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THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF ISLAM RAHMATAN LIL 'ALAMIN THROUGH PENGURUS CABANG ISTIMEWA NAHDLATUL ULAMA (PCINU): MOTIVATION AND CONTRIBUTION

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Abstrak

Sebagai organisasi keagamaan terbesar, Nahdlatul Ulama memiliki peran internasional bahkan sejak awal pendiriannya. Salah satu peran itu diwujudkan melalui pembentukan Pengurus Cabang Istimewa di luar negeri. Artikel ini bertujuan menjelaskan alasan pendiriannya serta mendeskripsikan aktivitas dan kontribusinya bagi dunia maupun politik luar negeri Indonesia. Penelitian kualitatif ini menggunakan metode pengumpulan data studi pustaka ditambah wawancara. Penelitian menemukan bahwa motivasi ideasional terkait keterpanggilan untuk menyebarkan ajaran Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin menjadi alasan pendirian. Aktivitas menjelaskan wajah Islam sebenarnya yang memberi kontribusi positif baik dalam kerangka hubungan Islam dan Barat maupun bagi politik luar negeri Indonesia.

Kata Kunci:

Organisasi Keagamaan, Diplomasi Jalur Kedua, Motivasi Ideasional, Konstruktivisme, Nahdlatul Ulama

Introduction

As the largest religious organization in Indonesia, even in the world, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is closely related to its traditional character. NU's traditionalism in As'ad Said Ali's view is related to the awareness of tradition. As a result, tradition is served as a symbolic filter for meaning and it is even placed as a quasi-ideology (which is open), towards other ideologies.¹ However, since the establishment of NU, the international value within the body has existed. It could be seen in the journey of KH.Wahab Chasbullah (the founder of NU) through Hijaz Committee (the committee which its members fought for freedom to choose madhab in Islam). In addition, the Hijaz Committee aimed to meet King Ibn Saud in Hijaz (Saudi Arabia) to conduct diplomacy. Thus, as shown by the existence of the Hijaz Committee, since the early years, NU has

¹ As'ad Said Ali, "Tradisionalisme NU" in http://www.nu.or.id/post/read/50598/tradisionalismenu accessed 1 November 2020.

attempted to respond to some international issues. Hence, this value becomes an important aspect of the development of NU as an Islamic organization.

Unlike the previous leadership which was preoccupied by strengthening *jam'iyah* and national issues, in the era of KH Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) and KH. Hasyim Muzadi, NU's international involvement was getting stronger. Under the leadership of Kiai Hasyim, NU tried to contribute more to international issues, for instance, terrorism, issues of radicalism, environmental issues, and world peace.² Furthermore, Kiai Hasyim opened the international networking of NU by establishing NU Special Branch Officers (PCINU) in a number of countries including Europe, America, Asia and the Middle East. Why did Nahdlatul Ulama set up special branch administrators abroad and what were their contribution?

Theoretical Framework

Religious groups are increasingly playing an important role in international relations. They are often mentioned as part of important non-state actors. Religion influences several aspects of international politics in several ways, as Fox and Sandler argue in *Bringing Religion Into International Relations*³. First, religion is seen as an aspect of personal identity. As an identity, religion develops a feeling of affinity among its believers. Hence, it results in the emergence of a sense of care and responsibility towards one's religious voice based on religious solidarity (co-religion). This could also explain why countries with the same religion have a tendency not to go to war with each other. Second, religion can influence a person's viewpoint, which in turn will affect his mindset and behavior. Whether we call it worldviews, beliefs, norms, or any other name, these are powerful ways in which religion deals with individual and societal behavior. The strength of religion in this aspect could be seen in foreign policy through the beliefs of policymakers and the beliefs and expectations of its constituents. Therefore, foreign policy could also be motivated by religious considerations⁴. This takes place through the religious world view of policymakers in both secular and

² Nafiysul Qodar, "Kisah KH. Hasyim Muzadi Anak Tukang Roti yang Go Internasional" in http://news.liputan6.com/read/2929927/kisah-kh-hasyim-muzadi-anak-tukang-roti-yang-go-internasional, accessed 1 November 2020.

³ Jonathan Fox & Shmuel Shandler, *Bringing Religion Into International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 163.

religious countries. Apart from that, foreign policy could also be influenced through the religious-based world view of the people which limits the choices of policymakers. If the policy is guided by religious beliefs, it will automatically have religious legitimacy for people who have the same belief. So that at this point religious legitimacy and the religious world view are inexorably intertwined.

Third, religion is a source of legitimacy to support or criticize policymakers. As a source of religious legitimacy, it can be used to persuade other parties.⁵ Religion can be used by foreign policymakers to seek support for their policies from the people including other politicians, voters, as well as policymakers, and people in other countries. Conversely, they can also use religion to oppose the policy or support other policy alternatives. In many cases, religious persuasion is essential in policymaking process as both policymakers and opposition parties can use religion to attain their objective. Even policymakers who have different religious beliefs from their citizen do not want to be judged against these values. In a wider context, religion aspect is considered as justification to take a particular policy. It should be noted that currently, some scholars-believe that normative values including religious values are playing an increasing role in international relations. Joseph Nye is one of scholars who put forward the concept of soft power in 1990, stated that religion in international relations is a persuasive power. Similar to Shireen T. Hunter also stated that religion influences international relations in one way or another by legitimizing policy decisions and garnering popular support for those policies.⁶ Sometimes even religious and secular motivations combine.

Fourth, religion is associated with formal institutions that can influence the political process. In some cases, these institutions are international actors. In the domestic sphere, these institutions play a role in supporting the regime, opposing the regime, and lobbying the regime. These institutions can also play a role in political mobilization.

Hence, the existence of religion or religious groups as an important actor in international relations reinforces the view that international relations are not only about

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 169.

⁶ Shireen Hunter, "Religion and International Affairs: From Neglect to Over-Emphasis" in http:// www.e-ir.info/2010/04/07/religion-and-international-affairs-from-neglect-to-over-emphasis/ accessed 1 November 2020.

first track diplomacy but also second track diplomacy which involves the non-state actors. One of these actors is a religious group which in Diamond's view is the seventh line of the nine existing multi-track diplomacy.⁷ Diamond argues religious leaders create peace through religious actions. Investigating peace-oriented beliefs and actions which are carried out by spiritual-religious communities and against political violence.

To understand the actions of these religious leaders, this paper will analyze them in terms of norm-based behavior. This constructivism views that an actor's acts are driven by ideational motivation based on the logic of appropriateness and not reasons of material interests (the logic of consequences).⁸ The influence of norms according to Finnemore and Sikkink can be seen through a three-stage process.⁹

Tabel 1:

	Stage 1: Norm	Stage 2: Norm Cascade	Stage 3: Norm
	Emergence		Internationalization
Actors	Norm entrepreneurs with	States,	Law, professions,
	organizational platforms	internationalization	bereaucracy
		organizations,	
		networks	
Motives	Altruism, empathy,	Legitimacy, reputation,	Conformity
	ideational commitment	esteem	
Dominant	Persuasion	Socialization,	Habit,
Mechanisms		institutionalization,	institutionalization
		demonstration	

The following is a table of the life cycle of the Finnemore and Sikkink norms

The first stage is the emergence, origin, or norm formation (norm emergence /origin / construction). The second stage is the norm cascades where a different dynamic begins to emerge and more countries adopt the norm even though there are no domestic pressures within the country. The third stage of the life-cycle of norms is internalization, which is the stage where norms that have been socialized have been accepted and have reached the stage of being taken for granted.

⁷ Louise Diamond & Ambassador John McDonald, *Muti-Track Diplomacy: A System Approach to Peace, Third Edition* (Sterling: Kumarian Press, 1996). Doublas specifically wrote the diplomacy of these religious leaders in his writing. Douglas Johnston, *Faith-Based Diplomacy: Trumping Realpolitik* (London: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁸ Mohammad Rosyidin, *The Power of Ideas: Konstruktivisme dalam Studi Hubungan Internasional* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2015), p. 79.

⁹ Martha Finnemore & Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change" in *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (1998), pp. 887-917.

Discussion

The Structure of the Special Branch Administrators of Nahdlatul Ulama (PCINU)

As an organization with an international character, NU has actively initiated the international forums for religious leaders, for example, the International Conference of Islamic Scholars (ICIS), Al-Multaqo as-Sufy al-Alamy (International Sufi Conference / World Sufi Forum), International Summit of the Moderate Islamic Leaders (ISOMIL). NU also supports some similar activities organized by the government, for example, the interfaith dialogues held by the foreign ministry since 2004. In addition, NU has also independently opened a special management branch abroad.

The Special Branch Administrators of Nahdlatul Ulama (PCINU) are NU administrators at the provincial (regional) or district level (branch administrators) who are in charge of representing NU overseas. The establishment of the PCINU emerged at the 30th NU Congress at Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri, East Java.¹⁰ Based on the results of the congress, PCINU were officially recognized in the NU AD / ART and legalized with a PBNU Decree as the Special Branch.¹¹ PCINU is expected to actively organizes activities that are in line with NU's global vision in foreign countries. Furthermore, the branch is also considered as the representative of NU not only for Indonesians who live overseas but also for the foreigners.

Regarding the role of PCINU, there are some examples of how PCINU works in many countries. First, PCINU Australia which is established as the branch of NU in Australia once hold an event "Muslim in Australia after the Sydney Siege" which sought to restore religious harmony in Australia after being taken hostage in Sydney on 16 December 2014.¹² The similar event was also hold by PCINU Pakistan where they facilitated the book review event, titled "Religious Radicalism: The Causes and Antidotes".¹³

In western countries, the contribution of PCINU to spread the value of Islam could be seen in their activities in each country. For example, PCINU in the United

¹⁰ Majalah NU Aula ta'bah 10/ SNH XXXV/ Oktober 2013, p. 28.

¹¹ H. Nur Halim (Abu Gibral), "Peran PCINU Arab Saudi Dalam melanjutkan Misi Komite Hijaz" in *Tahtwirul Afkar*: *Majalah PCINU Sudan* (2016), pp. 4-7.

¹² Mukafi Niam, "Indonesia Synergy dan PCI NU Australia Gelar Diskusi" in https://www.nu.or.id /post/read/57883/indonesia-synergy-dan-pci-nu-australia-gelar-diskusi accessed 1 November 2020.

¹³ Taufiq Muhammad, "NU Pakistan Promosikan Islam Moderat" in https://www.nu.or.id/post /read/58067/nu-pakistan-promosikan-islam-moderat accessed 1 November 2020.

States (PCINU US) was established in 2011 as the medium for Indonesian who live in the US and Canada. PCINU America responsible for presenting another face of Islam in this area, as in the US the image of Islam is always affiliated with Middle-East countries. To introduce the peace of Islam, PCINU US had dialogues frequently with Americans where the members become a speaker in some international events and discuss Islamic culture in Indonesia. PCINU was also invited by a church in Boston and Massachusetts to discuss Islam which was not associated with any form of violence and extremist. The response from these dialogues was quite positive. At the same time, (PCINU US) actively published the article or opinion to emphasize the view of Islam to the mass media. As a result, the image of Islam which was previously intertwined with terrorism and violence began to fade. Americans realized that the media coverage about Islam was not always true.¹⁴

In European countries, PCINU had established in some countries and each branch had different agendas. In the United Kingdom, PCINU UK was founded on January 31, 2000, with the initiation of Muhammad Faqih, KH Mahfudz Nur, KH Royandi Abbas, Lukman Musa Atmaja, and Machmud Musta'in. PCINU UK held a short course for pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Indonesia to learn about education management and comparative studies to develop the education institution in Indonesia. This activity was carried out in collaboration with the British Council.¹⁵ Different from PCINU UK, in Netherland, PCINU focused on the promotion of the idea of 'Moderate Islam'. The role of PCINU Netherland was highly expected to strengthen the relationship between Indonesian who live in the Netherland and bring a better image of Islam in Europe.¹⁶ In addition, PCINU Netherland is considered as a center of communication and information from PBNU to Indonesian who live in the Netherland. Similar to other branches of NU around the world, PCINU Netherland also provides

¹⁴ Benni Indo, "Sepak Terjang Achmad Tohe Mendirikan PCI NU Amerika Serikat" in https:// www.tribunnews.com/regional/2015/08/03/sepak-terjang-achmad-tohe-mendirikan-pcinu-di-amerikaserikat?page=all accessed 1 November 2020.

¹⁵ Majalah NU Aula, Tab'ah 10/SNH XXXIV/Oktober 2012, p. 26.

¹⁶ Muhammad Shohibuddin, "PCINU Diharap Promosikan Islam Nusantara' ke Dunia " ini https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/57165/pcinu-diharap-promosikan-ldquoislam-nusantarardquo-ke-dunia accessed 1 November 2020.

information and networks for Indonesian students who want to study or find other opportunities in the Netherland.¹⁷

Another branch of NU in Europe could also be found in Germany. PCINU Germany was officially formed on 16 and 17 April 2015. This branch also has an important role in maintaining the harmony between Islamic-Western countries as this issue was a concern for PCINU Germany. Furthermore, PCINU Germany is expected to maintain the harmony of Islamic-Western world relations and to solve socio-religious problems in the country.¹⁸ Hence, the idea of 'Moderate Islam' is also spread by members of PCINU Germany. They always promote peaceful Islam and avoid violence in solving socio-religious problems. Furthermore, PCI Germany also provided information on scholarship opportunities in Germany and offers preparation assistance for prospective students from Indonesia.¹⁹

In Asian countries, PCINU worked not only to bring the value of Islam but also to strengthen the relationship between Indonesia and Asian countries. As an example, PCINU Japan was established in Tokyo in April 2004. Initially, this organization used the name Nihon Youth Nahdlatul Ulama Community (KMNU Nihon), then changed it to NU Nihon. On 10th February 2017, the name changed to NU Japan by the issuance of a Decree dated 27th March 2007, signed by General Chairperson KH Hasyim Muzadi and Secretary-General Endang Turmud.²⁰ During 4 years, NU Japan succeeded to introduce itself as a 'Moderate Islamic' organization. The term 'Moderate Islam' was used to neutralize —right and left— religious thought, especially in the Islam viewpoint. The idea of moderate Islam, which was promoted through various activities, was starting to get attention.

Chairman of Tanfidziyah PCINU Nihon, Indra Pradana Singawinata, said that at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University [APU], the name NU-Nihon has been known by some professors. The idea of moderate Islamic is considered by Japanese society as a new discourse in Islam. This can be beneficial for NU in its interaction with wider

¹⁷ A Turmudzi, "PCI NU Belanda: Berbedanya Suasana Ramadhan" in http://www.nubelanda .nl/warta/pci-nu?limit=1&start=1 accessed 1 November 2020.

¹⁸ Suryanto, "NU Akan Buka Cabang di Jerman" in http://www.antaranews.com/berita /252015/nu-akan-buka-cabang-di-jerman accessed 1 November 2020.

¹⁹ Majalah Nahdaltul Ulama Aula Tab'ah 08/ SNH XXXIV/ Agustus 2012, pp. 44-46.

²⁰ NU Online, "NU Japan Kini Jadi PCINU Japan" in https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/8968/nujapan-kini-jadi-pcinu-japan accessed 1 November 2020.

communities as the 'Moderate Islam' could be accepted not only by Indonesian but also by foreigners. Besides becoming a medium for people to learn about Islam NU Japan also contributed to the education and humanity field. NU Japan played an important role in disseminating the scholarship information, the Yellow Book Compact Disc training, and involved in financial assistance for victims of natural disasters. In addition, NU Japan is counted as the center of information about Japanese life, particularly for pesantren (Islamic schools) in Indonesia.²¹

In Turkey, PCINU was established on 3rd June 2012 through the Initial Community Conference of the Nahdliyyin Community (KWNT). PCINU Turkey played a role to promote the image of peaceful Islam which became the character of 'Moderate Islam' itself. Here, Indonesian students in Turkey responsible for showing the positive identity of Islam.²² The existence of PCINU Turkey was appreciated by the Indonesian Ambassador to Turkey, Drs. Wardana, who is also a former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (Wamenlu) of the Republic of Indonesia. According to him, the forms of radicalism and Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia were a serious issue as this would weaken and tarnished the real Islam Hence, the effort to build a good portrayal of Islam by PCINU Turkey was helpful to decrease the negative image.

The same attention could be seen at PCINU Morocco at the Branch Conference (Konfercab) II at the Auditorium Institut Dar El Hadith Al Hasaniyah, Rabat, Morocco. That event was attended by Indonesian Embassy officials and some world scholars, for instance, Dr. Ahmad Raisuni, deputy chairman of the world Islam scholars association who was very curious about NU and Islam in Indonesia. The Indonesian Ambassador, Tosari Widjaja, also expressed hope for the role of PCI NU by appealing to all PCINU Morocco members to be able to bring PCINU in a higher level as the representative of Islam around the world. PCINU could become Islamic ambassadors for ahlussunnah wal jamaah to various countries, especially in Morocco.²³

²¹ NU Online, "NU Nihon, Empat Tahun Kenalkan NU di Jepang" in https://www.nu.or.id /post /read/5880/nu-nihon-empat-tahun-kenalkan-nu-di-jepang accessed 1 November 2020.

²² Misbahul Munir, "Jembatani Diplomasi Budaya Indonesia-Turki" in https://news.okezone.com /read/2015/01/21/18/1095375/jembatani-diplomasi-budaya-indonesia-turki accessed 1 November 2020.

²³ Kusnadi El Ghezwa, "Konfercab II PCI NU Maroko Dapat Perhatian Ulama Dunia" in https://www.liputan6.com/citizen6/read/2090314/konfercab-ii-pci-nu-maroko-dapat-perhatian-ulama-dunia accessed 1 November 2020.

Overall, PCINU activities around the world depict the spirit of Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin*. The member of PCINU, consistently strives to uphold the value of *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* and the 'moderate Islam'. PCINU Brunei Darussalam for example proclaims the value of Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin* as reported in an article of Jauhar Ahmad on the NU online page.²⁴ Likewise, NU Japan, which was originally an effort to maintain ties between NU residents in Japan. This is in line with the statement of the Dutch NU PCI Mustasyar, KH. Ahmad Naf'an Sulchan, who suggested to the member of NU to keep spreading the positive impact around the world which is connected with NU's vision as an Islamic organization.²⁵

The activities described above are examples that prove that PCINU is actively promoting Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin*. Not to mention that those NU branches are also representative of Indonesian Muslim in foreign countries. Hence, internationally, the name of NU is also increasingly recognized in its contribution to international politics, peace, and conflict resolution through the existence of PCINU. At the same time, they also represent Indonesia through their second track diplomacy.

Ideational Motivation

The descriptions of PCINU activities show the motivation of PCINU around the world is to bring the value Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin* in a global level. KH. Hasyim Muzadi once stated that NU became the nation's ambassador to introduce the teachings of Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin* in foreign countries.²⁶ NU's experience in implementing the teachings of Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin* and developing NU social attitudes such as *tawassuth* (moderate), *i'tidal* (fair / upright), *tasamuh* (tolerant) and *tawazun* (balanced / proportional) and *tasyawur* (deliberation/dialogue) have shaped NU as a large organization with a distinctive social character. The internalization of Islam *rahmatan*

²⁴ Jauhar Ahmad, "Berseminya NU dan Nasionalisme di Tanah Rantau" in https://www.nu.or.id /post/read/57639/berseminya-nu-dan-nasionalisme-di-tanah-rantau accessed 1 November 2020.

²⁵ Muhakam Zein, "Sekelumit Tentang Dakwah di Belanda" in https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/57880/sekelumit-tentang-dakwah-nu-di-belanda accessed 1 November 2020.

²⁶ KH. Hasyim Muzadi, "Islam Rahmatan lil'alamin Menuju Keadilan dan Perdamaian Dunia (Perspektif Nahdlatul Ulama)" in *Pidato Ilmiah Penerimaan Gelar Doktor Honoris Causa dalam Peradaban Islam dari LAIN Sunan Ampel*, Surabaya, 2 Desember (2006).

lil' alamin and the development of NU's attitude become NU's assets in its interaction with the wider community.²⁷

From a constructivist perspective, this statement shows an ideational motivation that encourages NU to act as an entrepreneurial norm, which is an idea-based commitment, prioritizing public interests, and empathy.²⁸ The spread of Islamic norms of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* through PCINU is also intended to restore the name of Islam as there is an assumption about Islam as terrorists.²⁹ Hence, NU's action is considered as response towards this condition.

Moreover, there is a feeling of obligation that those who get the blessings of the existence of Islam are not only Muslims but also all of the universe.³⁰ Efforts to introduce and spread this compassion are also aimed at the creation of a peaceful and safe world that provides opportunities for the improvement of the quality of life, free from oppression and hegemony, to uphold the principles of honesty and justice and high respect for human dignity.³¹This global vision drives efforts to foster international relations with both state and non-state actors.

The reasons above were confirmed in some different occasions. According to KH Hasyim Muzadi, NU who brings the norm of *Ahlus sunnah wal Jamaah* with its moderation position, actively tries to mediate the tensions that occur in the Islamic world as Ahlus sunnah wal Jamaah carries the mission of Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin.*³² At the same time, constitutively, these norms are believed to rise an identity of Islam that bring grace. The awareness of being a moderate Islamic organization cause NU has a responsibility to take a stand in resolving conflict among Muslims.

On another occasion, it was also stated that Indonesia, as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, responsible for helping Moslem who suffer due to conflict or other global issues.³³ It Indicates that NU will always involve in helping

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Finnemore & Sikkink, Op. Cit., p. 898.

²⁹ Hasyim Muzadi, "Perlindungan HAM Sebagai Misi Fundamental Agama" in Abdul Wahid dkk., *Kejahatan Terorisme: Perspektif Agama* (Bandung: PT Refika Aditama, 2004), p. vii.

³⁰Ahmad Hasyim Muzadi, "Sudah Tepat Diplomasi Publik Menjual Islam Moderat" in *Tabloid Diplomasi* No. 52, Tahun VI, 15 February-14 March 2012, p. 6.

³¹ A. Hasyim Muzadi, "Cermin Visi Global NU" in https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/8532/cerminvisi-global-nu accessed 1 November 2020.

³² Majalah Nahdlatul Ulama Aula No. 02 Tahun XXXII February 2010, p. 90.

³³ Majalah Nahdlatul Ulama Aula No. 12 Tahun XXX Desember 2008, p. 10-22.

Muslims around the world which is in line with the logic of appropriateness to drive action. The contribution of NU could be seen in two ways: visiting the conflict areas and initiating the institutional advocacy by forming an international forum, called International Conference of Islamic Scholars (ICIS).

A similar idea was also stated by PCINU administrators, Syahril Siddik, MA, the deputy chairman of the tanfidziyah from the PCINU Netherland, said that the PCINU is required to be able to present Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin* which upholds peace and wisdom rather than violence and war.³⁴ NU can be an anti-thesis for the increasing view of Islamophobia.³⁵ It could be seen from the basic concept of norms based on Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin*, NU has an interest in spreading Islam as a religion of love and peace to other countries, through the existence of PCINU around the world. There is a huge interest to emphasize that Islam is not associated with all forms of terror and violence. Islam prioritizes individual freedom and independence in determining beliefs and upholding justice and wisdom in its interaction with other religions. The existence of the PCINU in various countries has made it necessary to spread the missions and portray Islam around the world.

Thus, the idea of peace originating from the Islamic norms is also mobilized by NU activists in foreign countries. PCINU plays a greater role not only as a gathering place for Indonesian who live abroad but also a place to socialize Islam *rahmatan lil* 'alamin as shown in the activities in each branch. Furthermore, PCINU becomes the ambassador for moderate Islam throughout the world.³⁶ In other words, PCINU has the responsibility to introduce the value of NU as an Islamic organisation as well as *ahlussunah wal jamaah* on the international stage. In addition, these various activities also open up a wider NU network abroad with various organizations that fight for the same goal which is world peace.

The ideational thinking that had been raised since the congress in 1999 is getting stronger due to domestic and international circumstances particularly when the act of terrorism occurred. As the largest Moslem country, Indonesia is affected by the

³⁴ Syahril Siddik, "Nahdlatu 'Ulama Dan Perannya Di Belanda, Sebuah Tinjauan Etnografis" in *Tahtwirul Afkar*: *Majalah PCINU Sudan* (2016), p. 43.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Redaksi Lajnah Ta'lif Wannasyr Pengurus Cabang Istimewa Nahdlatul Ulama Sudan (LTNU-NU Sudan), in in *Tahtmirul Afkar': Majalah PCINU Sudan* (2016).

terrorism issue, at least in two contexts. First, at the global level, the image of Islam got worse during wars in the Middle East which was involving a network of transnational Islamic organizations such as Al Qaeda, Jamiyyah Islamiyyah, and the Taliban. These organizations were accused of waging jihad using violence such as suicide bombing, terror, and taking hostages. The war on terror discourse also raises a new moral basis in global politics by dividing the good and bad Muslims.³⁷ The white house's invitation for particular Islamic figures indicated that the United States was looking for a moderate Islam leader.

Second, Indonesia became the center of the spotlight after a bombing in Bali, October 12, 2002. This bombing act was not only affected the national security but also the image of Indonesia globally. At a particular time, the United States, Australia, and Japan, issued travel warnings and travel advisories to their citizens due to Bali attack. Indonesia had indeed experienced various acts of terrorism, even long before the events of 11 September 2001 in the United States. Various bombings such as the JSE, Atrium, Istiqlal Mosque, and the "Christmas Eve bombing" showed the indication of "homegrown terrorism" which had connections with international terrorist networks.

These two attacks both at the international and domestic levels are constructed as threats for Indonesia. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hassan Wirajuda, stated that Indonesia seemed to be caught between international demands to restore the face of Islam, at the same time, the fragmentation of opinions and attitudes of the people of Indonesia towards this issue also became a problem nationally.

Regarding the expectation to restore the image of Islam, it could be analyzed in a transnational constructivism perspective which emphasizes the influence of norms practiced with the international community. As stated by Rizal Sukma who attended the Wilton Park Conference in England in March 2010 that the international community expected Indonesia can play a role as the voice of Islam.³⁸ Indonesia was considered as a mediator between the West and the Islamic world. In addition, moderate Islam was also expected to be an alternative model that might be applied to other Muslim communities. For example, President Barack Obama said explicitly that Indonesia, like

³⁷ Mahmood Mamdani, "Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism" in *American Anthropologist*, Vo. 104, No. 3 (2002), pp. 766-775.

³⁸ Dewi Fortuna Anwar, "Foreign Policy, Islam and Democracy in Indonesia" in *Journal of Indonesian* Social Sciences and Humanitites, Vol. 3 (2010), pp. 37-54.

Chile and South Korea, could be used as a good model for democracy for Egypt.³⁹ The West recognizes the importance of tackling the issue of terrorism by building moderate Islamic networks where Indonesia is seen as an important actor, especially in the Southeast Asia region.

In that context, there is a question about why the Indonesian government put moderate Islam in Indonesia's foreign policy agenda. The writer argues that both international factors and domestic issue are contributed to this action. Policymakers see the allegations towards Indonesia has a connection with terrorist networks as a threat to the national identity. In addition, international expectations (to become an alternative model for countries in the Islamic world that are friendly to democracy, modernity, and tolerance) encourage Indonesia to take a serious act. On the other hand, some domestic issues, for example, radicalism and acts of terrorism are also considered as a threat to Indonesia's plural identity. In this context, the opinion of society and moderate Islamic organizations cannot be ignored as part of the expectation of appropriate behavior from the perspective of social constructivism. Thus the combination of transnational constructivism and social constructivism becomes an important context that cannot be separated.⁴⁰

Contribution

The activities of PCINU abroad as described above had proved their contribution in introducing Islam globally, particularly the spirit of Islam *rahmatan lil* 'alamin. The idea of Islam *rahmatan lil* 'alamin has been disseminated to the international community through its network and its activities. Through its network of organizations, NU socializes Islam *rahmatan lil* 'alamin as universal teaching as well as building a network of international scholars. By having an international scholars network, the discourse of radicalism in Islam is expected to decrease. The member of this network is also expected to create world peace among their society.

³⁹ Ben Smith, "Obama Suggest Indonesia, Chile as models for Egypt", in https://www.poli tico.com/blogs/ben-smith/2011/03/obama-suggests-indonesia-chile-as-models-for-egypt-033902 accessed 1 November 2020.

⁴⁰ Henning Boekle, Volker Rittberger & Wolfgang Wagne, *Norms and Foreign Policy: Constructivist Foreign Policy Theory* (Tübingen: Center for International Relations/Peace and Conflict Studies, Institute for Political Science, University of Tübingen, 1999).

Concerning the diffusion of the *rahmatan lil 'alamin* norm, from the agent/actor aspect, it could be seen that Islamic organizations are not the only party that play a role in the socialization of moderate Islam. The state also contributes to socialize moderate Islamic norms. As a norm leader, Indonesia persuades other countries to follow existing norms. This is evidenced by the strong support from the government in an international forum initiated by NU. The government even mentions religious organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah as partners. As a result, there is an emerging network of moderate Islamic norm entrepreneurs at the global level who committed to the spread and application of the norm. Therefore, the international networks and forums initiated by the NU also show that the Islamic norm as *rahmatan lil 'alamin* has experienced a cascading on a wide scale globally. Currently, the socialization of the norm is still ongoing.

Therefore, the regular international scholar/scholar forum shows the commitment of Islamic scholars to continue their role as cross-border (*'abra al-hudud / sans frontiere*) agent in building peace and preventing conflict, among others through facilitation and mediation. This socialization occurs as mentioned in the type I line of Finnemore and Sikkink where agents adopt the norm because they accept that it is the right thing to do so that their identity is transformed into a norm follower.

From the aspect of mechanism, international forums as a routine agenda become institutionalized and it becomes an important medium in socializing the important norm of *rahmatan lil 'alamin*. Especially if we look at its continued efforts to form organizational platforms by linking itself with other established international organizations.

For Indonesia, particularly its foreign policy, the spread of norms to the international level through the PCINU and international forums has many roles. First, it opens a greater opportunity for Islamic organizations to discuss with policymakers that Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin* is an important value. On many occasions, Religious leaders are frequently asked by the government to give advice or suggestion about a particular issue. Its function is providing different perspectives and information based on a religious viewpoint. In that context, policymakers and diplomats certainly listen carefully to the views of religious leaders. Moreover, sometimes religious leaders could

give another viewpoint regarding an international issue. Hence, it could be seen how important the position of religious leaders in influencing Indonesia's foreign policy

Second, the socialization of Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin* to the international community strengthens Indonesia's identity as a norm leader and at the same time reinforces the interests to adopt these norms in the national policy. In a wider context, Indonesia's policy becomes the bridge between Islam and the West, such as interfaith and intermedia dialogue and mediation of several conflicts in the Islamic world. This role could be seen as evidence of the successful persuasion of Islamic organizations.

Third, in the foreign policy implementation, PCI NU and these international forums are also contributive. The Islamic scholar's network that has been built has sharpened Indonesia's diplomacy in contributing to international problems, especially in the Islamic world. These forums also demonstrate Indonesia's moderate Islamic identity in the international world.

Summary

The ideational reasons prove to be the motivation for the establishment of the Executive Board of NU's special branches abroad (PCINU). There is a logic of appropriateness that is clearly seen. As an Islamic organization that holds the norm of *rahmatan lil 'alamin*, NU has a responsibility to spread the value of Islam to various parts of the world. Moreover, this is strengthened by the need to spread peaceful Islam nationally due to terrorism and radical acts at the domestic level.

The establishment of PCI NU is also a good contribution not only for world peace but also in the context of Indonesia's foreign policy. On the international stage, this effort is an important part of explaining the true face of Islam from misconceptions about Islam. It also strengthened the mainstream of Islam which was *rahmatan lil 'alamin*.

For national politics, it contributed to encourage policymakers to show and promote Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin*. Second, it emphasized Indonesia's identity as a country with the largest moderate Muslim population in the world. Third, it helps the implementation of Indonesian foreign policy, especially in related issues.

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PEDOMAN PENULISAN JURNAL POLITIK PROFETIK

Sebelum penulis mengirim naskah ke redaksi Jurnal Politik Profetik (JPP), sebaiknya mengikuti ketentuan dan sistematika penulisan di bawah ini:

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- Topik yang dipublikasikan oleh Jurnal Politik Profetik berhubungan dengan Politik Islam, Demokrasi, Pemilu dan Partai Politik, Gerakan Sosial Islam dan Politik Lokal.
- 2. Masalah yang diangkat sebaiknya kasus 5 tahun terakhir (jika penelitian lapangan) yang memuat unsur kebaruan.
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- 11. Sistematika Penulisan:
 - a. Judul Artikel

Judul artikel harus padat, jelas dan tanpa singkatan. Jumlah maksimal 16 kata.

b. Nama Penulis

Cukup nama penulis tanpa menyertakan gelar

- c. Profesi/Institusi dan Email Penulis
- d. Abstrak

Abstrak berisikan tentang: tujuan dan manfaat mansukrip ini, metodologi penelitian, hasil penelitian, dan kesimpulan. Pastikan kesemuanya itu dibuat dengan sepadat dan sejelasjelasnya. Abstrak menggunakan Bahasa Indonesia dengan jumlah kata kisaran 150-250 kata.

e. Kata Kunci

Kata kunci merefleksikan ide pokok dari naskah. Kata kunci memuat maksimal 5 kata kunci.

f. Abstract

g. Keywords

h. Pendahuluan

Pendahulan harus menggambarkan dengan jelas latar belakang masalah dan memuat pertanyaan apa yang akan dijawab dalam pembahasan. Bagian ini penulis mesti memberi argumen tentang pentingnya penelitian dilakukan. Pengutipan setiap karya tulis orang lain harus menggunakan Catatan Kaki/*Footnote* (Lihat Gaya Selingkung JPP). Istilah-istilah asing dicetak miring (italic).

i. Tinjauan Pustaka/Literature Review

Pada bagian ini semaksimal mungkin berisi uraian sistematis tentang informasi hasil-hasil penelitian yang pernah dilakukan oleh peneliti sebelumnya yang relevan dengan penelitian yang dilakukan. Bagian ini memuat kelebihan dan kelemahan pada penelitian terdahulu yang dapat dijadikan argumen bahwa penelitian yang dikerjakan ini bersifat menyempurnakan atau mengembangkan penelitian terdahulu. Di sini perlu juga mempertegas kebaruan dari penelitian penulis.

j. Tinjauan Teori

Bagian ini juga memuat landasan teori berupa rangkuman teori-teori dari pustaka yang mendukung penelitian, serta memuat penjelasan tentang konsep dan prinsip dasar yang diperlukan untuk pemecahan permasalahan. Landasan teori berbentuk uraian kualitatif, model matematis, atau tools yang langsung berkaitan dengan permasalahan yang diteliti. Bagian ini, penulis boleh tidak menuliskan Subbab "Tinjauan Teori", namun langsung menuliskan subbab nama teori dan penjelasannya.

k. Metode Penelitian

Bagian ini memaparkan metode penelitian yang akan digunakan, di antaranya desain dan pendekatan penelitian, teknik pengambilan dan analisis data.

1. Hasil dan Pembahasan

Pada bagian ini, hasil penelitian dijelaskan secara komprehensif (singkat, padat dan jelas). Jika terdapat tabel dan gambar, atau figur-figur lainnya yang ada pada manuskrip, semuanya diletakkan simetris di tengah (seimbang antara kiri dan kanan). Bagian ini, penulis boleh tidak menuliskan Subbab "Hasil dan Pembahasan", namun langsung pada subbab inti persoalan yang sedang dibicarakan.

m. Kesimpulan

Kesimpulan menyesuaikan dengan apa yang diharapkan pada bagian pendahuluan di atas. Bagian ini dibuat dengan sesingkat dan sejelas mungkin.

n. Daftar Pustaka

Sumber rujukan minimal 75% berasal dari jurnal ilmiah/buku terbitan lima tahun terakhir. Disarankan mengutip satu sampai tiga artikel dari terbitan Jurnal Politik Profetik.

B. Pedoman Untuk Ulasan Buku

 Harap sertakan di awal ulasan: Sampul Buku, Nama Penulis, Judul, Tempat, Penerbit, Tahun, Cetakan, Jumlah halaman, ISBN. Misalnya:



Syarifuddin Jurdi. *Muhammadiyah dalam Dinamika Politik Indonesia* 1966-2006. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010. Cetakan: I. Halaman: xxxviii+520. ISBN: 9786028479943.

- 2. Buku yang diulas merupakan buku terbitan 2 tahun terakhir.
- 3. Ulasan ditulis menggunakan Bahasa Indonesia atau Bahasa Inggris.
- Naskah diketik dengan komputer menggunakan Microsoft Word, di atas kertas ukuran 21 cm x 29,7 cm (A4), spasi 1,5, huruf Times New Roman dan font size 12 pt..
- 5. Panjang rata-rata tulisan sekitar 2000-2500 kata.
- 6. Tinjauan harus dimulai dengan deskripsi singkat keseluruhan isi buku.
- 7. Hal-hal yang dapat dipertimbangkan dalam tubuh tinjauan meliputi:
 - Kekuatan dan kelemahan buku yang diulas.
 - Mengomentari gaya dan presentasi penulis.
 - Apakah tujuan penulis telah terpenuhi atau tidak.
 - Kesalahan (tipografi atau lainnya) dan kegunaan indeks.
 - Kepada siapa buku itu berguna dan direkomendasikan.
- 8. Penulisan referensi mengacu pada Gaya Selingkung JPP.
- 9. Sistematika Penulisan:
 - a. Judul

Judul ulasan harus padat, jelas dan tanpa singkatan. Jumlah maksimal 10 kata.

b. Identitas Buku

Identitas buku berisi Sampul Buku, Nama Penulis, Judul, Tempat, Penerbit, Tahun, Cetakan, Jumlah halaman, ISBN.

c. Nama Pengulas

Nama pengulas ditulis tanpa menggunakan gelar.

d. Afiliasi dan Email Pengulas

Institusi tempat pengulas bernaung serta alamat email yang dapat digunakan untuk berkorespondensi.

e. Isi Ulasan

Isi ulasan memuat tentang deskripsi singkat keseluruhan isi buku dan hal-hal yang dapat dipertimbangkan dalam tubuh tinjauan. Misalnya kekuatan dan kelemahan buku yang diulas, mengomentari gaya dan presentasi penulis, apakah tujuan penulis telah terpenuhi atau tidak, kesalahan (tipografi atau lainnya) dan kegunaan indeks serta kepada siapa buku itu berguna dan direkomendasikan.

f. Daftar Pustaka

Jika menggunakan sumber rujukan, maka pengutipan mengikuti Gaya Selingkung JPP.

GAYA SELINGKUNG JURNAL POLITIK PROFETIK

BUKU

Footnote:

¹David Jarry & Julia Jarry, *Collin Dictionary of Sociologi* (Glasgow :Harper Collins Publishers, 1991), h. 188.

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Footnote:

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SKRIPSI, TESIS, DISERTASI

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²*Ibid.*

³*Ibid.,* h. 193.

Penjelasan contoh

- Menggunakan Ibid karena merujuk kepada catatan kaki di atasnya tanpa diselingi catatan kaki lainnya.
- ²Ibid. berarti pengarang, judul, dan halaman sama persis dengan catatan kaki yang di atasnya.
- ³Ibid., h. 193. berarti pengarang dan judul sama persis dengan catatan kaki yang di atasnya, hanya berbeda halaman. Halaman sebelumnya 188 dan yang dikutip terakhir halaman 193.

Op.Cit.

Contoh

¹David Jarry & Julia Jarry, *Collin Dictionary of Sociologi* (Glasgow :Harper Collins Publishers, 1991), h. 188.

²Thandike Mkandawire, "Good Governance: The Itinerary of an Idea" dalam *Development in Practice*, Vol. 17, No 4/5 (2007), h. 679. ³David Jarry & Julia Jarry, *Op.Cit.*, h. 193.

Penjelasan contoh

- Menggunakan Op. Cit. karena sebelumnya telah diselingi oleh catatan kaki lain, yaitu: ²Thandike Mkawndawire.
- Penggunaan ³David Jarry & Julia Jarry, *Op. Cit.*, h. 193. berarti pengarang (David Jarry & Julia Jarry) dan judulnya (*Collin Dictionary of Sociologi*) sama, hanya saja halamannya berbeda dengan catatan kaki yang pertama. Halaman sebelumnya 188 dan yang dikutip terakhir halaman 193.

Loc.Cit.

Contoh

¹David Jarry & Julia Jarry, *Collin Dictionary of Sociologi* (Glasgow :Harper Collins Publishers, 1991), h. 188.

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Penjelasan contoh

- Menggunakan Loc. Cit. karena sebelumnya telah diselingi oleh catatan kaki lain, yaitu: ²Thandike Mkawndawire.
- Penggunaan ³David Jarry & Julia Jarry, *Loc.Cit.* berarti pengarang, judul, dan halamannya (h. 188) sama.