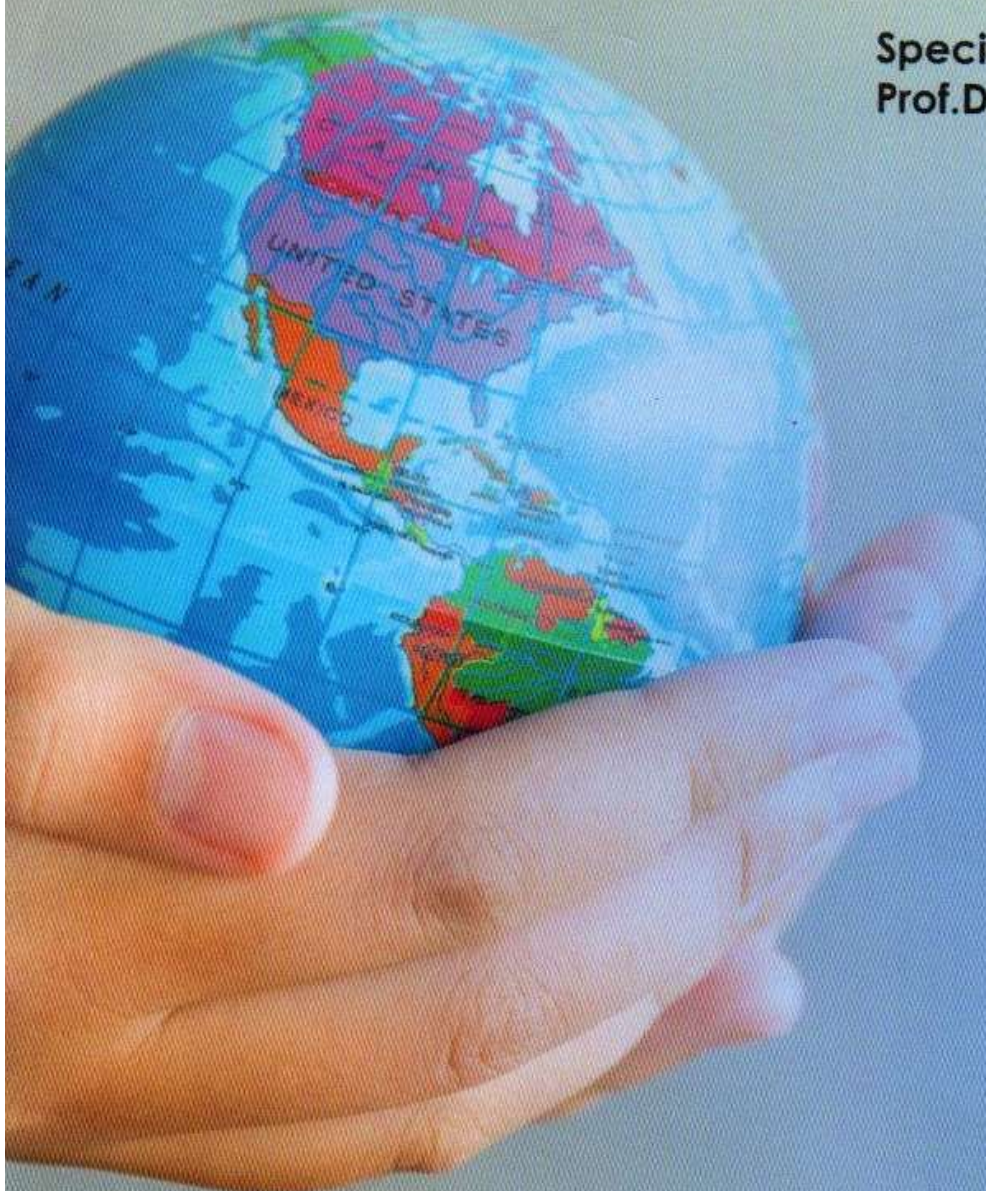*Review*
ON GLOBALIZATION
FROM AN ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Edited by Ali Musa Harahap

Special Address by
Prof.Dr. Mohtar Mas'oed

UNIDA

REVIEW ON GLOBALIZATION

FROM AN ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 28 Tahun 2014 tentang Hak Cipta
Lingkup Hak Cipta Pasal 1 Angka 1 Hak Cipta adalah hak eksklusif pencipta yang timbul secara otomatis berdasarkan prinsip deklaratif setelah suatu ciptaan diwujudkan dalam bentuk nyata tanpa mengurangi pembatasan sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan.

Pasal 1 Angka 4 Pemegang Hak Cipta adalah pencipta sebagai pemilik Hak Cipta, pihak yang menerima hak tersebut secara sah dari pencipta, atau pihak lain yang menerima lebih lanjut hak dari pihak yang menerima hak tersebut secara sah.

Ketentuan Pidana Pasal 113

(1) Setiap Orang yang dengan tanpa hak melakukan pelanggaran hak ekonomi sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 9 ayat (1) huruf i untuk Penggunaan Secara Komersial dipidana dengan pidana penjara paling lama 1 (satu) tahun dan/ atau pidana denda paling banyak Rp 100.000.000 (seratus juta rupiah).

(2) Setiap Orang yang dengan tanpa hak dan/ a tau tanpa izin Pencipta atau pemegang Hak Cipta melakukan pelanggaran hak ekonomi Pencipta sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 9 ayat (1) huruf c, huruf d, huruf f, dan/atau huruf h untuk Penggunaan Secara Komersial dipidana dengan pidana penjara paling lama 3 (tiga) tahun dan/atau pidana denda paling banyak Rp 500.000.000,00 (lima ratus juta rupiah).

(3) Setiap Orang yang dengan tanpa hak dan/ a tau tanpa izin Pencipta atau pemegang Hak Cipta melakukan pelanggaran hak ekonomi Pencipta sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 9 ayat (1) huruf a, huruf b, huruf e, dan/atau huruf g untuk Penggunaan Secara Komersial dipidana dengan pidana penjara paling lama 4 (empat) tahun dan/ a tau pidana denda paling banyak Rp1.000.000.000,00 (satu miliar rupiah).

(4) Setiap Orang yang memenuhi unsur sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (3) yang dilakukan dalam bentuk pembajakan, dipidana dengan pidana penjara paling lama 10 (sepuluh) tahun dan/ a tau pidana denda paling banyak Rp 4.000.000.000,00 (empat miliar rupiah).

REVIEW ON GLOBALIZATION

FROM AN ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE

EDITED BY ALI MUSA HARAHAP

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REVIEW ON GLOBALIZATION FROM AN ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Acknowledgment

Praise be to Allah (SWT) for enabling us to complete this book. I wish to express our heartfelt to the Department of International Relations at University of Darussalam gontor for the intellectual environment it has provided us in completing this work.

I owe a large debt of gratitude to Al-Ustadz Dr. Mohamad Latief, the Dean of Faculty (Humanities) for his initial conceptualization and Al-Ustadz Fadhlan Nur Hakiem M.Si, the Head of Department who supported this work to its final production. I am grateful for their encouragement and their patience as the project evolved through its many interactions.

The contributors deserve special recognition for contributing from their own free time to write chapters for the book. I would also like to thank the UNIDA Gontor Press for publishing the book. In particular, Al-Ustadz Muhammad Rendra Adhi Swandana, S.E, Al-Ustadz Ihsan Fauzi, A.Md, Al-Ustadz Mustajib, S.Pd.I for their diligent assistance deserve special mention, for the highly professional manner they went about in advising on how the manuscript should be submitted for publication.

Ali Musa Harahap

Introduction

  This book is a collaborative effort by the lecturers of the Department of International Relations, University of Darussalam Gontor. As editor, I gather my collegues at the Department to contribute chapters to the book. The response was encouraging. By March 2021, we were able to gather ten chapters. One major limitation of the book is the absence of a central theme that links all its chapters.

  In our contemporary age, which is fundamentally different in many ways, from the situation of the humanity during those past centuries - especially with the growth of Western ideological 'globalization' through satellite channels and internet and the intellectual, technological, economical and political influence and negative effect that this 'globalization' has on the Ummah, this ensures as Muslims, the need to have a fundamental review of general contemporary globalization, especially, at the International Relations arena. For, this globalization is born under the shade of those distortions and unpleasant practices and pressures. The reviews to these phenomena should be comprehensive and include all that relates to civilizational vision of the Ummah, its past methodologies of life and all the heritage laws relating to these methodologies.

While making these reviews, its essence should be properly understood. The Qur'anic principles and their goals should be returned to, through an awareness that is religious, intellectual, social and structural, so that the Ummah's thinking and its laws and orders will keep pace with new human cultural evolutions and their potentialities and challenges under the name of 'globalization'. Through lively and informative exercise of independent judgment, the Islamic fundamentals could be defined, its goals could be clarified and its discourse could be reformed so that confusion could be avoided and fundamentals are not mixed with secondary matters, and the discourses, laws, and orders are not put in conditions, forms and expressions that are not suitable with the current reality of the Ummah and this age. It will be possible for Islamic discourses on International Relations, to always achieve the goals of the Qur'anic guidance and aspirations of the human nature irrespective of the difference in times and places.By addressing the specificities of particular regional and historical situations in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, this special issue highlights the dynamic and heterogeneous nature of contemporary identifications of globalization. Contributors of this book have successfully examined globalization as its engagement with the state, business and economics, security, history, fashion, and guided imagination from Islamic point of view.

This book is an acknowledgement of contributions of the Department of International Relations to the department and progress of this University.

Finally, we dedicate this book to our students, the real source of our pride and inspirations.

Ali Musa Harahap
Siman, Ponorogo

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Civic Engagement in MENA States: An Islamic Exegetical and Historical Inquiry

Ali Musa Harahap, Agur Lybeshari

Introduction

It is significantly important to understand to identify causes as to why in the MENA states lack of civic participation. Minimal civic participation reflects the life of the people and the development and *democratization* of the country. In a recent day almost all countries; developed or developing, are trying their best to be active in their civic participation. However, this not the case in the MENA world. States like Iraq, Arab Saudi, Egypt among others, seem are not interested to such a notion. There must be causes as for MENA states are keeping themselves away from civic participation. According to Jamil E. Jreisat in his book *"Politics without Proces; Administering Development in the Arab World''*, the ideological setting has a crucial role in influencing Arab people in majority. He argues that political elites do not open any chance

to the public for political matter, and as a result public feel demotivated to participate in such matters.

Eberhard Kienle in his book *"A Grand Delusion; Democracy and Economic Reform in Egypt''*, argues that most of the time the government will put pressures to the particular groups such as human right group which they feel as a threat to the government. He also adds that media is given a very limited move to spread news to the public. Rex Brynen, Bahgat Korany, Paul Noble, argues in his book *''Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World''*, that many of MENA states still involving in disputes among them. His argument is supported by the high number of GDP that allocated for military purposes, compared to the Western world which is relatively low. People in common in the MENA states choose to remain passive. Another author, C. van Dijk and A. H. de Groot, in his book *"State and Islam; the significance of modern Muslim radicalism''*, argues that emergence group such as modern radicalism worsen the civic participation. They claim that present values which notably adopted from the West such as democracy is totally not preferable.

Another argument from The World Bank Atlas shows that number of capable women is extremely discouraged. It shows some sort of wasting human resources and as a result woman are lack of motivation to participate in such matters. In short, all the authors have a thing in common that the MENA states are lack of civic participation because of all the reasons that they found in their studies. However, they differ in giving their opinion as to what the factors are. For example, C. Van dijk and A. H. de Groot argues that *radicalism group* in the MENA states play more crucial role than the *ideological setting* of MENA states.

Factors affecting Civic Engagement in MENA States

There are many factors that put civic engagement of MENA states at risk. These factors are *ideological settings*, *interstate conflicts*,

persecution of human rights groups, *media restriction*, *modern radicalism*, and *waste of human resources* that contributes to civic participation of the MENA states which been expressed very minimal. This section focuses on the analysis and answers related to factors that affect to minimal civic participation and how such a notion affects the process of democratization.

Although MENA states have tried to develop the politics and the economy, there have been crisis throughout the modern history of MENA states. The crises have occurred in political leadership and in economical administration. Political environment has not been peaceful and welcoming for common people and indeed it has affected badly to discourage or prevent people to participate in public sphere.

Ideological setting of the MENA States

Ideology determines the vision for civic and administrative actions but it does not specify the exact form of the machinery for civil or administration. This is why leader define, interpret and articulate values and demands before translating them into plans and policies. Ideologies help people to build a more coherent integrated and supportable system of norms and beliefs and arrange their cultural values and their moral confusion, especially in crisis time and place.

Despite plenty literature on the historical and sociological basis of MENA nationalism and socialism, the linkages between ideology and public policies remain unexplored. According to Jamil E. Jreisat, there are many difficulties to study these linkages. Firstly, Arab nationalists and socialists have been long on representing and symbolism but short on declared strategic and programmed actions. Secondly, within an oppressive political order, free and open exchange of views on public issues is reduced. Research and scholarship experience the environment of secrecy. Thirdly, the gap between advocacy and achievement, rhetoric and

programmed enforcement, is so vast that contradictions between policy formulation and implementation are common.

However, the MENA nationalism is not identical to MENA world, because the nationalism emerged in the nineteenth century and is part of long-standing history. So, to analyze basic contemporary MENA ideologies and how they evolved is to explore the meaningful attempts at shaping public policies and state institutional structures. The leaders in MENA states mainly being autocratic rulers have used the ideology to justify their ideas of governing rather than harmonizing the policy with public demands. It seems that MENA nationalist ideologies have served as a transitory usefulness for leaders, helping them to seize power without commitment to the ideology. MENA nationalist leaders who emerged as autocratic rulers did not give space and freedom to of exchanging views on public issues. Common people were not free to speak up about their desires choices and demands.

The same happened to different scholars that they were not in able to discuss openly public issues. This led to the lack of support of the government for the public policies because either the government was not committed to fulfil those policies, or the public was not interested on those policies. Therefore, governments could not achieve the plans and policies because the contradictions among people were common. The governments did not respond to the demands of people and in return people did not support their governments and did not fulfil the public policies of government.

Regional Barriers to Democratization (Interstate Conflicts)

Almost every MENA state has been directly or non-directly involved in some international conflicts. These international conflicts have occurred from Western Sahara, Arab-Israeli, conflict and the war in Persian Gulf. MENA leaders have been concerned and prepared to these conflicts which have been reflected in size of militaries and the proportion of countries' commitment to the military.

Tabel 1.0				Military Expenditure as a Percentage of GDP					

Selected MENA States	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Algeria	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7
Egypt	6.5	6.3	6.7	6.9	5.8	6.1	6.2	4.8	4.5
Iraq	12.3	18.4	24.3	29.1	26.0	24.2	24.3	23.0	----
Jordan	13.7	13.5	13.8	13.1	13.6	14.8	15.0	15.0	11.0
Kuwait	4.4	6.0	6.8	6.8	7.9	8.6	7.0	7.3	6.5
Libya	14.0	15.0	13.0	14.5	15.2	12.7	----	8.6	7.4
Morocco	6.6	6.5	4.9	4.7	5.4	5.1	5.0	4.2	4.3
Saudi Arabia	14.5	21.1	20.3	20.9	22.0	22.4	22.7	19.8	----
Syria	14.7	15.6	15.4	16.7	15.6	14.4	11.3	9.2	----
Tunisia	2.7	5.9	6.6	4.7	5.2	5.9	5.5	5.3	4.9
Yemen AR	12.6	14.7	14.2	10.4	8.4	7.3	7.2	---	----
Yemen PDR	19.7	18.7	19.1	17.1	16.7	22.2	18.4	18.5	----

Non- MENA Comparative Cases

Selected non-MENA States	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
France	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.0	4.0	3.9	4.0	3.8	3.7
Hungary	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.3	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.0	1.8
Norway	2.9	3.0	3.1	2.8	3.1	3.1	3.3	3.2	3.2
Poland	3.1	3.2	2.8	2.9	3.0	3.6	3.4	3.0	1.8
South Korea	6.0	5.8	5.3	4.9	4.9	4.7	4.5	4.6	4.4
Turkey	4.9	5.2	4.8	4.4	4.5	4.8	4.2	3.8	3.9

Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI Yearbook 1991 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991)

MENA states concentrate more of their human and material resources on the military than do democratic and democratizing non- MENA states. The table above explain the amounts and the percentage of the GDP of the whole country in service of military. MENA states as compared to non- MENA states allocate much higher percentage of their national GDP to improve their military facilities. We should not forget that to allocate this high amount of GDP to the military, other percentages of GDP which go to the welfare, health care, and education.

Therefore, we can understand that a state which is engaged in war and / or places a heavy emphasize on military and war preparation is less likely to democratize. Wars tend to concentrate power in the hands of the executive, a power that leader are reluctant to give up. War and war preparation encourage building *large coercive institutions* such as armies, national guards, secret police and giving to those institutions in important role in the political system. War preparation leads to *greater state control over the economy*, *limiting the freedom and power* of private sectors who might press for democratic reform. Therefore, it is dangerous to open up the political system and to initiate democratic reforms.

The Persecution of Human Rights Groups

Throughout the modern history MENA governments have felt allergy towards human rights groups and many times have taken actions against them. Governments have accused them on many occasions for *publishing false reports*, *working for foreign interests*, *being instrument in the hands of the terrorists*, and many other accusations. Sometimes these accusations turn into full-scale campaigns against these groups. Pressure and bans were imposed on the organization when they arrange any conference, seminar or even meetings. Another problem was that human rights and other political activists often could not succeed to obtain the legal recognition from the government and many organizations did not

obtain their legal recognition from the government.

Media Restriction

The restriction of media in MENA states has been continuously maintained. The publications have been controlled by some of public sector press conglomerates which were controlled by the government. These publications could not cover all the aspect of life, and especially could not publish any article which somehow was contradicted with the governments' ideologies. In this way the governments could control and restrict the media and at the same time could restrict the freedom of speech. There was no space for scholars to debate public issues and there was no freedom for people to speak their mind. So, there is a lack of information in general and lack of freedom of speech. People could not express their real feelings and thoughts towards the government. Common people started to lose interest to express their political thoughts and to participate in civil matters.

Modern Muslim Radicalism

Muslim radicalism was the result of the government going beyond the limits. When people think that the government is beyond the limits they would go against the government. These movements would set up the limits according to the *Shariah* and *Siyasah*, and if the government is not observing and practicing the Shariah law is considered to be illegitimate to rule over Muslims. For instance, the movement of Gamaat al-Muslimin in Egypt its leader Shukri Mustafa summarized his views as: a) all present societies are un-Islamic, b) only members of the Shukri group are true Muslims, c) the classical system of Islamic law must be rejected. Muslim radicals before and after Shukri have taught the same thing over and over again. The principle is based on the belief that even those countries that are called Muslim countries are not ruled "by what Allah sent down"; they cannot be regarded

as real Muslim states. Therefore, emigration from those countries to a Muslim country is a religious duty.

Similar to Shukri's movement, Islamic fundamentalism is *a natural response* to the secularization of the ruling elite in the Muslim world. These movements questioned the existence of the legitimacy of the government and undermine the role of the government in society. These radical movements have appeared throughout the Islamic history among Muslim countries regardless any specific MENA states.

Waste of Human Resources

Managing the development of the society involves inventing the best plan to deploy all the available resources. In this aspect, women are the most affected segment of the society. Women in MENA world have not been a major force in policy making or implementation, but indeed have been disadvantaged by the result of these public policies. According to the UNDP's measures of participation of women in economic and political decision making, the MENA world as a whole is ranked lower than all other regions such as Asia, Africa and Latin America. Although MENA women represented more than the half of the population of the MENA world, they are less than 10 percent of wage earners. The proportion of women in the labor force is: women are 10 percent or less of the labor force in Algeria, Bahrain, Libya, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and UAE; 10 to 20 percent in Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Yemen; and 20 to 30 percent in Iraq, Lebanon, Morocco, and Tunisia. As a result, women unable effectively to contribute in the improvement of the political, economic and social quality of life in a society that gives them lesser legal status then men, or even excludes them entirely from the political process.

Critical Analysis: *Qur'anic and Historical Perspectives*

With the initiation of Islam, for instance variable of 'women' are given some level of participation in electing their leader. The process through which the leader of is confirmed by the people is known as *Bai'ah*, which is a symbolic agreement or bond between the leader and the people wherein the leader promises to follow and observe Islamic laws and the people in return, promise their faithfulness towards him. Therefore, *Bai'ah* can be considered the election of the leader as without it the supposed leader has no legitimacy and cannot perform as the head of the state. Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) received the *Bai'ah* from the people. The Qur'an deals with the issue of women giving the bai'ah to Prophet Muhammad and Allah tells Muhammad (pbuh) to accept the pledge of the women: "O Prophet! Whenever believing women come unto thee to pledge their allegiance to thee...then accept their pledge of allegiance." (Surah Al-Mumtahanah: 12).

The Qur'an indicated positively of the Queen Saba for instance, and the way she seek advices from her counselors, who deferred to her good decision on how to deal with the threat of attack by the military of Solomon. There are no such demands in Islamic laws that refer women to confine themselves passive duties, in contrast we find early Muslim women in all walks of life. The prime example is Sayyidatuna Khadijah, the first wife of the prophet Muhammad (pbuh), mother of children, and a businesswoman who hired prophet as an employee, and proposed marriage to him. Another instance, at the time of Treaty of Hudaybia when the Makkans who made an agreement with prophet that he and the Muslims may return the following year and stopped the the pilgrimage to Makkah. He told the people to shave their heads and offer their sacrifices where they were, but they were reluctant to obey, so he asked his wife Ummu Salamah, and she advised him to lead them by doing so himself. He took her advice, and it worked.

Qur'anic encouragements of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil of upholding justice and other Divine values and criteria, require the participation of all members of society in the affairs towards objectives arranged by Allah (SWT). The Qur'an condemns *anarchy* and *disorder* (Surah Al-Baqarah: 205), and the Prophet (pbuh) stressed the need for *organization*, *order*, and massive *participation* in society. The challenges are very similar inside and outside MENA world and are characterized by three paradoxes: A) *Behaviorally*, the parties do not act only to satisfy their own interests, or even to assert their own identities, but also define rules procedures. According to these characteristic leaders may bring more people to participate in politics and share their views and opinions. At the same time, they allow some more freedom to people to express their political thoughts and more freedom on human rights and civil liberties. So, people may be more satisfy with the system and support the government. B) *Structurally*, democracy requires certain level of pluralism and a civil society whose content and validity is matched, and whose probability of development depends on the achievement of the process of democratization. In order to establish democracy in a particular country there is a strong need for political pluralism.

This pluralism requires many political parties to compete for power but at the same time the ruling party and the opposition will play the role of check and balance. So, the ruling party will not go beyond the limits. In this pluralism even Islamic parties are supposed to participate otherwise the democracy cannot exclude specific groups out of political and social spheres. This pluralism requests to achieve the processes of democratization and encourage people to support the government to fulfil its vision. C) Normatively, the democracy requires that certain normative choices should be ruled out. The decisions are not to be taken on individual preferences, but as collective rules and as collective body. This paradox prevents autocratic systems to emerge. Authoritarian, totalitarian, dictatorial, military systems do

not have place in our democratic society, although unfortunately the modern history of MENA states has been occupied by despotic governments. Last but not the least, military governments cannot declare war or conflict on their choice to other states or even social groups within the state. Instead, countries engage in wars and conflicts spending big amount of their national GDP and wasting human resources as well where people die, they should engage in developing programs and democratizing the political system; so people can have strong vision for their future.

Conclusion

This study is about civic engagement in the MENA states which is expressed very minimal. This study is carried out to identify the main problems and factors that affect the civic engagement to be minimal. Throughout this study we see that MENA states suffered from lack of democracy, human rights and civil liberties. After identifying the main problems to affect badly the political participation, some solutions have been given to help the democratization processes. People are not interested to participate in politics and or even to support the government. On the other side the government sometimes discourage and sometimes prevent people to participate in politics.

The government of MENA states do not meet the demands of people therefore people turn away from their government. The government restrict the rights of people such as human rights, freedom of speech, freedom of media. Sometimes the government exclude specific segment of people from its public policy in the case of women. The most difficult part is when the government is engaged in war or in conflict within or between other states. This is because the government allocates big amount of annual budget for expenditures for the war. Therefore, people are not interested in these conflicts. After we identified the factors and actors that affect the civic engagement badly, we analyzed those

factors and provided solution to the democratization of the state where leaders of the governments are main actors to democratize the state. More than other regions, the MENA region is defined by a complex set of issues, including but not limited to the MENA to for instance, Israeli conflict and its repercussions, unstable economic conditions and trends, population-resource imbalances, undemocratic internal governance systems and environmental stress. Civil societies across the region are also in different stages of development, but generally do not fulfil the role civil society have and established in other regions of the world.

It is fundamentally to be reminded that Islam is not only religion, in the sense commonly understood, which is no more than the sum of several beliefs, rituals and sentiments. Rather, it is *a system of life* that deals with all aspects of human existence and performance: It is a well-ordered system, a consistent whole, comprising a universal value for the socio-economic, political and moral guidance of humanity. The Qur'an teaches, as Sayyid Mawdudi pointed out that it is not simply 'to preach' Islam but 'to act upon it, promote it, and actually enforce it'; civic engagement no matter how it is defined, is part and parcel of Islam and they are indivisible.

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Review
ON GLOBALIZATION
FROM AN ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE

This book is written in response to an initiative to boost research at University of Darussalam Gontor (UNIDA) Gontor. All the chapters in this book have been written by the lecturers of the Department of International Relations at UNIDA Gontor. Although there is no unified theme that links the ten chapters, the book strives in its entirety to reflect globalization from the three sub-areas of the discipline of International Relations, namely: Security Studies, Business and International Political Economy, and Diplomacy with the primary focus of analysis from Islamic perspective.