect.
on the attitudes and behaviour of Israelis and their willingness to fight in wars and pay for them. Indeed, the perception of a decreasing external threat, the disappearance of the Holocaust generation and a shift from collective ideals and priorities to individual ones, meant that a more confident Israeli nation, less fearful for its very existence and less traumatized and haunted by its past, was also showing itself to be less single-minded and more reluctant to take up arms and sacrifice, as was clearly demonstrated in Lebanon in 1403/1982 and during the years of the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories between 1408/1987 and 1414/1993; and as of 2000,\textsuperscript{42} and now (2004).

Unfortunately Israel’s government essentially lives with fight and does not know any right for Muslim society and continues to its criminals with supporting from the western countries especially America and united European also fear of her in her policy.

\textbf{6.3.5 SAUDI ARABIA:}

In 1420/ January 1999, Saudi Arabia celebrated a hundred years of ‘unification, stability and renaissance’ under the leadership of the Al-Sa’ud. Having successfully weathered a major attack in the early 1411/1990s, this leadership invited the population and the outside world to celebrate its success. The religious foundation of the state was seriously undermine by the propagation of and emphasis on state narratives that glorified the role of Ibn Sa’ud in creating Saudi Arabia. The centennial celebrations emphasized discontinuity with the past, as the foundation of Saudi Arabia was given the continuous date of 1320/1902.
According to official narratives, Saudi Arabia was born with the capture of Riyadh. In reality, the formation of the Sa’udi state cannot be attributed to any single event or date. Rather, it has been the function of social and political developments throughout the last century. It is tempting to view the formation of this state as a continuous and progressive process. The state has been an evolving structure, something that is destined to continue in the future.\textsuperscript{43}

\textbf{6.3.6 POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SAUDI ARABIA AND RELATION WITH THE USA:}

Saudi Arabia is an absolute monarchy with no legislature or political parties. Constitutionally, the King rules in accordance with the ‘Shari’\’a’, the sacred law of Islam. He appoints and leads a council of Ministers, which serves as the instrument of royal authority in both legislative and executive matters. Therefore, the foreign policy and relationship with countries belong to this authority. Relations between Saudi Arabia and the USA were placed under renewed strain in 1423/ August 2002 after a group representing 900 relatives of victims of the September 2001 attacks filed a civil suit in Washington, DC, against Senior Saudi Ministers and institutions seeking compensation amounting to US$ 1,000,000 m. for their alleged funding of al-Qa’ida activities. Saudi investors reacted angrily to the suit, Threatening in response to withdraw from the USA some $750,000m, in Saudi investments. In late 2002 Saudi Arabia was criticized by the USA for ignoring the funding of alleged terrorist organizations by Saudi nationals, and in November USA media reports claimed that a charitable
donation from the Saudi royal family had assisted two ‘hijachers’ responsible for the Suicid attacks on the USA.

 Despite the tensions between Saudi Arabia and the USA, in September 2002, following intense pressure from the USA and the United Kingdom, the Saudi Minister of Foreign Affairs indicated that Saudi Arabia might be prepared to approve the use of military bases in Saudi Arabia for a future US–led attack on Arab and Muslims Countries. In 1424/January 2003 Saudia Arabia attempted to secure support for a plan to persuade Saddam Hussain to relinquish power and go into exile in order to avert a US-led war to oust his regime. On 1425/21 April 2004 a car bomb exploded near one of the headquarters of Riadh’s security services, killing four people and wounding up to 150. A militant Islamist group called the ‘al-Haramain Brigades’ (and alleged to have links to al-Qa’ida) claimed responsibility for the attack. Earlier in the month all non-essential US diplomatic personnel, had been ordered to leave the Kingdom after another spate of terrorist attacks and several foiled suicide-bombing attempts. In these days USA shifted her military base from Saudi Arabia to Qatar as a Muslim country in Persian Gulf.

6.3.7 THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES (UAE):

In 1382/1962, in an address given before the Royal Central Asian Society in London, J.E.H. Boustead remarked that life in Abu-Dhabi had changed very little during the past two centuries. While this observation might have applied in 1382/1962, it would never hold ground today. The radical transformation of Abu Dhabi can only be
classified as one of the Phenomena of the modern era, so rapid and fundamental has it been.

This alternation would not, of course, have been possible without the discovery of vast oil reserves, underground and offshore, which are currently bringing thousands of millions of dollars a year into the Sheyhkhdom. Abu Dhabi and the other Trucial states remained in the background of international affairs, still under the aegis of Britain. Since the end of World War II, Their internal development had come under greater scrutiny from the British Government, as oil exploration began to be taken seriously again.

With this new policy of participation in local affairs came a re-organization of British administration. In keeping with the pre-War decision, the political residency for the Gulf was moved from Bushire to Bahrain, In 1366/1946. The office of Residency agent in Sharjah was abolished in 1369/1949, and from 1348/1929 to 1373/1953, when a political agency for the Trucial Coast was set up, a permanently resident political Officer was appointed from the Foreign Office in London. The Political Agent, with headquarters in the burgeoning town of Dubai, assumed much greater responsibility and authority than any former British representative on coast had done, and acceptance of his role became a precondition for British recognition of the rulers.

In 1388/ January 1968 the United Kingdom announced its intention to withdraw British military forces from the area by 1391/1971. In 1388/ March 1968 the Trucial states joined nearby Bahrain and Qatar (which were also under British protection) in what was named the Federation of Arab Emirates. It was intended that the
Federation should become fully independent, but the interests of Bahrain and Qatar proved to be incompatible with those of the smaller Sheykhdoms, and both seceded from the Federation in 1391/August 1971 to become separate independent states. In July six of the Trucial states (Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ummal-Qaiwain, Ajman and Fujairah) had agreed on a federal constitution for achieving independence as the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Ras al-Khaymah joined the union in 1392/February 1972. The provisional constitution was extended for five-years periods in 1397/1976, 1402/1981, 1407/1986, and 1412/1991.

6.3.8 GOVERNMENT OF UAE:

The highest Federal authority is the Supreme Council of Rulers, comprising the hereditary rulers of the seven emirates, each of whom is virtually an absolute monarch in his own domain. Decision of the Supreme Council require the approval of at least five members, including the rulers of both Abu Dhabi and Dubai. From its seven members, the Supreme Council elects a president and a Vice-President. The president appoints the Prime Minister and The Federal Council of Ministers, responsible to the Supreme Council, to hold executive authority; the legislature is the Federal National Council, a consultative assembly (comprising 40 members appointed for two years by the emirates) which considers laws proposed by the council of Ministers. There are no political parties. Once, the Head of state was president Sheykh Zayed Bin Sultan Al-Nahyan (ruler of Abu Dhabi) had taken office as president of the UAE on 2 December 1971; re-elected 1976; 1981, 1991, 1996 and 2 December 2001 upto 2004 and he died on 3
November 2004 and his successor is Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed al-Nahyan.

6.3.9 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND RULING FAMILIES OF UAE:

In 1414/1993 the most important political figures in the UAE were the senior members of the ruling families of the individual emirates. The Al-Nuyayyan family of Abu Dhabi, the Al-Nuaimi of Ajman, the Al-Sharqi of Al-Fujayrah, the Al-Maktum of Dubai, the Al-Qasimi of Ras al-Khaymah and Sharjah, and the Al-Mualla of umm al-Qaywayn. The most powerful amir is Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan Al-Nuhayyan, the ruler of Abu Dhabi and the president of the UAE. He has ruled Abu Dhabi since 1386/1966, when his elder brother, Shaykh Shakhbut was deposed by the British. Sheykh Zayid designated his son, Shaykh Khalifa as crown prince, one son was a colonel in the Union defence force air force, and several of his cousins were prominent in government, especially the sons of his cousin Mohammad ibn Khalifa.

The relative political and financial of each emirate is reflected in the allocation of positions in the federal government. The ruler of Abu Dhabi, whose emirate is the UAE’s major oil producer, is president of the UAE. The ruler of Dubai, which is the UAE’s commercial center and a significant oil producer, is Vice - President and Prime Minister. Since achieving independence in 1391/1971, the UAE has worked to strengthen its federal institutions. Nonetheless, each emirates still retains substantial autonomy, and progress toward greater federal integration has slowed in recent years. A basic concept in the UAE Government’s development as a federal system is that a significant percentage of each
emirate’s revenues should be devoted to the UAE Central budget. The UAE has no political parties, there is talk of steps toward democratic government, but nothing concrete has emerged. The rulers hold power on the basis of their dynastic position and their legitimacy in a system of tribal consensus. Rapid modernization, enormous strides in education, and the influx of a large foreign population have changed the face of the society but have not fundamentally altered this traditional political system. As of 2004, UAE have been accused by several human rights organizations of acting in contravention of the Universal Development of Human Rights in the country’s failure to allow freedom of expression.

The Barnabas Fund organization cites that the Dubai emirate removed the right of appeal against deportation by expatriates accused of ‘religious crimes’; such as trying to convert a Muslim to another religion. Amnesty International lists further problems relating to human rights on its website, such as the mass detainment of 250 persons related to the United States – led war on Terror, the ill-treatment of prisoners in prison, and the continued use of flogging and the death penalty.

6.3.10 YASSER ARAFAT AS A ARAB PALESTINIAN POLITICIAN:

He was born in 1348/1929 in Jerusalem, and helped to form the al-Fath movement, emerging as its leader in 1388/1968. The Chairman of the ‘Palestine Liberation Organization’ in 1389/1969 and Commander –in-Chief of the Palestine Revolutionary Forces in 1391/1971. He attended all-Arab Sammit Conferences, and in 1394/1974 was invited to address the United Nation General Assembly. When he rejected military
violence, recognized the existence of the state of Israel, and called for a political solution to the Palestine problem. Although excluded from the ‘peace-process’ initiated by the USA in 1413/1992, he remained a key-figure behind the negotiations between Israel, Syria, and Palestinians. In 1414/1993 he signed a peace accord with Israel, in which Israel agreed to withdraw its troops from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip areas, and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) agreed to give up terrorism. He, along with Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1415/1994. He was elected President of the newly formed Palestinian National authority in 1417/1996 and still he hold the office. He died on 11 November, 2004 and succeeded him Mahmood Abbass (Abu Mazen) in recent election.

6.3.11 LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES (ARAB LEAGUE):

It is an organization of Arab states, founded in Cairo, Egypt in 1365/1945 and its members in 1412/1991 were: Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djiboti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudia Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. An annexe to the League’s Charter stipulates that Palestine is considered as an independent state and as a full member of the Arab League. The principal aims of the League are to protect the independence and sovereignty of its members, and to strengthen the ties between them by encouraging co-operation in different fields. In 1411/1990 the league narrowly approved a proposal to dispatch Arab forces to support the US-led coalition against Saddam’s invasion of Kuwait, but the conflict exposed serious divisions among members. The League supported the
peace accord between Israel and the PLO in 1414/1993 but decided to uphold the boycott of Israel until it withdraws from all the occupied territories\textsuperscript{58}.

6.3.12 GULF CO-OPERATION CONCIL (GCC) AND ITS RANKS:

It is an organization of Arab Gulf States, established in 1402/1981 to promote regional co-operation. The GCC has six members: Abu Dhabi, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and Saudia Arabia with its headquarters in Saudi Arabia. Initially seeking to encourage collaboration in economic, social, and cultural affairs, the GCC later extended its scope to cover common security problems, and in 1405/1984 set up a joint defence force. It supported Iraq in the Iran-Iraq War (1980-88). The organization’s failure to offer any decisive response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1411/1990 led to suggestions that it be strengthened and expanded. After the Gulf-War ceasefire in February 1991, the GCC countries joined with Egypt and Syria in agreeing to set up an Arab peace force as part of a broader plan to strengthen regional security\textsuperscript{59}. 
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