

Islam in Foreign Policy: Promotion of Moderate Islam in Indonesia Foreign Policy 2004- 2014

Andi Purwono

Doctoral Program Student of Political Science, Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta

Lecturer of International Relations, Wahid Haysim University Semarang

Email: andhi_unwahas@yahoo.co.id

Abstract

In Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration, the shift/ dynamics occurred in Indonesia foreign policy. In contrast to the exclusion and rejection of Islam as identity in official statement in Old and New Order, Indonesia actively promote moderate Islam in international relations. Using qualitative method, this document- based research argue that promotion of moderate Islam in Indonesia foreign policy was constructed by Islamic norm, Islam rahmatan lil alamin norm. This norm can be found by tracing the emergence process as mentioned by Finnemore and Sikkink's Norms Life Cycle Model. The finding suggested some conformity to the model and some deviation especially in term of state actor and their motivation.

Keywords: foreign policy, moderate Islam, worldview, legitimacy, promotion

Introduction

This article will describe the emergence / origin / construction of rahmatan lil alamin as an Islamic norm emerges in Indonesian foreign policy. In Muslim world, there is assumption that Islam has significant role in politics. This also can be found in Indonesia that as the biggest Muslim populated country in the world, its foreign policy is influenced by Islam. Indonesia is unique due to the fact that it is neither non-theocratic nor secular state (Esposito, 1987 or Hadi and Mu'ti, 2011). In the struggle for independence period, Islam has served as positive element in diplomacy to secure recognition and international endorsement for new republic (Hassan, 1980 or Rahman, 2007). But in the next period, majority of researchers of Islam in Indonesia foreign policy concluded that

Islam is absent and not become dominant factor in its foreign relations. Foreign policy was kept to dictated by Islamic consideration. There had never been formal expression of Islam in foreign policy Islamic role was secondary one. Study in Soekarno, Soeharto, and reformation era showed that view.

The shift then occurred when Islam articulated as new identity. In a meeting held by Indonesian Council on World Affairs (ICWA) on 19th of Mei 2005 in Jakarta, President of republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), mentioned that Islamic identity become inherent projection of Indonesia reference (Yudhoyono, 2005). The same statement was spoken by minister of foreign affairs Marty Natalegawa in world economic forum Group of 20 (G20). He said that as

the G-20 has confirmed itself for the status of the major forum on world economic issues, Indonesia was challenged to carve a niche within the group that is unique to itself as the world's third largest democracy, the country with the world's largest Muslim population, and a voice of moderation (Anwar, 2011).

These statements then followed by some diplomatic programs that focused to take moderate Islam as *image* in global politics (Sukma, 2012). This agenda was organized and supervised by directory of public diplomacy, ministry of foreign affairs (Kemenlu RI, 2008). Even some scholars said that this moderate Islam program was started since first Bali Bombing in 2002 and became one of SBY foreign policy priority (Weatherbee, 2013). In contrast to the exclusion and rejection as identity in official statement in Old and New Order, why was Islam used and promoted as Indonesia new identity in its foreign policy?

Previous Study of Islam in Indonesia Foreign Policy

Islam in Indonesia foreign policy has been written by many scholars with different approaches. The first used agent-based perspective especially the leader character approach (leader personal traits). Leo Suryadinata wrote that Islam had never been a major consideration in the foreign policy of Indonesia in Suharto era (Suryadinata, 1997). According to him, the absence of Islam due to the fact that Indonesian elite, especially the foreign policy elite, were *abangan* and not *santri*.

The second study used a structural perspective with some variations. The first, national interest approach which assumes policy makers as rational actors that promotes national interests. (Perwita, 2007; Anwar, 2010a; Anwar: 2010b; Wicaksana,

2012). The second group in the structural perspective used state identity approach. Leifer and Rizal Sukma wrote that Islam had not been the basis of the state. (Leifer, 1983 and Sukma, 2003)

What can be learned from these previous studies was that research on Islam in Indonesia's foreign policy was dominated in area of influence research. These previous studies contribution was in identifying some variables that influence Islamic role Indonesian foreign policy. However, there are some criticisms that need to be submitted to the previous studies. First, previous research emphasized how to see Islam as an identity. Some researchers tried to find Islamic influence only in formal statements especially term religious solidarity of decision makers. Wicaksana explicitly in both of his writings suggested that he see the role of Islam as an identity. Meanwhile, Suryadinata also explicitly mention Islamic solidarity was not the basis of Indonesian foreign policy. In Perwita, Anwar and Sukma, and Leifer, it can be read that they see Islam in that role, especially when they wrote that it was not Islamic solidarity which become the reason of foreign policy. This identity approach bring us to difficult position to find the presence and role of Islam in Indonesian foreign policy. When they not found Islam in the formal form, then they concluded that Islam did not influence Indonesia foreign policy.

Second, some previous writer seemed to make dichotomy between Islam and Pancasila and universal values such as anti-colonialism or justice. The dichotomy between Islam and Pancasila or other universal values is a dangerous one (exactly contains wrong point). For those who believe in Islam as a substance, Pancasila and universal values such as anti-colonialism are also Islamic values. Then Pancasila and other universal values were

compatible with Islam. Third, there is a pattern that is visible and recognized by previous researchers that there was a policy in the era of the Old Order and New Order to avoid Islam as a source of principles, norms, and values that guide our diplomacy and foreign relations. It means that in fact Islam had its influence, but politically neglected or denied by the leader. This fact gave us opportunity to prove that in actuality, Islam is present in foreign policy but manipulated in other words.

Methodological Alternative

According to these weakness, this research is intended to show the role of Islam in Indonesia foreign policy by other methodological way in international relations (Bakry, 2016 or Asrudin, Mirza Jaka Suryana and Musa Maliki 2014). Many international relations theories tends to exclude religions as variable in international politics (Burchill and Linklater, 1996 or Pettiford, 2007). It will use an alternative approach that includes religion as a variable of the research. The end of Cold War make many scholars to bring back religion into account in global politics (Mansbach and Raffery, 2012 or Tibbi, 2008 or Spillmann, Wenger and Hess, 2003). This approach is based on the argument that religion affects some political aspects of international relations in several ways. There are four basic influence of religion in international relations (Fox and Sandler, 2004). In order to do so, this research used constructivism. Finnemore and Sikkink's norm life cycle, especially their first stage of norm life (emergence/ origin/ construction of norm) was used.

Findings

As described in Finnemore and Sikkink's norm cycle, the influence of norms

can be seen through a three-stage process that begins with the emergence of norms. In this first stage, important events, normative actors, their ideational motivation, the mechanism of their emergence are important points.

Rahmatan Lil Alamin in Indonesia

In line with the definition of norms as shared expectations shared by a group of actors on appropriate behavior, rahmatan lil alamin can be called the norm in the Islam World. It contains the common hopes among Muslims that the proper conduct of Islam is the one that brings mercy to all creatures of God. Rahmatan lil alamin is a phrase in Al Quran Surah Al Anbiya verse 107 which states that God did not send the prophet but to (be) mercy for the universe. This verse does not state that God sent the prophet to bring mercy, but to become a mercy to the whole of nature (Shihab, 202: 519). Rahmatan lil 'alamin is actually the mission of the prophet Muhammad. As followers of the teachings of the prophet, then every Muslim essentially also carries this great mission.

Rahmatan lil alamin actually has long been the face of Muslim life of Indonesia. The two largest religious organizations, namely Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, which are called by Robert Pringle as mainstream Islam (Pringle, 2010: 115), are the main bearers so Islam rahmatan lil alamin becomes mainstream of Indonesian Islam. Both have been continuing to practice and encourage Islamic rahmatan lil alamin in social life, nation, and state, even at the international level.

Azyumardi Azra's writing represented the view that Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah are the major organizations of Islamic bearers of

rahmatan lil alamin. According to him, the principle or value of Islam wasathiyah (moderate) which became one of the principles of rahmatan lil alamin became the paradigm and principal praxis of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. He further said that the nature of moderation has become a long tradition of Islam in Indonesia and even the archipelago (Azra, 2015). Islam Indonesia as part of Islam Nusantara is one of the eight Islamic civilizations in the world that are characterized by accommodative, tolerant, relax, and flowering (Azra, 1999). Azyumardi Azra's statement confirms that as a norm, Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin has become a long-standing practice.

In order to be a blessing to all, the teachings of Islam are the teachings of ahlu sunnah waljamaah (aswaja) with some basic principles such as tasamuh (tolerance), tawazun (equilibrium), ta'adul / i'tidal (justice), tawasuth (moderation) and tasyawur (musyawarah) according to the basis of the Qur'an. Therefore, according to Hasyim Muzadi, with these principles, Nahdlatul Ulama always avoid the attitudes of tathoruf (violence / violence) and irhab (terror / terror). Rahmatan lil alamin then in Nahdlatul Ulama teaching is operationalized into the principles of tawasuth (moderate), tasamuh (tolerance), tawazun (balanced), and i'tidal (fair).

Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah as Norm Entrepreneur

According to constructivism, norms appear not in a vacuum but in a fiercely contested environment. Lauren for example also mentioned that important events such as the crisis at the global or national level can encourage the evolution of new ideas and norms (Lauren, 1996). The study of the origin or occurrence of the norm usually calls favorable events as one of the

important variables. The study is usually done by using process tracking or genealogy as a method (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1988: 986). The presence of the norm of rahmatan lil alamin in Indonesian foreign policy was like that. The international terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 and the 2002 Bali Bombing tragedy at the national level were important events that led to the emergence of Islamic norms of rahmatan lil alamin in Indonesian foreign policy.

The condition raised two important issues. First, bad image of Islam especially when networks of transnational Islamic organizations such as Al Qaeda, Jamiyyah Islamiyyah and Taliban were accused of using violence such as suicide bombings, terror and hostage. Secondly, Indonesia had bad image too then culminated in the Bali bombing, October 12, 2002. Moreover, in fact Indonesia had experienced various acts of terrorism, even long before the events of September 11, 2001 in the United States. Various bombing incidents such as JSE, Atrium, Istiqlal Mosque and "Christmas night bomb" indicated that there is indeed "home grown terrorism" that has connections with terrorist networks abroad.

Persuasion as A Mechanism

Those dramatic events related to terrorism that exacerbate the image of Islam and Indonesia became the context that encouraged two unique organizational giants to the country (Al Qurtuby, 2011), namely Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah to take care. The enslavement of Islam and Indonesia in the context of acts of terrorism and the war on terror that led to them actively brings the real issue of Islam into the public consciousness. First, responding to important events at home and abroad related to terrorism case, Nahdlatul Ulama

in National Conference of Alim Ulama and Nahdlatul Ulama Major Conference 25-28 July 2002 issued fatwa haram for suicide bombing and terror action. The same affirmation in rejecting terrorism was also issued by Muhammadiyah by calling terrorism an enemy of religion and humanity. They were also strengthened by the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) which also issued Fatwa number 3 of 2004 on terrorism. In Fatwa no. 3 of 2004 on Terrorism, the MUI asserted that all acts of terror that cause fear in the society of the law is haram. Based on Ijtima 'Ulama Fatwa Commission in Indonesia on December 16, 2003 has set a fatwa on terrorism. MUI sued terrorism or suicide bombing as a forbidden act (Republika, 2011).

The fatwa has important meaning as an effort of persuasion. Unlawful fatwa against acts of terrorism is issued as a framing of Islamic organizations by using language that gives an interpretation that such acts of terrorism are contrary to Islam. The true teachings of Islam are represented by the norm of rahmatan lil alamin. This fatwa can be interpreted as a persuasion effort to bring the issue to the public agenda by framing the issue in a creative way that is with the perspective of religious teachings. Persuasion with this religious approach then becomes meaningful because it resonates with other norms that have already been present in public awareness such as humanity which became one of the basic principles of Pancasila' state.

These fatwa show that Islamic organizations seek to persuade the public and the government by setting meaning to reality, as well as alerting others that their interests or identities are in dangerous situations, and promoting solutions to solve problems. Therefore, the fatwa has played an important role because on the one hand it affirms the basic character of Islam that

should create grace for all. On the other hand, this fatwa serves as a confirmation of a strong theological foundation in banning and resisting acts of terror. The fatwa is also repeatedly reproduced through various statements and occasions and thus becomes the dominant discourse in Indonesia in particular. This norm gains strength because of the unreliable qualities of universality. That power comes primarily from its potential to be parallel so that it can resonate with the basic ideas of human dignity that are also found in many cultures around the world (Muzadi, 2006: 16).

Second, in strengthening the persuasion that Islam must bring mercy to all the synergistic cooperation network is also conducted by the two largest Islamic organizations Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. Both of them put forward the same platform that wants to display Islam rahmatan lil alamin with. On 2 January 2002, the Chairman of PBNU met with the Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah discussed how to create a friendly face of Islam. Both provide input to the government, the political elite, all components of the nation, and even the international community about it. The call was also conveyed to the Muslim community, the government, to put forward a peaceful approach in solving the problem.

Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah held a follow-up meeting on 15 March 2002 involving number of religious leaders such as Cardinal Julius Dharmaatmadja (Catholic), Nurcholish Madjid (Islamic scholar), Roeslan Abdulgani (nationalist), and A.A. Yewangoe from PGI. The meeting was also attended by the initiators of Malino I and Malino II meetings, namely Yusuf Kalla as Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare. The other is Mitsuo Nakamura a Japanese

political observer. This meeting resulted in the Declaration of the Indonesian National Moral Movement (Gernalnas).

The cooperation between Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah in conveying messages about Islamic moderation in developing the mission of rahmatan lil 'alamin was also shown by organizing the Jakarta International Conference (JIC) at Sari Pan Pacific Hotel Jakarta on Wednesday, October 15, 2003. They said that radicalism and terrorists are not the enemy East and West, not particularly the collision between Islam and the West (www.nu.or.id).

Third, persuasion of Islam rahmatan lil alamin is also done through direct discussion between the leaders of Islamic organizations with policy makers. For example, discussions containing discussions on Islam, Indonesia, and international relations were conducted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2002-2004, Dr. Hasan Wirajuda with the Chairman of NU KH Hasyim Muzadi. Both have discussed many issues including the importance of having international and national forums to promote Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin.

The role of this communication can be seen from Hassan Wirajuda's statement. According to him, despite the authoritative government's role in foreign policy, other actors are also involved in decision making, and they can be influential by introducing new ideas into the decision-making circle (Wirajuda, 2012: 103).

Communication and persuasion of the norms of rahmatan lil alamin submitted to policy makers can also be found at a closed meeting of Minister of Foreign Affairs Marty Natalegawa with the Secretary General of the International

Conference of Islamic Scholars (ICIS) KH Hasyim Muzadi. The two figures were there on Thursday, August 12, 2010 at the ICIS office on Jl Dempo, Matraman Dalam, Central Jakarta to discuss issues and conflicts that exist in the Islamic world. The Foreign Ministry also said it supports the ICIS in campaigning moderate and tolerant Islam to the international community (m.detik.com).

According to Marty, for several years there has been good cooperation between Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Nahdlatul Ulama events, especially in ICIS development. In addition, his arrival is also a form of support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to promote to the international world about moderate and tolerant Islam. The Foreign Minister also claimed to have an explanation from KH Hasyim Muzadi related to ICIS and the challenges ahead. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs supports it because it is part of what the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would like to say to various opportunities on how to deliver a better Indonesia in the eyes of the international community.

The collaboration of Islamic leaders and elite leaders of the foreign ministry is widely recognized. Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah for 2005-2015 period, Din Syamsuddin, for example, called Kiai Hasyim Muzadi as the promoter of Islam rahmatan lil-'alamin, inside and outside the country ([Abd. Rohim Ghazali, 2017](#)).

The recognition and appreciation of Hasan Wirajuda's role was also revealed by NU Chairman Hasyim Muzadi. According to him, Hassan Wirajudha during his time as the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia has succeeded to unite between formal diplomacy and non-formal diplomacy termed by first track

diplomacy and second track diplomacy (Tabloid Diplomasi, 2009).

What was the significance of the activities of Islamic organizations through these persuasion suggestions to Indonesian foreign policy? First, in the domestic realm it can be read as a persuasion norm rahmatan lil 'alamin to the Indonesian government in particular. There is an ideational motivation that encourages Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah to be interested in persuading the norm to be adopted in policy. It was more appropriately seen in a constructivist perspective as the persuasion of ideas that the country might adopt.

Second, from the substance of the discussion it is seen that there is a common view in looking at the ongoing world issues between the leaders of Islamic organizations and the elite at the foreign ministry. In view of Haynes's view, such a thing is possible because both have shared religious beliefs (Haynes, 2008). Fox and Sandler's similar view is that foreign policy can indeed be motivated by religious considerations through the religious world-based views of policymakers and through a religious-based world view that limits the choice of policymakers (Fox and Sandler, 2004).

Third, from the discussion between the leaders of Islamic organizations and the elite in the foreign ministry, the relationship between the two was not merely the direction that the leader of the Islamic organization persuades the elite of the foreign ministry. There was a two-way communication going on which then raises the common interest to react to it. This was the symbiosis that exists between the two. The mechanism of emergence of norms occurred, not just one-way persuasion, but also two-way discussion.

Fourth, the evidence indicates that not only Islamic organizations play a role in entrepreneur norms in the emergence of this norm. Elite foreign ministries also show an important role. This combination of non-state and state actor contributed to the emergence of the rahmatan lil alamin norm in Indonesian foreign policy.

Ideational and Instrumental Motivation of the Norm Entrepreneurs

Ideational motivation that drives entrepreneurs norm persuasion is an ideational commitment, public interest, and empathy (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1988). The persuasion of the norm of rahmatan lil alamin is also meant for it. There is a sense of calling to look at the situation. In a special language, it relates to the purpose of getting the mercy of the existence of Islam not only Muslims but the whole of nature (Tabloid Diplomasi, 2012). This term is used because it is mentioned in the Qur'an so it is not an addition of Islam, but it is Islam itself.

This effort to introduce and spread affection is also aimed at creating a peaceful and secure world that provides an opportunity for the improvement of the quality of life, free from oppression and hegemony, in order to uphold the principle of honesty and justice and high appreciation of the dignity of humanity. This global vision is what encourages efforts to foster international relations with both state and non-state actors.

According to the former chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama (Nahdlatul Ulama) Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) KH Hasyim Muzadi, Nahdlatul Ulama as Islam Ahlus sunnah wal Jamaah with its moderation position actively tried to mediate the tension that occurred in the Islamic world because Ahlus sunnah wal Jamaah embraced carrying mission rahmatan lil

alamin. At the same time, the constitutive norm of rahmatan lil 'alamin which is believed also raises the identity of self as an Islam of grace. Awareness of identity, as a moderate Islamic organization carrying the mission of rahmatan lil 'alamin, also raises interest to behave. The assumption that always attaches Islam to terrorists is a threaded and one-sided understanding.

In addition to ideational motivation, we can also find instrumental motivation. The previous explanation mentioned that in addition to Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, the elite of the foreign ministry also played a role in the emergence of this norm through discussion and communication of both actors. In early 2005, Foreign Minister Hassan Wirajuda said that as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia has the responsibility and interest to display the true Islamic face of Islam which is rahmatan lil 'alamin, and moderate Islam is a asset of Indonesia foreign policy (Wirajuda, 2005).

The statement was interesting from the following perspectives. Firstly, this was evidence of a change in Islamic appearance in the official statement of Indonesian foreign policy officials. Second, the phrase explicitly also mentioned the responsibility and interest to display Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin. The phrase 'Indonesia has a responsibility to show the true face of Islam is Islam which rahmatan lil' alamiin 'indicates an ideational reason underlying the policy. This is in line with the logic of propriety that as the country with the largest Muslim population, it is very inappropriate if Indonesia does not behave to explain the true face of Islam amid the issue of terrorism that brings a bleak image of Islam.

There are two lines of constructivism thinking that can explain it. First, the statement of the foreign minister becomes a confession that proves explicitly that the norm of rahmatan lil 'alamin has become a norm that is believed, accepted, and adopted also by the policy-making elite. This norm is coupled with other national norms, especially the essence of the second principle of Pancasila on humanity. The norm raises the interest, and furthermore the interest encourages action in the form of policy.

The second line of thought, the norm raises the identity of Indonesia as the country with the largest Muslim population whose Islamic character rahmatan lil alamin. This identity raises the interest. It is this interest that then encourages action.

In other words, in addition to indicating the adoption of the rahmatan lil alamin norm, the statement also proves that the norm has raised the identity of Indonesia as a Muslim country that holds the norm. In the perspective of constructivism, this norm also constructs the national identity of Indonesia as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world that continues to spread mercy for all. These norms and identities are factors that drive interest in Indonesia's foreign relations.

Third, the phrase 'Indonesia has an interest to show the true Islamic face of Islam which rahmatan lil' alamin 'indicates an instrumental reason in policy. This means that in addition to ideational reasons represented by the word 'have an obligation' there is an instrumental reason that is represented by a word of interest.

What interests are behind the policies showing the face of Islam rahmatan lil alamin? The use of Islamic symbols in

foreign politics according to Albert Hourani is usually aimed at mobilizing popular support and avoiding opposition (Dawisha, 1985). This is done by attracting support for the policy both from within and outside the country. With this support, it will be gained legitimacy for the policy so as not to appear opposition.

In the context of the search for domestic legitimacy, this was based on the fact that Indonesian Islam is moderate and mainstream Indonesian Islamic organizations are also moderate. Therefore, the government has an interest in making policies that are in line with the character of its people.

The search for domestic legitimacy in promoting Islamic rahmatan lil almain can also be seen from the effort to involve Islamic organizations in Indonesia's international diplomacy. This was stated by Minister of Foreign Affairs Hassan Wirajuda who stated that the strengthening of moderation as a major theme of Indonesian foreign policy is done by empowering moderate groups in the country as a first step. The Minister of Foreign Affairs also stated that the success of combating terrorism is also determined by empowering moderates.

The involvement of moderate groups who are non-state actors marks a shift in the pattern of foreign policy which in the previous era was more formulated by the elite than the masses. They are invited to participate in promoting Indonesian moderation through various diplomatic activities.

In the context of the search for international legitimacy, it was to make good image of Indonesia. A positive image will in turn encourage closer cooperation and avoid conflict. As mentioned in the

official statement, this is diplomacy to win the hearts and minds of governments and the public abroad in order to reduce misperceptions.

Second, the search for international legitimacy is also linked to international public expectations of Indonesia. Indonesia's moderate Islamic identity is also motivated by the West as revealed by Rizal Sukma who attended the Wilton Park Conference in England in March 2010 that the international community hopes that Indonesia can play a role as the voice of the Islamic world. This expectation boils down to suggestions that Indonesia can be a mediator between the West and the Islamic world. Not only that, moderate Islam of Indonesia is also expected to be an alternative model that may be applied to other Muslim communities.

The statement, support, and policy about Islam rahmatan lil alamin continues to appear on various occasions to this day. In 2006 Foreign Minister Hasan Wirajuda called this moderate Islam an asset of Indonesia's foreign relations as well as a part of soft power that needs to be maintained. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the leadership of Marty Natalegawa also expressed support for the efforts of Islamic organizations that would campaign for moderate and tolerant Islam to the international world. In the Era of Foreign Minister Retno P. Marsudi the same is also conveyed. Even according to Retno, the government cannot do alone in spreading the message of Islam rahmatan lil alamin without partnering with Muhammadiyah and also Nahdlatul Ulama.

Retno P. Marsudi's statement is in line with what Hasyim Muzadi once said about the relation of Islamic and governmental organizations in an effort to create synergy between formal diplomacy

and non-formal diplomacy termed by first track diplomacy and second track diplomacy. The relationship creates mutually symbiosis. The Islamic organization feels advantaged because of the access it provides, while the Indonesian state is also greatly benefited because the image of Islam Indonesia's moderation has become well known by Islamic figures, not just by governments of other countries.

Conclusion

The above narration indicates that the norm of rahmatan lil alamin has long existed and became the practice of social life as indicated by the two largest Islamic organizations namely Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. The acts of terrorism in the country and the international world and especially the accusations of Indonesia as a hotbed of terrorism then became an incident that encourages both organizations to persuade the norm to government policy.

They not only made some public and governmental persuasion efforts about Islam rahmatan lil alamin, but also discussed it, including the steps needed, with the foreign ministry elite. It was intended that the state adopts this norm in Indonesian foreign policy.

Finnemore and Sikkink mentioned that transnational actors are the main actors that cause the emergence of norms. The facts in the present paper show different things that not only Islamic organization (as norms of entrepreneurs) plays a role in bringing the norm. The political elite of the foreign ministry also plays an important role in the emergence of the norm. We see the presence of national political elites as the norm of entrepreneurs that constructing norms with non-state norm entrepreneurs (NU and Muhammadiyah). They also determine the level of acceptance and

institutionalization of norms to state policy. The presence of the norm of rahmatan lil alamin in political discourse and policy and institutionalized practices becomes evidence of the emergence of norms.

Cooperation between non-governmental and governmental norm entrepreneurs is instrumental in raising the norm of rahmatan lil alamin in foreign policy and elevating it into national priorities. Therefore, the role of national elites in the formation of norms should be recognized as a causal mechanism for the emergence and institutionalization of norms. Norms that are supported simultaneously by the politically powerful entrepreneur norm in a proven government then make it more enduring.

This study also reassessed the elite's motivation in becoming a norm entrepreneur. The research findings confirm the Finnemore and Sikkink hypotheses that national entrepreneurial norms are driven by ideational reasons. The findings noted that ideational reasons were joined together with instrumental reasons. There was evidence of recognition from the elite of foreign policy makers that ideational reasons in the emergence of the norm of rahmatan lil alamin are also related to the instrumental reasons of foreign policy, especially the image, interests of security cooperation and economy.

About the Author

Andi Purwono is a senior lecturer in International Relations study in Universitas Wahid Hasyim Semarang, Central Java. He got bachelor of International Relations in 1999 and Master of Political Science in 2005 from Gadjah Mada University. In 2002 - 2009 he became the Head of International Relations Department. Then, he has been

appointed as Dean of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Wahid Hasyim University Semarang since 2009 - 2017.

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