

## **The Relevance of *Fiqh Siyasah Dauliyah* and Religion as Indonesian Soft Power in International Relations**

**Rizki Damayanti**

Universitas Paramadina Jakarta

[rizki.damayanti@paramadina.ac.id](mailto:rizki.damayanti@paramadina.ac.id)

Received: 22-08-2023

Revised: 21-12-2023

Published: 29-12-2023

### **Abstract:**

This study aims to discuss Indonesia's efforts to use moderate Islam as its new identity in global politics, especially after the events of 9/11. One of the Indonesian efforts is pursued through inter-faith and inter-civilizational dialogue. This research is library research with qualitative methods. The approaches used are historical, political, and Islamic perspectives in contemporary international relations studies, namely *Fiqh Siyasah Dauliyah*. The study results show that there are two main relevancies between the inter-faith and inter-civilizational dialogue with the principles concept of international relations based on *fiqh siyasah dauliyah*. First, diversity in Islam is stated as part of God's plan for the benefit of mankind. In this context, the various inter-faith and inter-civilizational dialogues organized by Indonesia are necessary conditions for promoting peace, tolerance, harmony, and religious coexistence in the world today. Second, the concept of dialogue between civilizations and between religions is based on the study of textual analysis and historical interpretation of the Al-Quran and As-Sunnah. In this case, the Al-Quran shows various examples of dialogue, one of which is contained in the Al-Quran Surah An-Nahl verse 125 which asks Muslims to show the best courtesy and wisdom when arguing with people of other religions.

**Keywords:** inter-faith dialogue; *fiqh siyasah dauliyah*; moderate Islam.

### **Introduction**

Soft power refers to a country's ability to influence the behaviour and views of other countries through cultural appeal, ethical foreign policy, and non-coercive elements<sup>1</sup>. Indonesia has significant soft power potential, and the government has sought to exploit it to strengthen international relations. Several elements of Indonesia's soft power include cultural diversity, cultural diplomacy, regional leadership, and involvement in international organizations, as well as Indonesia's various positive contributions through development assistance programs for

---

<sup>1</sup> Joseph S. Nye Jr. and Navin Kumar Singh, "Review of The Future of Power," *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues* 16, no. 4 (2012): 160–65, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48566262>.

countries in need. By optimizing the potential of this soft power, Indonesia can build strong and sustainable international relations and become a major player in responding to global challenges. Unfortunately, Indonesia's various soft power potentials in international relations have not been utilized optimally. Several weaknesses or challenges can limit the development and optimal use of soft power in international relations, such as inconsistency and lack of coordination, lack of focus on cultural diplomacy, internal political challenges, and lack of focus on identifying Indonesia's soft power assets which can be used as Indonesia's advantages in international relations.

There has been inconsistency in efforts to promote Indonesia's soft power, and a lack of coordination among institutions involved in these initiatives can reduce their effectiveness. Even though Indonesia has great cultural wealth, sometimes a lack of focus on cultural diplomacy can hinder the spread of Indonesia's cultural heritage at the global level. Domestic political challenges, including political instability or sudden policy changes, also can affect Indonesia's global reputation. Meanwhile, the existence of Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia is one of the soft power assets not optimally used as a source of excellence in strengthening Indonesia's soft power in international relations. As the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia can use Islam as a source of strengthening its soft power. The opportunity to use religion as a source of soft power in international relations is in line with the fact that in the era of globalization, religion has become an important issue in global politics. Peter Berger, a prominent sociologist of religion, states:

*"Far from being in decline in the modern world, religion is experiencing a resurgence. Therefore, the assumption we live in a secularized world is false...the today's world is as furiously religious as it ever was"*<sup>2</sup>.

Peter Berger's claim states that far from being a decline in the modern world, religion has experienced a revival. Therefore, it is wrong to think that we live in a secular world, the world today is as religious as it used to be. In other words, Berger stated that the modernization process did not weaken the role of religion, but instead strengthened it throughout the world, even though religion became more significant than before. Experts also argue that globalization has influenced the rise of global religions. From here, other terms emerged, such as "revival of religion". Regarding globalization and the rise of global religion, Scott M. Thomas stated:

*"The growing saliency and persuasiveness of religion, i.e., the increasing importance of religious beliefs, practices, and discourses in personal and public life, and the growing role of religious or religiously-related individuals, non-state groups, political parties, and communities, and organizations in domestic politics, and this is occurring in ways that have significant implications for international politics"*<sup>3</sup>.

This definition indicates that more prominent and persuasive existence of religion is marked by the increasing importance of religious beliefs, practices, and religious discourse in private and public life, as well as the increasing role of individuals associated with religion or religion, non-state groups, political parties,

<sup>2</sup> Peter A Berger, *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics* (Washington DC: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Scott, *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations The Struggle for the Soul of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).



and communities, and organizations in domestic politics, where this occurs in ways that have significant implications for international politics.

In this context, religion can then become a form of soft power. This is similar to what happened after the 9/11 incident which was followed by United States (US) President George W. Bush's statement regarding the global war on terror, namely when religious values became the basis of competition and the struggle for supremacy. Extremist and moderate Islamic ideas and movements then compete to gain widespread Muslim support, especially by using soft power<sup>4</sup>. In Indonesia, the phenomenon of the return of Islam to power politics began when Indonesia entered the era of government under the leadership of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). Changes are seen when the articulation of Islamic identity emerges and is even referred to as a new pattern in Indonesian foreign policy. In a meeting organized by the Indonesian Council on World Affairs (ICWA) on May 19, 2005, in Jakarta, which was also the inaugural speech of Indonesian foreign policy directors, President SBY said that Islamic identity would be an inherent projection in reference to the Indonesian nation<sup>5</sup>. The same thing was also expressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Marty Natalegawa in the Group of 20 World Economic Forum (Group 20/G-20) who stated that as the G-20 strengthened itself as the main forum related to world economic issues, Indonesia was also faced with the challenge of positioning itself in the G-20 – namely as the third largest democracy in the world, the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, and at the same time representing the voice of moderate Islam.

The basis for implementing Indonesia's foreign affairs itself is based on the Foreign Affairs Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 37 of 1999. This law establishes the objectives and basic principles of Indonesia's foreign affairs which are directed at achieving national goals and the welfare of the people. This law gives the President the authority to determine and implement foreign policy, take action related to foreign affairs, as well as explain the principles and procedures for international cooperation involving Indonesia. This law was then linked to the challenges faced by Indonesia after 9/11. Indonesia needs to make efforts aimed at countering Western perceptions that as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia is not a threat or a breeding ground for extremism<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, the Indonesian government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia swiftly use narratives in their public diplomacy, namely explaining that Islam, democracy, and modern society can coexist peacefully. This has been important, not only since before the first Gulf War, but it has even become very important in the post-9/11 period, during the Arab Spring/Winter, and also in relation to Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) terror acts. Indonesia is trying to present an alternative face of Islam to Western countries while maintaining its international image as a moderate Muslim country.

---

<sup>4</sup> Peter Mandaville and Shadi Hamid, *Islam as Statecraft: How Governments Use Religion in Foreign Policy* (Washington DC: Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, 2018).

<sup>5</sup> Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, *Independent and Active Foreign Policy in the 21st Century* (Jakarta: Buana Ilmu Populer, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> Iva Rachmawati, "Indonesian Public Diplomacy: Preserving State Existence through Sharing of Identities to Gain Mutual Understanding," *Jurnal Global & Strategis* 11, no. 1 (September 28, 2017): 55, <https://doi.org/10.20473/jgs.11.1.2017.55-71>.



In the context of fiqh or Islamic law, the term that refers to foreign policy law is “*Fiqh Siyasah Dauliyah*” which can be considered as a potential framework for Indonesian international relations due to several reasons. An argumentation for why it could be a new approach for Indonesia, based on the fact that incorporating Fiqh Siyasah Dauliyah, provides a basis for aligning foreign policy with Islamic values, fostering a sense of identity and coherence. Fiqh Siyasah Dauliyah, when applied ethically, also can enhance Indonesia’s soft power by projecting an image of a just, fair, and responsible global actor. This, in turn, can positively influence global perceptions of Indonesia. In summary, incorporating Fiqh Siyasah Dauliyah into Indonesia’s international relations can provide a unique and culturally rooted approach that aligns with the nation’s identity, values, and historical role in global affairs. It has the potential to contribute to a more ethical, just, and cooperative international order.

Based on the explanation above, this paper will specifically seek to highlight Indonesia’s seriousness in efforts to incorporate moderate Islam as its new identity in global politics after the 9/11 incident, in particular by using the inter-faith dialogues and the inter-civilizational dialogues. In this context, as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia has an obligation to project the true face of Islam, namely moderate Islam. Strengthening moderation as the main theme of Indonesian foreign policy is performed by empowering moderate groups in the country as a first step, implying that the success of fighting terrorism will also be determined by empowering moderates<sup>7</sup>. In the final section, this paper will try to highlight how relevant the use of inter-faith dialogue and inter-civilizational dialogue instruments carried out by Indonesia is related to the principal concept of international relations based on *fiqh siyasah dauliyah*.

## Method

This research is based on secondary data e.g., books, research results, government publications, journal articles, newspapers, internal institutional records, and internet sites. Based on the perspective of analysis, this research is qualitative research, which according to Jack S. Levy, the method used in international relations studies is a qualitative method. This is because the events related to the study of international relations are still closely related to historical approaches so the research requires analysis with in-depth explanations – one of which is through case studies – so that the research results are more scientifically detailed<sup>8</sup>. In this research, historical and political approaches were used to understand Indonesia's efforts to incorporate moderate Islam as its new identity in global politics after the 9/11 tragedy. Meanwhile, to understand the relevance of the use of inter-faith and inter-civilizational dialogue instruments in Indonesia's efforts, this research employed the concept of *fiqh siyasah dauliyah* and religion as soft power in international relations.

<sup>7</sup> Hassan Wirajuda, “Refleksi 2004 Dan Proyeksi 2005” (Himpunan Pidato/Sambutan Menteri Luar Negeri Tahun 2004, 2005).

<sup>8</sup> Jack S. Levy, *Qualitative Methods in International Relations* (United States of America (US): Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002).







				countries. Cooperation between countries needs to be built in various fields, one of which is in the political field. This is what is known as international relations.
2	Prioritising Peace	Al-Anfal 61	verse	Based on this verse, the relationship that occurs between Muslims and other nations is based on Islamic teachings which require Muslims to always maintain peace between Muslims and internal and external Muslims. Islam has laid the foundation for peace in international relations with one basic stipulation that Muslims are not even justified in interfering in the internal affairs of other nations. The method of preaching the Prophet himself was inseparable from this basic provision, both during the Makkiyah and Medina phases.
3	Strengthening vigilance in a peaceful atmosphere	Al-Anfal 62	verse	Through this verse, the Koran invites Muslims to always be ready and able to defend themselves and ward off aggression. In other words, building strength and capability should be for defensive or deterrence purposes, but not for offensive or illegal aggression.
4	Warfare is permitted only in circumstances of necessity and for defensive, not offensive purposes.	Al-Hajj verses 39 and 40		Based on these verses, at the level of implementation of international relations, both with the aggressor country ( <i>al Muhâribîn</i> ) and with non-aggressor countries, Islam strictly prohibits initiated acts of violence except in conditions of tyranny. War in the Islamic conception is <i>amaliyah difa'iyyah</i> (defensive action) not <i>amaliyah hujûmiyyah</i> (action of attack). So, in this context, Islam allows resistance to the aggressor state in the name of defence. As long as there are alternatives other than war, it is not permissible to wage war. This is proof that Islam, according to the guidance

of the Koran, prioritises peaceful methods in international relations. The reality of ethnic and national differences is not the basis for fighting each other, but for working together so that in the end a win-win solution will ensue.

5	Carrying out the agreement that has been agreed upon and not violating it.	At-Taubah verse 7	Related to this verse, in international relations this matter is contained in the <i>pacta sunt servanda</i> principle, which is one of the legal principles that is universally recognized and whose existence is known. In terms of its relevance to international agreements, this principle emphasizes that the provisions agreed between the parties become legally binding and cause rights and obligations to be fulfilled in good faith. The preamble and Article 26 of the 1969 Vienna Convention on treaty law and the 1986 Vienna Convention reaffirm the existence of this law as a principle and guide in making and implementing international agreements.
6	Appeal in a good way and take the path of diplomacy.	An-Nahl verse 125	Prophet Muhammad SAW used the negotiation method, both personally and as a way of preaching in inviting many people to embrace Islam. The method adopted by the Prophet Muhammad SAW is in line with the verses of the Al-Quran above. During the Medina phase, the Prophet Muhammad SAW even strengthened the socio-political construction through the establishment of the Medina Charter, which was in the first year of the <i>Hijriyah</i> as a product of the Medina state administration. The Medina Charter contains rules regarding social interaction among Muslims (internal relations) and between Muslims and non-Muslims (external relations). The Medina Charter also contains obligations to

defend the state, respect religious differences, and so on.

**Source:** Al-Qur'an and its Translation (2019) Enhanced Edition, Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an

Table 1 above indicates that Indonesia as a Muslim-majority country, conducts its international relations based on the principles of the Koran. Indonesia actively establishes diplomatic relations with fellow Muslim countries forming the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), while organizations formed with non-Muslim countries are the United Nations and ASEAN. Regarding the context of prioritising peace, Indonesia is a country that highly upholds world peace efforts. This is as mandated in the fourth paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution - where one of Indonesia's national goals is to participate in carrying out world order based on freedom, eternal peace, and social justice. Indonesia's foreign policy is also based on the principle of *free and active* which was initiated since the beginning of Indonesian independence in 1945<sup>11</sup>. This principle in Indonesian foreign policy is defined as Indonesia being in a neutral position, but still actively playing its role in the international arena. Through this free and active foreign policy, Indonesia became one of the pioneering countries for the non-aligned movement which did not take sides in any bloc during the Cold War period while, at the same time, implementing the principle of non-intervention in the domestic politics of other countries. Indonesia is also actively involved in efforts to maintain world peace, where in 1956 Indonesia sent the Garuda Contingent for the first time on a UN peace mission to the Sinai Desert in the Middle East. Indonesia consistently supports Palestinian independence, opposes the 2001 Afghanistan invasion, opposes the 2003 Iraq War, and condemns Israel's use of force against Lebanon and also in the Gaza Strip. The consistency of Indonesia's foreign policy direction also influences and is reflected when Indonesia responds to the atrocities committed against the Rohingya Muslim population in Myanmar and the Uighurs in China.

In the context of strengthening vigilance in a peaceful atmosphere, this is in line with Indonesia's goal of developing defence forces, which is not intended as an arms race but is intended as an effort to realize the professional standards of the defence force by referring to Indonesia's vision, mission, policies (Nawacita) and Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF). In other words, the implementation of Indonesia's state defence is intended to maintain and protect the sovereignty, state territory, integrity, and safety of the nation<sup>12</sup>. Related to the principle of carrying out the agreement that has been agreed upon and not violating it, in the Indonesian legal system, the existence of this principle inspired the formation of Article 1338 of the Civil Code (KUH) and Article 4 (1) of Law Number 24 of 2000. The Indonesian government recognizes and accepts the principle of *pacta sunt servanda* as a legal principle in making agreements for international relations with countries or international

<sup>11</sup> Fadlan Muzakki, "Theory, Practice, and Analysis of Indonesia Foreign Policy," *Translitera : Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi Dan Studi Media* 5, no. 2 (March 29, 2018): 14–24, <https://doi.org/10.35457/translitera.v5i2.360>.

<sup>12</sup> Defence Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia, *Indonesia Defence White Paper* (Indonesia, 2015), <https://www.kemhan.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/2015-INDONESIA-DEFENCE-WHITE-PAPER-ENGLISH-VERSION.pdf>.





organizations. Indonesia promised to implement international agreements that have been made in good faith. Such Indonesian promises are binding to Indonesia. While the related of the principle of appeal in a good way and take the path of diplomacy, Indonesia as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world always tries to apply the use of soft power diplomacy in an effort to present an alternative face of Islam to Western countries while at the same time maintaining its international image as a moderate Muslim country. Regarding Indonesia's relations with Western countries, the Indonesian government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia swiftly use narrative in their public diplomacy, namely to explain that Islam, democracy, and modern society can coexist peacefully.

### Religion as Soft Power in International Relations

Religion was formerly isolated from the dynamics of the study of International Relations because it was considered a variable that could not be measured, giving social scientists difficulties, but now religion has taken on a very large role. The emergence of religion in the study of International Relations is due to religious movements carried out by religious fundamental groups. The 9/11 incident is an example of radical acts in the form of terrorism committed by religious fundamental groups<sup>13</sup>. This is then linked to the study of the process of formulating foreign policy, in which in formulating and implementing its foreign policy, each country must consider certain factors related to the international and domestic (intermestic) conditions that surround the country. In this case, according to Kegley, Wittkopf, and Scott M. Thomas, the issue of religion is one of the intermestic policy issues in the contemporary world. That is, when the policy is related to religious issues, a country must consider international and domestic factors and must not just base it on one factor. In other words, the intermestic symbolizes the amalgamation of domestic and international politics<sup>14</sup>.

In this study, several international factors that are deemed relevant influence Indonesia's policy to adopt moderate Islam as its new identity in global politics - one of which is marked by efforts to hold various inter-religious and inter-civilisation dialogues as part of Indonesia's diplomatic instruments - including the strengthening of the issue of terrorism as a threat to world peace and security, the label "Islamic terrorism", and the unilateralism of the United States (US). Meanwhile, domestic factors include constraints on legal infrastructure and a lack of institutional capacity to fight terrorism, a crisis of perceptions of "West versus Islam", the need to balance the need for security with democratization and protection of human rights, as well as the need to promote Indonesia's moderate image as the most populous Muslim country in the world. Besides, there are two other factors in terms of international factors, which also influence the implementation of inter-religious and inter-civilization dialogues in Indonesian diplomacy. These two factors are globalization, the global rise of religion, and the rise of multi-track diplomacy<sup>15</sup>. These two factors are included because not all countries have recently been able to ignore the

<sup>13</sup> Abdelkader and Deina, *Islam in International Relations: Politics and Paradigms* (London & New York: Routledge, 2019).

<sup>14</sup> Charles W. Kegley Jr. and Eugene R. Wittkopf, *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*, 7th ed. (New York: New York: St. Martin's/Worth, 1999).

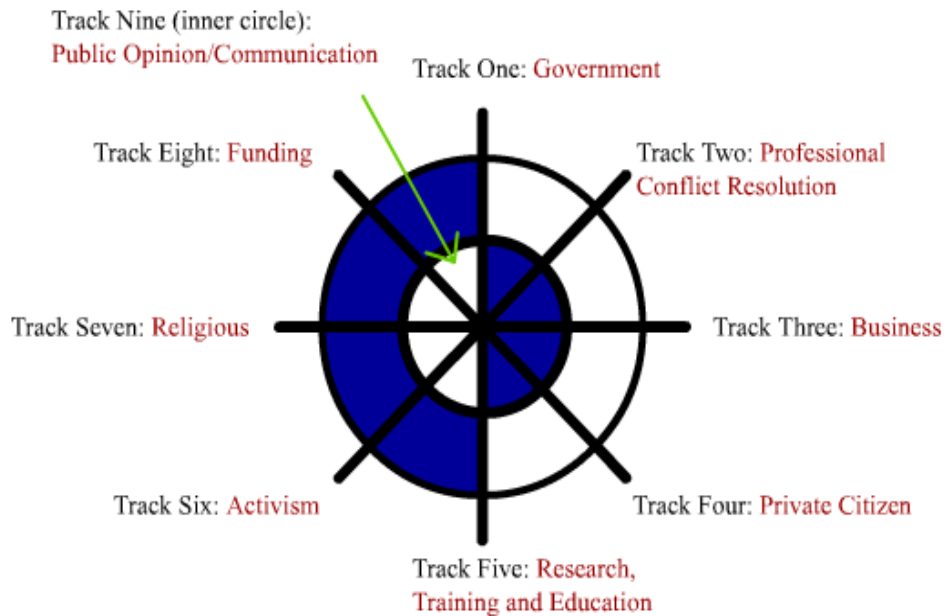
<sup>15</sup> Louise Diamond and John W. McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A System Approach to Peace* (New York: Kumarian Press, 1996).



phenomenon of globalization and its impact on the social, political, and cultural life of society. Also, in the era of globalization, there has been a global resurgence of religion which is considered an important fact that influences a country's policies.

In the multi-track diplomacy system itself, one of the paths related to religion is the seventh track, namely religion which describes the embodiment of peace through the practice of beliefs. This path makes the religious community an important part as shown in the following figure:

**Figure 1.** Nine Tracks in Multi-Track Diplomacy



**Source:** Louise Diamond and John Mc. Donald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A System Approach to Peace*, (New York: Kumarian Press, 1996), 15.

Figure 1 implies that each of the nine pathways represents or carries out their respective duties and functions. Even though the functions and duties of diplomatic actors are different, at the same time, these actors will be related and interact with each other to build synergistic cooperation. For this reason, multi-track diplomacy must be seen as a system of a whole. Furthermore, how a country determines and implements its diplomatic efforts in responding to the issue of terrorism is considered more feasible by using soft power than hard power. Joseph S. Nye stated that "soft power is more than influence since influence can also rest on the hard power of (military or diplomatic) threats or (economic) payments"<sup>16</sup>. It implies that soft power is more than just influence because influence can also rely on the hard power possessed by a country, such as threats (military or diplomatic) or the economy. Nye also stated that soft power can be defined as intangible or indirect influences such as culture, values, and ideology. Thus, soft power also refers to the ability to influence what other entities do through direct or indirect influence and encouragement, which is usually cultural or ideological. Soft power is not always synonymous with cultural

<sup>16</sup> Jr. and Singh, "Review of The Future of Power."

power although in this case the export of cultural goods which are attractive to other countries can also be used to communicate values as well as influence foreign publics<sup>17</sup>.

In this context, religion can then become a form of soft power. There are three explanations for this. First, the use of Islamic symbols is intended as a natural way for policymakers to express themselves or justify their policies. Second, it is used to mobilize people's support and avoid opposition. Third, it is used to attract the public in other countries through the thoughts of their leaders<sup>18</sup>. In this case, the Indonesian government is trying to support and promote moderate Islam and Muslims as part of the use of counter-terrorism soft power. Indonesia's seriousness in its attempt to include moderate Islam as its new identity in global politics is certainly not without challenges. Regarding the challenges faced by Indonesia in promoting moderate Islamic values as its counter-terrorism soft power, Indonesia's success in avoiding collisions, especially with Western civilization, while at the same time strengthening the image of moderate Islam will be largely determined by Indonesia's ability to carry out its diplomacy which is characterized by three thing aspects, namely a reciprocal relationship with international policies related to democratization; special narratives related to the coexistence of Islam, democracy and modern society; and its basis on an international-domestic or intermestic approach.

### Islam and Indonesian Foreign Policy

With the composition of more than 88% of around 270 million people who adhere to Islam, Indonesia is the country with the largest Muslim population in the world. This number is even more than the combined number of all Arab countries where the population adheres to Islam. Islam itself has long been a source of social values and norms in Indonesian society, thus playing an important role in political legitimacy. Because foreign policy usually reflects the values of a country, the assumption that is built is that Islam in Indonesia will also play a role in Indonesia's external relations. Indonesia's political history since post-independence shows that this is not the case in Indonesia. The debate has even occurred in the relationship between religion and the state since the process of establishing the state until the achievement of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945, when the founders of the state were involved in an in-depth debate on building the basis of Indonesia<sup>19</sup>.

This debate reflects differences in ideological and political views between secular nationalists who prefer a non-theocratic form of state and Islamic groups who support an Islamic state. When Indonesia's independence was declared, a "compromise" was made between the two groups, in which the newly established republic was agreed as a state that would be based on the Pancasila ideology (Five Principles) which ensured that all recognized religions would be placed equally in Indonesia.<sup>20</sup> Along the way, the compromises made by the founding fathers of the nation were not able to provide a solution regarding national identity. On the contrary, this has become a source of dilemma regarding dual identity which the

<sup>17</sup> Jr. and Singh.

<sup>18</sup> Mandaville and Hamid, *Islam as Statecraft: How Governments Use Religion in Foreign Policy*.

<sup>19</sup> Al Anshori and Mohamad Zakaria, *The Role of Islam in Indonesia's Contemporary Foreign Policy*, Thesis (New Zealand: Victoria University of Wellington, 2016), <http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/5163>.

<sup>20</sup> Rizal Sukma, *Islam in Indonesian Foreign Policy* (London: Routledge, 2008).



Indonesian government must pay attention to in the policy-making process. On the one hand, Indonesia is a country with a majority Muslim population. This reality cannot be simply ignored by the state because Islam is a source of values and norms that guide behaviour and life in society. Islam has also become a centre for social and political legitimacy in society. However, the reality of religious diversity also makes the government unable to state the term state in just one religion<sup>21</sup>. Therefore, every government in power in Indonesia must be able to avoid the identity of secularism by paying attention to the aspirations of Muslims, but must also be able to avoid portraying identity as an Islamic state.

The condition of this dual identity dilemma also has an impact on Indonesia's foreign policy. In this context, Indonesia's identity as a non-theocratic country is clearly described. Meanwhile, Islam as the religion of the majority has never been officially adopted when explaining the framework of Indonesia's foreign policy and is not even used as a basis when carrying out foreign relations with other countries. Therefore, the role of Islam in shaping the agenda and implementing Indonesian foreign policy is only placed in a secondary position. This was later reflected during the Soekarno and Soeharto governments, where Islam did not play a major role – neither in domestic politics nor in Indonesia's foreign policy<sup>22</sup>.

Nonetheless, it can be stated that the role of Islam in Indonesia began to emerge in the early 1990s when the Soeharto regime introduced a policy of reconciliation for Islam and Muslim groups which was marked by granting several concessions to the Muslim community including the establishment of Bank Muamalat which later became the first Islamic bank in Indonesia, increasing the authority of Islamic courts, lifting the ban on the veil worn by women in schools, and founding an Islamic newspaper – *Republika* in 1993. Suharto also injected funds into Islamic schools and Islamic TV programs and formed the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association (ICMI) aimed at co-opting Muslim intellectuals and promoting Islamic ideals. The formation of ICMI in December 1990 accelerated the rise of political Islam in Indonesia. Many ICMI members actively criticized Suharto's authoritarian regime and its economic development policies which only benefited a handful of elites in the government. ICMI's existence also symbolizes the rise of political Islam which has been oppressed for more than twenty-five years<sup>23</sup>.

The resurgence of Islam in public and political life in Indonesia continues to strengthen along with the reformation era in Indonesia, one of which was marked by the emergence of many political parties as a result of the renewal of government policies by B.J. Habibie who returned to implementing a multi-party system, which then encouraged the emergence of 48 political parties which were explicitly Islamic parties or parties based on Muslim constituents (Muslim-based parties).

After Indonesia entered the era of democracy under the leadership of President SBY, then Islam played a significant role in Indonesia's foreign policy. The entry of Islam into Indonesian foreign policy began when President SBY explicitly expressed his views on Indonesia's international identity in his first foreign policy speech in

<sup>21</sup> Sukma.

<sup>22</sup> Dewi Fortuna Anwar, "Foreign Policy, Islam and Democracy in Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities* 3, no. 1 (2010): 37–54, <https://doi.org/10.14203/jissh.v3i1.45>.

<sup>23</sup> Aisyah Songbatumis, "The Role of Islam in Indonesian Foreign Policy: A Case of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Introduction," *Polish Political Science Yearbook* 50 (2021): 1–23, <https://doi.org/10.15804/ppsy202119>.





2005, stating that this identity must be reflected in an independent and active foreign policy. In other words, Islamic identity becomes an inherent projection in reference to the Indonesian nation<sup>24</sup>. SBY's foreign policy speech illustrates the desire to change the country's new international identity, in line with post-Soeharto domestic political changes. President SBY also stressed that Indonesia's international identity would reflect its position as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, the third largest democracy in the world, as well as representing the voice of moderate Islam<sup>25</sup>. That is, under the SBY government, Islam was then considered a national diplomatic asset by the Indonesian government.

The inclusion of Islam into Indonesia's foreign policy is a reflection of domestic values, namely as a result of domestic pressure and a strategic response to the post-9/11 international environment where Indonesian democracy, a reputation for tolerance, and moderate forms of Islam are perceived as valuable domestic assets that can be utilized in Indonesian foreign policy. In this context, one of the important motivations for using Islam in Indonesian foreign policy, especially Indonesian public diplomacy, is to restore Indonesia's international image after the Bali bombing as well as to restore perceptions of the Muslim world in the Western world, especially after the 9/11 tragedy. The recognition of Islam as an important asset in Indonesian public diplomacy is also indirectly encouraged by the West, especially the US, which expects Indonesia to become a model for other Muslim countries because Islam in Indonesia is seen as compatible with democracy and modernity. With Western encouragement, Indonesia has gained confidence in projecting a new international identity that emphasizes an image of moderate Islam in its foreign policy. So, it is clear, not only is it arising from domestic factors but the importance of Islam in Indonesian foreign policy is also driven by international factors<sup>26</sup>.

The use of Islamic symbols in Indonesian foreign policy is also aimed at mobilizing popular support and avoiding opposition. That is, this is a political mechanism at the domestic level based on two goals, namely to attract support for policies as well as gain legitimacy for policies made, so no opposition arises. This is based on the fact that Indonesian Islam is indeed moderate, and mainstream Indonesian Islamic organizations are also moderate. The history of Islam's entry into a peaceful Indonesia, the contribution of Islamic organizations in nation and state building, and its role in the dynamics of Indonesian history further emphasize the character of Indonesia's peaceful Islam<sup>27</sup>. Thus, the identity of moderate Islam is compatible with the character of Islam in Indonesia. The mobilization of popular support in foreign policy that promotes moderate Islam is then seen from efforts to include Islamic organizations in Indonesia's international diplomacy.

---

<sup>24</sup> Yudhoyono, *Independent and Active Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*.

<sup>25</sup> Dewi Fortuna Anwar, "The Impact of Domestic and Asian Regional Changes on Indonesian Foreign Policy," *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2010, 126–141, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41418562%0A>.

<sup>26</sup> Songbatumis, "The Role of Islam in Indonesian Foreign Policy: A Case of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Introduction."

<sup>27</sup> Jeremy Menchik, "Moderate Muslims and Democratic Breakdown in Indonesia," *Asian Studies Review* 43, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 415–33, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2019.1627286>.





## Indonesia's Efforts to Build a Post-9/11 Moderate Islamic Image through Inter-Religious Dialogue and Inter-Civilization Dialogues

After 9/11, Indonesia, as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, was also faced with big challenges, especially in terms of efforts at countering Western perceptions that as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia is not a threat or a breeding ground for extremism. Two important issues have prompted Indonesia to take policies to build the reputation of moderate Islam. First, the ill repute of Islam has been associated with the networks of transnational Islamic organizations such as Al Qaeda, Jamiyyah Islamiyyah (JI), and the Taliban which are attached to the use of violence such as suicide bombings, terror, and hostage-taking. Second, Indonesia's ill repute subsequently escalated following the Bali bombings on October 12, 2002. Indonesia has also experienced various acts of terrorism long before the 9/11 incident. The various bombings, including the Jakarta Stock Exchange (JSX) bombing on September 13, 2000, the Plaza Atrium bombing on August 1, 2001, the Istiqlal Mosque bombing, and the "Christmas Eve bombing" show that there is indeed "domestic terrorism" which has links to foreign terrorist networks.

Apart from that, the urgency of involving moderate Islam itself does have an impact on its relationship with the West. This refers to the context in which Islam contains the concepts of *salam* (peace), *ishlah* (conflict resolution), and *ukhuwah basyariah* (human brotherhood) which are part of the essence of Islamic messages. Meanwhile, in the context of moderate Islam, there are special values such as *tasamuh* (tolerance), *tawasuth* (moderation), *tawazun* (balance), and *i'tidal* (justice) which can be used in solving various global problems. This shows that Indonesian Islam can coexist with Pancasila and the constitution<sup>28</sup>. This also underlies why Indonesia is seen as having to be actively involved in resolving international conflicts, namely that there is a great hope that Indonesian Islam will become an alternative Islam that inspires peace and democracy, at the same time it is hoped that it can become an alternative face of peaceful Islam that can become a mediator between West and Islam<sup>29</sup>.

Moving on from here, under SBY's government, Indonesia then attempted to support and promote moderate Muslims as part of its use of counter-terrorism soft power. Several diplomatic programs focused on moderate Islam as the image of Indonesian Islam in global politics were then held. These diplomatic programs include inter-faith and inter-civilizational dialogues, and hosting the International Conference of Islamic Scholars (ICIS). This agenda is organized and supervised by the Directorate of Public Diplomacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia by involving religious leaders, mass media, scholars, think tanks, youth, Islamic community organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah, and other components of civil society<sup>30</sup>. Various programs related to moderate Islam have even started since the 1st Bali Bombing in 2002 and became one of the priority programs of foreign policy during the SBY administration.

<sup>28</sup> Anwar, "The Impact of Domestic and Asian Regional Changes on Indonesian Foreign Policy."

<sup>29</sup> Anwar.

<sup>30</sup> Directorate of Public Diplomacy, "Interview with Alfian Amiruddin" (Jakarta, 2022).



In its development, inter-religious dialogue has become a permanent feature of the implementation of Indonesian public diplomacy since 2004, where until now Indonesia has had 31 bilateral inter-religious dialogue partners. Other dialogues include those held in Cebu, Philippines (2006); Waitangi, New Zealand (2007); Phnom Penh, Cambodia (2008), and Perth, Australia (2009). In the 6th Regional Interfaith Dialogue in Semarang in 2012, it was also stated to launch an Action Plan aimed at promoting greater awareness and shared understanding of religions among the countries involved. In the Regional Interfaith Dialogue, each participating country also shared its experiences in promoting interfaith dialogue while discussing concrete programs and collaborative activities that could be realized under the Action Plan, which included activities to increase awareness and understanding of religion and belief traditions among the countries involved. These activities are marked by the active involvement of civil society organizations, youth, schools, media, and government. The Regional Interfaith Dialogue itself involved the participation of religious leaders, civil society, academics, and media which was attended by 120 delegates from co-sponsor countries, namely Indonesia and Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Timor Leste, and Vietnam<sup>31</sup>.

Apart from holding various inter-faith dialogues, Indonesia is also actively holding the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF), which is a forum or meeting for cooperation between countries that is held every year in December in Bali. BDF has been organized by the Indonesian government since 2008 as a forum for cooperation in developing democracy as well as a platform for promoting democracy and peace as a solution and prevention of conflicts between countries. In particular, the BDF cooperation forum aims to increase the democratic capacity of participating countries as well as democratic institutions through discussions conducted between participating countries. In addition, BDF aims to promote political development through dialogue and exchange of experiences between countries and create platforms for cooperation and mutual assistance, especially in the fields of democracy and political development<sup>32</sup>. BDF is attended by representatives from countries in the Indo-Pacific region – namely government leaders, ministers, and prominent figures – where BDF is inclusive or open to all countries in the Indo-Pacific region, both those that have embraced democracy or who have aspirations to become more democratic.

This forum also has the principle of homegrown democracy which means that democracy is based on real practices of democratic values by participating countries with no pretensions to blame or justify these real practices. Through the implementation of the BDF, Indonesia has an interest in promoting the image in which democratic values are shared by the Indonesian nation. This is shown by the fact that Indonesia provides a forum for discussion for other countries to learn from each other, as well as showing other countries that Indonesia has a very good democratic climate. BDF also gives an image that Indonesia as a country with the

<sup>31</sup> Ray Marcelo, "Australia Welcomes Interfaith Dialogue Action Plan," Media Release, 2012, [https://indonesia.embassy.gov.au/jakt/mr12\\_011.html](https://indonesia.embassy.gov.au/jakt/mr12_011.html).

<sup>32</sup> Evan A. Laksmana, "Indonesia's Rising Regional and Global Profile: Does Size Really Matter?," *CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA* 33, no. 2 (2011): 157, <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs33-2a>.



largest Muslim population in the world is capable of holding a democratic forum. That is, Islam and democratic values can coexist<sup>33</sup>.

Indonesia's efforts to build a moderate Islamic image after 9/11 also received support from the two largest Islamic community organizations in Indonesia, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. Dramatic events related to terrorism that worsened the image of Islam and Indonesia became the context that encouraged NU and Muhammadiyah to take part. First, responding to important events at home and abroad related to terrorism cases, NU in the National Alim Ulama Conference and NU General Conference on 25-28 July 2002 issued a fatwa forbidding suicide bombings and terrorism<sup>34</sup>. The same assertion in rejecting terrorism was also issued by Muhammadiyah by calling terrorism an enemy of religion and humanity. This was also reinforced by the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) which also issued Fatwa number 3 of 2004 concerning terrorism. In the Fatwa on Terrorism, the MUI emphasized that any act of terror that creates fear in society is unlawful. Based on the *Ijtima Ulama Fatwa Commission* in Indonesia on December 16, 2003, a fatwa concerning terrorism was also issued, in which the MUI declared terrorism or suicide bombings as prohibited acts. In strengthening the appeal that Islam must bring mercy to all networks, synergistic collaboration was also carried out by NU and Muhammadiyah, where both put forward platforms to present Islam as *rahmatan lil alamin*.

It was also under SBY's administration that some policymakers believed that Indonesia's experiences with economic development, political reform, and Islamic terrorism have put this country in a relevant position for talking about the challenges facing the Muslim world. In 2006, in a speech in Saudi Arabia, SBY reviewed the many problems faced by the Muslim community, including Islamophobia, and argued that Muslims must respond by mastering technology and modernity as well as having cultural advantages. SBY emphasized that Islam is not only a religion of peace, but also a form of progress, namely by calling for the revival of Islam, urging Muslims to embrace globalization, cooperating with non-Muslims, and cooperating against terrorism.

Furthermore, the Indonesian government under the leadership of President Joko Widodo used references to a free and active foreign policy by emphasizing the need to support the struggle of the Palestinian people, as well as positioning Indonesia as a country that promotes a "middle way" form of Islam, namely neither liberal nor radical. Specifically, in the vision and mission drafted by the governments of Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin, it was explained that Indonesia would strengthen leadership in the forum of Muslim countries through three action plans, namely spreading moderate Islamic discourse (*Islam wasathiyah*), strengthening cooperation with Muslim countries (strengthening *ukhuwah Islamiyah*), and raising solidarity for Palestinian independence<sup>35</sup>. This vision and mission also mention the importance of the existence of interfaith dialogue as a platform for promoting Indonesia's soft

<sup>33</sup> Directorate of Public Diplomacy, "Interview with Alfian Amiruddin."

<sup>34</sup> Hasse Jubba, Jaffary Awang, and Siti Aisyah Sungkilang, "The Challenges of Islamic Organizations in Promoting Moderation in Indonesia," *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 6, no. 1 (August 10, 2021): 43–54, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jw.v6i1.12948>.

<sup>35</sup> Evan Laksmana, "Will Religious Sectarianism Change Indonesian Foreign Policy?," Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2018, <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/will-religious-sectarianism-change-indonesian-foreign-policy/>.



power, even though this has not become the main instrument in Indonesian foreign policy.

Statements regarding Indonesia's position that upholds moderate Islamic values are also constantly emphasized by President Joko Widodo. In his opening speech at the High-level Consultation of Muslim Ulema and Scholars on Moderate Islam in 2018 which was attended by around 100 Islamic scholars from Indonesia, Yemen, Egypt, Iran, Morocco, Italy, the US, and various other countries, President Joko Widodo stated that Indonesia supported the formation global moderate Islamic axis. He added that Indonesia's position was very clear; to show the world that Islam is a religion that is *rahmatan lil alamin*.

In its development, statements, support, and policies regarding Islam *rahmatan lil alamin* continue to emerge and are echoed on various occasions until now. In 2006 Foreign Minister Hassan Wirajuda, for example, referred to this moderate Islam as an asset to Indonesia's foreign relations, as well as part of the soft power that needs to be maintained. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the leadership of Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa also supports the efforts of Islamic organizations that campaign for moderate and tolerant Islam internationally. In the era of Foreign Minister, Retno P. Marsudi, the same thing was conveyed, namely by underlining Indonesia's role as a provider of solutions to problems that occur in Muslim countries as a reflection of moderate Islam. The problems considered as important issues to be resolved by the Indonesian government include the conflicts in Palestine, Afghanistan, and the Rohingya<sup>36</sup>. It was also stated that the government could not be alone in spreading the Islamic message of *rahmatan lil alamin* without partnering with Muhammadiyah and also NU. This statement is in line with efforts to strengthen relations between Islamic organizations and the government in creating synergies between formal diplomacy and non-formal diplomacy also known as multi-track diplomacy.

### **The Consistency and Significance of Organizing Inter-Faith and Inter-Civilisational Dialogues in Indonesia's Efforts to Build a Post-9/11 Moderate Islamic Image**

Indonesia is serious about incorporating moderate Islam as its new identity in global politics. Two things that are also often mentioned are Indonesia's efforts to become a bridge between Islam and the West as well as a bridge between the Islamic world. The word moderate itself is taken as an identity that refers to Islam which is tolerant, peaceful, and balanced and prioritises dialogue in solving problems. In this context, understanding, in general, cannot be separated from the three factors that initiated the formation of moderate Islam, namely pluralism, modernization, and democracy. Gradually, the term moderate Islam began to be introduced in Indonesian foreign policy which emphasized Indonesia's obligation as the largest Muslim country in the world to be able to present the true face of Islam, namely Islam as *rahmatan lil alamin*.

Nonetheless, Indonesia's efforts to build a moderate Islamic image after 9/11 require continuity which is reflected in the form of policies from the government in power. Likewise, in responding to various problems in the international Islamic

<sup>36</sup> Hadza Min Fadhli Robby, "Promosi Islam Wasathiyah Dalam Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia" (Yogyakarta, 2020).





world, Indonesia's role and commitment to presenting the image of moderate Islam has faced significant challenges several times. Regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during the Joko Widodo administration, for example, the Indonesian public's pressure for a two-state solution has strengthened. Indonesia itself firmly states that Indonesia is a strong supporter of the Palestinian cause at the United Nations (UN) and Indonesia has never recognized Israel. Indonesia has even repeatedly offered its good services to help mediate the split between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and *Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyyah* ( Hamas). This is based on Indonesia's own experience and struggle for independence, where national unity is a prerequisite for achieving independence. Unfortunately, the existence of Indonesia as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world and a strategic role and modality in the diplomacy of resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict apparently shows that Indonesia's diplomatic efforts in various international forums are considered less effective. The ineffectiveness of Indonesia's diplomatic efforts will have negative implications for Indonesia's commitment as a form of consistency by the Indonesian government which fully supports the struggle of the Palestinian people in achieving their independence<sup>37</sup>.

In the UN forum, Indonesia's role and commitment to presenting the image of moderate Islam are also seen as necessary for various strengthening. For example, in the case of Iran's nuclear proliferation, Indonesia, which has a policy of supporting nuclear non-proliferation, is faced with a real problem when it has to decide whether to support Western pressure on Iran to stop its nuclear program or take other policies. The next challenge is the fact that as a result of the relative neglect of the Islamic world in the past, Indonesia's position in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) has become quite marginal. There is also the fact that many Arab countries tend to look down on the credibility of Indonesian Islam even though in certain issues there are opportunities for Indonesia to improve its relations with Islamic countries in the Middle East. In this context, the greater interest in improving relations with Islamic countries is seen as having more to do with the expected economic benefits, rather than related to the issue of Islam as a belief and a problem faced together in today's globalized world<sup>38</sup>.

Challenges related to the consistency and significance of the use of religion as Indonesia's counter-terrorism soft power to build the image of moderate Islam after 9/11, also arise from within Indonesia itself, where in fact, in Indonesia there are no sectarian conflicts between Sunni and Shia Muslims. In the struggle against Islamic extremism, Indonesia is even seen as quite lucky with the existence of mass organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah which have consistently become symbols of moderate Islam in Indonesia. Nonetheless, there are concerns that the performance of NU and Muhammadiyah is also being challenged, for example by the existence of right-wing Islamic groups, such as the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), which claims to have around 200,000 members<sup>39</sup>. In this context, the various actions promoted by FPI are seen as capable of widening the gap regarding Indonesia's national concept of a tolerant and pluralistic tradition.

<sup>37</sup> Directorate of Public Diplomacy, "Interview with Alfan Amiruddin."

<sup>38</sup> Anshori and Zakaria, *The Role of Islam in Indonesia's Contemporary Foreign Policy*.

<sup>39</sup> Krithika Varagur, "Indonesia's Moderate Islam Is Slowly Crumbling," Dispatch, 2017, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/02/14/indonesias-moderate-islam-is-slowly-crumbling/>.





The explanation above indicates that the challenge faced by Indonesia is not the instrumental use of Islam in its foreign policy. The real challenge lies in substantiating the claim that in Indonesia, democracy, Islam, and modernity can go hand in hand. This is important as a starting point for developing an effective foreign policy that will ultimately be able to influence global discourse between Islam and the West, and within the Islamic world itself, while at the same time strengthening Indonesia's claim as an alternative form of Islamic society. In an effort to achieve this goal, Indonesia must be able to show a record of success in transforming its society into one that upholds Islamic values and practices, while also being able to contribute to the consolidation of democracy and the preservation of tolerant pluralism that is open to the outside world and can embrace modernity. Only in this way can Indonesia position itself as a bridge between the Islamic world and the West, as well as a possible reference point for other Muslim countries wishing to learn from Indonesia's experience.

### **The Relevance of the *Fiqh Siyasah Dauliyah* Concept with Inter-Faith and Inter-Civilizational Dialogues**

If we look at the achievements of the various inter-religious and inter-civilizational dialogues held by Indonesia, it can also be stated that this is intended as an effort to explain to the public the existence of Islam as a religion that is *rahmatan lil alamin*. In this context, apart from containing elements of dialogue-based public diplomacy, religion then becomes a form of soft power used as part of Indonesia's public diplomacy instruments. Associated with the perspective of Islamic teachings, the various inter-religious and inter-civilizational dialogues held by Indonesia are relevant to the teachings that Muslims should cooperate with various nations, groups, and the international community<sup>40</sup>. The urgency to build dialogue between religions and between civilizations also has a solid foundation in Islam. The dialogue is based on the universalism of Islam itself as a mercy for the entire universe which is also the main mission of Islam as stated in the Al-Quran Surah Al-Anbiya verse 107, where Muslims must not take a passive role in a dialogue and partnership with others groups aimed at to provide solutions for the world. This mission will not succeed if Muslims isolate themselves from any possible dialogues with followers of other religions.

The various inter-religious and inter-civilizational dialogues organized by Indonesia are also necessary conditions for promoting peace, tolerance, harmony, and religious coexistence in the world today. In this context, diversity in Islam is stated as part of God's plan for the benefit of mankind. Many verses of the Al-Qur'an emphasize justice and kindness in dealings with adherents of other religions, including statements about the importance of working together and maintaining harmonious relations with others regardless of religion, culture, and ideology. In the Al-Quran Al-Mumtahanah verse 8 and Al-Hujurat verse 13, these verses express a comprehensive and unique concept of unity by emphasizing the common origin of mankind. This singular origin of mankind is the basis of equality among human beings. From this, it can be interpreted that the teaching of the Al-Qurans to know one another is an indication of the urgency of conducting inter-civilizational and inter-religious dialogue.

---

<sup>40</sup> Maria Vaiou, *Diplomacy in the Early Islamic World: A Tenth-Century Treatise on Arab-Byzantine Relations* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2019).



Also related to the Islamic point of view, specifically the concept of dialogue between civilizations and between religions is based on the study of textual analysis and historical interpretation of the Al-Quran and As-Sunnah. In this case, the Al-Quran shows various examples of dialogue, one of which is contained in the Al-Quran Surah An-Nahl verse 125 which asks Muslims to show the best courtesy and wisdom when arguing with people of other religions. Tact, respectful conversation, and a friendly demeanour are essential to strengthening reciprocal relationships. The Prophet Muhammad SAW is a real example of engaging and maintaining dialogues and harmony with people of different religions, where the Prophet Muhammad SAW used diplomacy and negotiation methods, both personally and as a way of da'wah in inviting many people to embrace Islam (Dar & Sayed, 2017: 517)<sup>41</sup>. The method adopted by the Prophet Muhammad SAW shows equal treatment of Muslims and non-Muslims. Thus, it can be stated that the teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah are a model for promoting inter-religious dialogue and harmony.

### Conclusion

Currently, the existence of religion is even projected as a soft power that becomes part of the foreign policy of many countries, which involves the roles and activities of many non-state actors through multi-track diplomacy. This is also the basis for Indonesia, which in 2004 had just entered the era of democracy under the leadership of President SBY to make changes in its foreign policy, which was marked by giving recognition to the new aspirations of Muslims, namely by asserting the international identity of the Indonesian state. This assertion would reflect its position as the third largest democracy in the world, the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, at the same time representing the voice of moderate Islam. In relation to efforts to project the face of Islam which is *rahmatan lil alamin*, as well as building the image of moderate Islam, various efforts have been made to strengthen moderation as the big theme of Indonesian foreign policy. This is pursued by empowering moderate groups in the country as a first step. This implies that the success of fighting terrorism will also be determined by empowering moderates.

In this context, various diplomatic programs focused on moderate Islam as the image of Indonesian Islam in global politics were then held, including inter-faith dialogues, inter-civilizational dialogues, and the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF). Indonesia also hosted the International Conference of Islamic Scholars (ICIS), as well as the High-level Consultation of Muslim Ulema and Scholars on Moderate Islam. Along its journey, the various diplomatic efforts and programs undertaken by the Indonesian government are faced with the biggest challenge, namely related to the question of whether Indonesia will be able to face the challenges of its own national aspirations and international expectations so that its status as the third largest democracy and the largest Muslim country in the world can be achieved and used as leverage in foreign policy. This will contribute to Indonesia's ability to promote its national interests, mediate international conflicts involving Muslim interests, as well as provide an alternative model of moderate and modern Islamic society.

Associated with the perspective of Islamic religious teachings, the various inter-faith and inter-civilizational dialogues held by Indonesia are relevant to the teachings

<sup>41</sup> Abdelkader and Deina, *Islam in International Relations: Politics and Paradigms*.



that Muslims should cooperate with various nations, groups, and the international community (*fiqh siyasah dauliyah*) aimed at promoting peace, tolerance, harmony, and coexistence of religions in today's world. However, this study has not discussed further how effective the use of interfaith and inter-civilizational dialogue instruments has been in achieving success in explaining to the public the existence of Islam as a religion that is *rahmatan lil alamin*.

## Bibliography

- A. Laksmana, Evan. "Indonesia's Rising Regional and Global Profile: Does Size Really Matter?" *CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA* 33, no. 2 (2011): 157. <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs33-2a>.
- Abdelkader, and Deina. *Islam in International Relations: Politics and Paradigms*. London & New York: Routledge, 2019.
- Ahmadi, Mansoor Mir. "Jurisprudence (Fiqh) of International Relations." *Islamic Politics Research* 1, no. 4 (2014): 39–57. <https://doi.org/https://dorl.net/dor/20.1001.1.23455705.1392.1.4.2.9>.
- Anshori, Al, and Mohamad Zakaria. *The Role of Islam in Indonesia's Contemporary Foreign Policy*. Thesis. New Zealand: Victoria University of Wellington, 2016. <http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/5163>.
- Anwar, Dewi Fortuna. "Foreign Policy, Islam and Democracy in Indonesia." *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities* 3, no. 1 (2010): 37–54. <https://doi.org/10.14203/jissh.v3i1.45>.
- . "The Impact of Domestic and Asian Regional Changes on Indonesian Foreign Policy." *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2010, 126–141. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41418562%0A>.
- Berger, Peter A. *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*. Washington DC: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 2001.
- Bsoul, Labeeb Ahmed. "Theory of International Relations in Islam." *Digest of Middle East Studies* 16, no. 2 (October 16, 2007): 71–96. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1949-3606.2007.tb00127.x>.
- Charles W. Kegley Jr., and Eugene R. Wittkopf. *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*. 7th ed. New York: New York : St. Martin's/Worth, 1999.
- Defence Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia. *Indonesia Defence White Paper*. Indonesia, 2015. <https://www.kemhan.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/2015-INDONESIA-DEFENCE-WHITE-PAPER-ENGLISH-VERSION.pdf>.
- Diamond, Louise, and John W. McDonald. *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A System Approach to Peace*. New York: Kumarian Press, 1996.
- Directorate of Public Diplomacy. "Interview with Alfan Amiruddin." Jakarta, 2022.



- Jr., Joseph S. Nye, and Navin Kumar Singh. "Review of The Future of Power." *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues* 16, no. 4 (2012): 160–65. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48566262>.
- Jubba, Hasse, Jaffary Awang, and Siti Aisyah Sungkilang. "The Challenges of Islamic Organizations in Promoting Moderation in Indonesia." *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 6, no. 1 (August 10, 2021): 43–54. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jw.v6i1.12948>.
- Laksmiana, Evan. "Will Religious Sectarianism Change Indonesian Foreign Policy?" Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2018. <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/will-religious-sectarianism-change-indonesian-foreign-policy/>.
- Levy, Jack S. *Qualitative Methods in International Relations*. United States of America (US): Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- Mandaville, Peter, and Shadi Hamid. *Islam as Statecraft: How Governments Use Religion in Foreign Policy*. Washington DC: Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, 2018.
- Marcelo, Ray. "Australia Welcomes Interfaith Dialogue Action Plan." Media Release, 2012. [https://indonesia.embassy.gov.au/jakt/mr12\\_011.html](https://indonesia.embassy.gov.au/jakt/mr12_011.html).
- Menchik, Jeremy. "Moderate Muslims and Democratic Breakdown in Indonesia." *Asian Studies Review* 43, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 415–33. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2019.1627286>.
- Muzakki, Fadlan. "Theory, Practice, and Analysis of Indonesia Foreign Policy." *Translitera : Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi Dan Studi Media* 5, no. 2 (March 29, 2018): 14–24. <https://doi.org/10.35457/translitera.v5i2.360>.
- Rachmawati, Iva. "Indonesian Public Diplomacy: Preserving State Existence through Sharing of Identities to Gain Mutual Understanding." *Jurnal Global & Strategis* 11, no. 1 (September 28, 2017): 55. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jgs.11.1.2017.55-71>.
- Robby, Hadza Min Fadhli. "Promosi Islam Wasathiyah Dalam Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia." Yogyakarta, 2020.
- Scott, Thomas. *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations The Struggle for the Soul of the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Songbatumis, Aisyah. "The Role of Islam in Indonesian Foreign Policy: A Case of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Introduction." *Polish Political Science Yearbook* 50 (2021): 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.15804/ppsy202119>.
- Sukma, Rizal. *Islam in Indonesian Foreign Policy*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Vaiou, Maria. *Diplomacy in the Early Islamic World: A Tenth-Century Treatise on Arab-*



*Byzantine Relations*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2019.

Varagur, Krithika. "Indonesia's Moderate Islam Is Slowly Crumbling." *Dispatch*, 2017. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/02/14/indonesias-moderate-islam-is-slowly-crumbling/>.

Wirajuda, Hassan. "Refleksi 2004 Dan Proyeksi 2005." 2005.

Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang. *Independent and Active Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*. Jakarta: Buana Ilmu Populer, 2005.

