Islam Political Construction in Indonesia's Foreign Policy

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Abstract
Since the beginning of independence, Indonesia's Islamic identity has played an important role, especially in efforts to gain recognition from other countries. This research aims to find out how the construction of Islamic Identity in Indonesia's foreign policy making from the Soekarno to Jokowi administration. This research uses qualitative research methods by taking constructivism theory as an analytical knife. Overall, Islamic values are consistently embedded in Indonesia's foreign policy. While the leadership periods of Soekarno, Megawati, and SBY demonstrate a more pronounced influence due to the presence of strategic Islamic-related issues, the presidencies of Soekarno, Megawati, and Gus Dur also reflect a meaningful role of Islamic identity. Although expressed with varying degrees of emphasis, the constructivist underpinning of Islamic values remained an integral part of Indonesia's foreign policy orientation across these administrations.

Keywords: Islamic Identity, Terrorism, Constructivism

Introduction

In the battle for independence, Islam has served as a positive element in diplomacy to gain international recognition and support for the new republic (Rahman & Suranta, 2007). In a meeting organized by the Indonesian Council on World Affairs (ICWA) on 19 May 2005 in Jakarta, the then President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, said that Islamic identity was an inherent projection of Indonesia's reference (Yudhoyono, 2005). These statements were followed by several diplomacy programs that focused on the image-making of Moderate Islam in global politics (Sukma, 2010). This agenda is organized and supervised by the Directory of Public Diplomacy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia. Not only echoed by political actors, but some Muslim scholars also say that the moderate Islam program, which began after the Bali I bombing in 2002, has become one of the foreign policy priorities of the then President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Weatherbee, 2013). In contrast to the exclusion and rejection of Islam as an identity in official statements during the Old Order and New Order periods. Islam was used and promoted as the new identity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as its foreign policy.

This research will focus on the Islamic political agenda in Indonesian foreign policy through the constructivist perspective in the study of international relations. The initial argument stems from the largest Muslim population (followers of the Islamic religion) in Indonesia and the Islamic identity. The high level of Muslim population in Indonesia will construct Indonesia's foreign policy by considering identity aspects in foreign policy making. Apart from that, religious-based groups are also a supporting factor in the construction of Indonesian foreign policy-making, especially on issues that intersect with Islam. Identity is a manifestation of self-existence (Viotti & Kaupi., 2007). In alignment with the preceding definition, the constructivist perspective posits that identity is a socially constructed phenomenon that can shape a nation's actions and influence its attitudes toward the international landscape. The formulation of a country's social structure or policies is predominantly subjective rather than material. This subjectivity is rooted in the identity and interests of the state, indicating that the social structures or policies adopted by the state are inextricably linked to non-material values, such as identity (Wendt, Constructing International Politics, 1995). Identity can be based on several types including ideology, national, ethnic, institutional, and religious (Andiasanti, 2015). The focus of the discussion this time will be to explain Islam as an identity in Indonesia whose relevance will influence the policy patterns taken. Indonesia is the country with the largest

number of Muslims. According to Snouck Horgounje, belief in Islam began to emerge at the end of the 13th century AD, when Indians brought Islamic teachings. This opinion also answers where Islam entered Indonesia (Said, 1963).

Indonesia's Central Bureau of Statistics in 2024 stated that the number of Muslims in Indonesia reached more than 207 million, 87.2% of the total population of Indonesia (BPS, 2024). The number of followers of Islam in Indonesia also occupies the highest position in the world. Data reported by The Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, Indonesia accounts for 12.7% of the 1,599,700,000 adherents of Islam in the world (Global Religious Future, 2018). Referring to the high number of followers of Islam in Indonesia, it can be concluded that the high number of Muslims can be used as a basis for stating that Islam is an identity that will influence state actions. Arguments regarding this matter have resulted in several debates. Leifer said that Islam is indeed the majority identity in Indonesia, but does not have a big influence in the context of foreign policy. This is indicated by the government's position which is not too inclined towards religious-based parties and does not give too much space to Islamic groups in influencing foreign policy (Leifer, 1983).

The influence of Islam within the Indonesian political framework is intricately linked to the role of Islamic organizations, which serve as platforms for articulating demands and garnering support for the political landscape in Indonesia. The effectiveness of these Islamic groups in advocating for their interests is contingent upon their alignment with the state's material objectives (Anshori, 2016). In instances where these demands clash with national interests, the translation of such aspirations into actionable policy becomes challenging. Furthermore, the interplay of international relations and national identity is significant and merits careful consideration. Identity is instrumental in shaping a nation's pursuit of its interests, guiding its actions within the global arena, and informing its diplomatic engagements with other nations (Andiasanti, 2015). This dynamic also affects a country's conduct and stance in its international relations (Nair, 1997). Given that a majority of Indonesia's populace identifies as Muslim, this religious identity is likely to shape both domestic political frameworks and foreign policy, particularly concerning issues affecting Muslim communities abroad. This research aims to elucidate the relationship between Islam and Indonesian foreign policy from the era of independence through the administration of President Joko Widodo, thereby contributing to the ongoing discourse surrounding this topic.

Theoretical frameworks

Foreign policy encompasses a nation's strategic endeavors and overall disposition in addressing and leveraging its external circumstances (Rosenau, Boyd, & Thompson, 1976). The primary objective of foreign policy is to ensure the continued existence and stability of the nation. Moreover, as noted by Rosenau, examining a nation's foreign policy reveals a multifaceted and intricate phenomenon that intertwines domestic affairs with external requirements. This includes a variety of elements such as aspirations, national characteristics, cultural influences, conflicts, capabilities, institutional frameworks, and habitual practices, all of which are directed towards the realization and preservation of a nation's social, legal, and geographical identity as a sovereign (Rosenau, Boyd, & Thompson, 1976).

Foreign policy can also be seen within the theoretical framework of constructivism in the study of international relations. According to Alexander, constructivism is the formation of identity which then becomes the basic and main thing in deciding foreign policy. Because according to him, a state actor cannot immediately make decisions without recognising who he is, the state, and society. Therefore, the approach to society is important without thinking about the power that is always echoed by the realist view. According to Wendt, the two basic cores of constructivism are that the structure of human relations is

determined by a shared idea and the identities and interests of the actors involved have been constructed by shared ideas. It is also worth noting here that, about ideational structures, there are multiple sides of vision in constructivism (Wendt, Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics, 1992). In addition, Nicholas Greenwood Onuf also introduced the term 'constructivism' to the study of international relations. The theory of constructivism according to Nicholas Greenwood Onuf mentions many entities such as 'social facts' created by human action, as opposed to 'real facts' which do not depend for their existence on human action but are phenomena of the human condition (Onuf, 1989). The fact that constructivism emerged as a new theory of how social science generally works seems to have been the main reason for criticism of constructivist practices internationally. They allege that constructivism has provided little in the way of substantive knowledge, or even hypotheses about how states or state systems themselves behave. It was in the mid-1990s that the alternative works of some IR theorists helped to develop and present constructivism as a substantive theory of international behaviour. In fact, the end of the Cold War saw the rise of the constructivist school of thought in international relations and set the stage for the resurgence of the 'reshaping debate' in the dominant discourse of international relations theory. Constructivists' main arguments include discourse, norms, identity, and finally socialization which are often used in contemporary

practice on how an issue can be of international concern including globalization, international human rights, security policy, and more. People make rules, rules make society, society's rules make people conduct themselves in specified ways.

Research Method

Descriptive qualitative method was chosen in this research by explaining the data obtained in the form of scientific writings, mass media reports, government reports and descriptions of actions and actions depicted in the writings (Iskandar, 2008). The main source of data from this research is literature data that prioritises a Literature Research approach. Data collection is carried out by collecting secondary data in the form of data in the form of research journals that have a connection with this research, online mass media coverage that explains several separate phenomena in each leadership period of each president in the context of foreign policy formed, several government reports both in the form of official government documents and official government websites that report government agendas related to foreign policy. The data collected was then separated and qualified according to the data needed in the data processing process. Furthermore, the data is processed using the theoretical framework of constructivism in international relations as an analytical tool in the research conducted. The next stage is drawing conclusions from the findings of data that

have been classified, grouped and processed in accordance with academic rules. This research provides a research time limit from the early days of Indonesian independence to the leadership of President Joko Widodo with a research explanation that is foreign policy that has a connection with Islam.

Result

This section will discuss the dynamics of Indonesia's foreign policy in each presidential period, divided into 7 presidential administrations of Indonesia, from Soekarno's reign to Jokowi's.

1. The Rule of President Soekarno

The formation of Indonesia as a sovereign state did not focus on using the identity of one religion alone as a basis for state action. This can be seen from the initial process of forming Pancasila as the foundation of the state, which mentions in general the first principle of divinity, which is very universal. The post-independence government did not favor Islamic parties and did not allow Islam to have a major influence in the context of foreign policy (Leifer, 1983). However, Islamic identity was used by state leaders as a catalyst in gaining recognition of sovereignty in pre- and post-independence from countries that have similar Islamic religious identities in the Middle East region. This is evidenced by the interactions and relationships built with Arab countries and the Arab League carried out by K.H Agus Salim,

Tjokominotrodkk (Setyawan, 2014). Starting from the split of Sarekat Islam, K.H Agus Salim founded Pan-Islamism and PSI. Agus Salim wanted to gather Islamic forces from all over Indonesia. The results of the MAIFHS congress (Muktamar Alam Islamy Far'ul Hindian Sjariah) in December 1926, sent three people to go to the World Islamic Congress to seek support and assistance to other Muslim countries to escape from the colonizers. K.H Agus Salim was one of the three people sent to Mecca to attend the congress. Starting from here, Indonesia began to be recognized by these Arab countries and until 1945 Indonesian relations were still well established based on religious equality. The closeness built very well then became the forerunner of close ties with several Middle Eastern countries to gain recognition of Indonesia's independence.

At the time of Indonesia's independence, Egypt became the first country to recognize Indonesia's sovereignty de facto on 22 March 1946 based on religious equality. Egypt was also one of the influential countries in the Arab League which then encouraged Arab countries incorporated in this organization to recognize Indonesia's independence. The Arab League officially recognized the sovereignty of the Indonesian republic on 18 November 1946 de facto (Suranta, 2007). Due to some internal problems in the Arab countries, the Indonesian delegation was only able to carry out a diplomatic mission in 1947 to obtain de jure recognition from the Arab countries (Suranta, 2007). Until June 10,

1947, the Indonesian delegation chaired by Agus Salim arrived in Cairo, Egypt. The presence of the Indonesian delegation then resulted in a friendship agreement between Indonesia and Egypt and a trade agreement written in Arabic and French. This was also followed by Syria by signing a friendship agreement on July 2, 1947, Jordan (the signing of the friendship agreement was suspended, but still recognized Indonesia's independence de facto through the Arab League decision) Iraq (the signing of the friendship agreement was suspended, but still recognized Indonesia's independence de facto through the Arab League decision) and Lebanon signing a friendship agreement on June 29, 1947. The mission was continued by H.M Rasyidi to visit other Arab countries, namely Saudi Arabia which resulted in the granting of a letter of authorization to recognize Indonesian sovereignty by Saudi Arabia on November 21, 1947. And accompanied by the kingdom of Yemen which gave a letter of authorization to recognize Indonesian sovereignty on November 20, 1947 (Anshori, 2016).

In the early era of Indonesian independence, it can be analyzed that Islamic groups were the main key in obtaining recognition of Indonesian independence at the beginning of independence. MAIFHS (Muktamar Alam Islamy Far'ul Hindian Sjariah) became an Islamic group that used Islamic identity to gain Indonesia's interests in the international order by approaching countries with similar Islamic identities in Middle Eastern countries. This action was considered

successful, which was marked by the first recognition of Indonesia's independence by countries in the Middle East. The state-affiliated Islamic group actors in this context are able to construct the similarity of Islamic identity with Middle Eastern countries to achieve national interests which are the main targets. The selection of targets in the construction scope formed is very important so that the approach taken can be achieved.

In the Soekarno era, the Islam and foreign policy agenda was also used to provide support to Pakistan in the context of the Kashmir War. Islam was used as an agenda to show Indonesia's support and solidarity for the common identity between Indonesia and Pakistan. In a Joint communiqué between Indonesia and Pakistan, President Soekarno mentioned that Islam was the initial basis for establishing bilateral relations between the governments of Indonesia and Pakistan (Wicaksana, 2013). In this context, state leaders try to construct international thought in order to establish bilateral relations with other countries, this is proven by the formation of bilateral relations between Indonesia and Pakistan based on the construction of Islamic identity.

2. The Rule of President Soeharto

During the leadership of President Soeharto, the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy was more colored by the development agenda and economic improvement. Cross-country cooperation carried out by Indonesia was more oriented towards western countries which were

considered capable of being a source of foreign debt funding for infrastructure development in Indonesia (Puwono & M, 2018). From a constructivist perspective, Indonesian foreign policy in the New Order era and Islamic politics have a complex and significant correlation. In the New Order era under Soeharto's leadership, political Islam had limited influence in Indonesia's foreign policy. Although the majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim, Soeharto's foreign policy was based more on the principles of free and active and nationalism than Islamic solidarity.

At the beginning of the New Order, Islamic political romanticism was actually present after being restricted in the era of Guided Democracy. The great merit of Muslims when suppressing the Old Order and the PKI together with the Army is considered to be one of the biggest reasons. However, the romantic atmosphere that developed between Muslims and the Soeharto government did not last long. Soeharto as the new president turned out to have a special view of Islam, and established various political policies that excluded Indonesian Muslims. One of them was the establishment of the single principle of Pancasila as the nation's ideology (Wijaya, 2015).

This tendency ultimately resulted in Indonesia's foreign policy having little direction based on an Islamic agenda. Secular and pragmatic approaches were more attractive to Soeharto and the military elite than religious approaches in international relations policy.

Researchers' findings on the Islamic agenda during Soeharto's tenure only include Indonesia's participation in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).

The process of Indonesia joining the OIC also has a long story. Since the formation of the OIC in 1969, Indonesia itself has not yet chosen to join, but in 1972, Indonesia only decided to send a delegation to the OIC meeting, but at that time it had not signed the OIC charter. Indonesia only chose to join the OIC in 1991, after the establishment of the conditions for OIC member countries in the previous year. This requirement was an addition to the criteria where OIC member countries were determined not only limited to Muslim countries, but Muslim-majority countries were also allowed to join. After that, Indonesia only officially became an OIC member, precisely at the OIC Summit in Dakar, Senegal (Perwita, 2007).

Although Indonesia is active and contributes quite a lot to the OIC, Indonesia's foreign policy is still not entirely based on Islamic solidarity, but rather on national interests and geopolitical interests. However, there are some moments where political Islam plays a role in foreign policy, such as Indonesia's support for the Palestinian cause and involvement in the Bosnian conflict. In these cases, Indonesia's Islamic identity was used to strengthen its diplomatic position and show solidarity with other Muslim countries.

Although political Islam is restricted and closely monitored, Islamic identity remains an integral part of Indonesian society. This moderate Islamic identity also plays a role in shaping Indonesia's image as a bridge between the Islamic world and the West, in line with Pancasila norms that promote tolerance and harmony. As such, Indonesia's foreign policy in the New Order era reflected the interplay between state ideology and Islamic identity in a broader global context. Overall, while political Islam had an influence in some aspects of foreign policy, the Soeharto era was characterized more by a pragmatic approach and a focus on national interests rather than Islamic ideology.

3. The Rule of President Habibie

The transition of the Indonesian government occurred in 1998 when the Indonesian government led by Soeharto for almost 32 years was brought down at the insistence of the Indonesian people. A new era in politics emerged, known as the reform era. At this time, the transition of government became even more complicated because the global crisis hit almost all parts of the world. At the beginning of the reform era led by President BJ. Habibie, the government focused more on improving the economy and the issue of East Timor (now Timor Leste) which wanted to hold a referendum to separate from the Republic of Indonesia and become its own country. The Islamic agenda in Habibie's foreign policy was largely invisible. The response to the bombings carried out by the US against Afghanistan and Sudan was only conveyed with a

statement of regret for the actions taken. The government did not play a strong role in taking action regarding the conditions that occurred (Sukma, 2010).

4. The Rule of President Gus Dur

After Habibie's leadership, President Abdurrahman Wahid led the next Indonesian government, often called Gus Dur. Gus Dur's leadership emphasized the security and economic sectors. The interesting thing about Gus Dur's leadership is his very religious background from the Nahdatul Ulama family. This became an asset for the Gus Dur administration to introduce Indonesia to the world as the largest Muslim-majority country that is moderate despite being led by a religious figure (Smith, 2000). In addition to Gus Dur as the country's leader, the selection of the foreign minister, Alwi Shihab, who had a religious background, was also used to introduce Indonesia as a country that was very moderate towards Islam. However, since he was elected NU leader in 1984, Gus Dur's rhetoric has been more liberal and progressive. To support his democratic and social goals, Gus Dur often used the ideology of Pancasila rather than Islam to legitimize his participation in political discourse and the expression of his key political ideas (Khoiri, 2019).

One of the other sides of Gus Dur's presidency was how he tried to dominate the conduct of Indonesia's foreign policy. This dominance can be seen, among other things, in the "round the world tour". This tour

broke a fantastic record in Indonesian presidential history, with more than 20 of his first 40 days in office spent traveling abroad. In fact, Gus Dur also claimed that during his 20 months in office, he had traveled abroad 80 times (Shambazy, 2010).

Alwi Shihab said Gus Dur at least introduced three elements of foreign policy. First, maintaining equal distance with all countries, second, living as good neighbors, and third, "universal benevolence". Just like Soekarno, Gus Dur was ambitious to realize an "axis of power" in Asia. This effort can be seen from how Gus Dur initiated the Western Pacific Forum consisting of Indonesia, East Timor, Papua Niugini, Australia and New Zealand, which was voiced to the nine ASEAN countries (Khoiri, 2019).

During the leadership of President Gus Dur, one of the most controversial foreign policies was the attempt to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. This was an unprecedented policy in the history of Indonesian foreign policy. This plan certainly received opposition from most of the Indonesian government and society. This policy was considered strange considering that the majority of Islamic countries reject Israel, while Indonesia under Gus Dur's administration actually wanted to establish relations with Israel. This idea is very different from the policies of Presidents Soekarno and Soeharto. If Soekarno firmly rejected the existence of Israel, Gus Dur actually wanted to recognize Israel's existence through cooperation. Soekarno rejected cooperation

with Israel because he considered Israel a colonizer of Palestine. In the Soeharto era, Israel was also not a concern in cooperation, although there was an issue of opening Indonesia-Israel diplomatic relations, but Soeharto never stated his wishes explicitly. As a result, a negative view emerged from most of the Muslim community towards Gus Dur on this issue (Priatmojo, 2016). This rejection was due to the view that the idea contradicted Indonesia's foreign policy principles that categorized Israel as an occupier. In addition, the difference in population majority between Jews and Muslims also influenced the rejection of this policy. Although Indonesia is not an Islamic country, the majority of its population is Muslim.

It can be concluded, when discussing the role of Islam in policy, especially foreign policy, Gus Dur did not make Islam a formal state ideology, in accordance with the wishes of the majority of Muslim citizens. Gus Dur has a rational and moderate view of various issues, as well as high confidence in making decisions independently. In his foreign policy, Gus Dur often seemed reactive and abrupt, sometimes considered less considering the possibility of implementation and the negative impacts that might arise. Decision-making in foreign policy during Gus Dur's time was dominated by his individual role (Erianto, n.d.).

5. The Rule of President Megawati

After Gus Dur stepped down, Megawati Soekarno Putri or Mega was sworn in as the fifth President of Indonesia as the previous Vice President of Indonesia. Mega occupied the position of President for approximately two and a half years and became the first female president in Indonesian history. In the era of President Megawati Soekarno Putri's leadership, Indonesia's foreign policy still focused on the issue of economic improvement. Not only that, in the Megawati era, the incidence of Islamophobia also strengthened. This was marked by the occurrence of 9/11 where the twin towers in the United States were hit by planes that were considered terrorists. This was assumed to be an international terrorist movement affiliated with Islam (Puwono & M, 2018). Indonesia, a country with the largest Muslim majority, has been in the spotlight. This spotlight was further increased by the Bali Bombing case in October 2002, which ultimately added the black record of Islam and Indonesia in the eyes of the world.

In the international context, Indonesia has made various diplomatic efforts with other countries in the region to support the fight against international terrorism, even producing the ASEAN Declaration on Anti-Terrorism. With the same terrorism problem, the United States tried to encourage the Indonesian government to participate in the anti-terrorism campaign. Even high-ranking US officials supported Washington's offer of security and military assistance to Indonesia, in

addition to the economic assistance it already provides through the Faris Club and the International Monetary Fund (Fernando & Fahruddin, 2023).

During the Megawati Soekarnoputri era (2001-2004), Islam identity played a significant role in domestic political dynamics, but its influence on Indonesia's foreign policy was not very dominant. Indonesia's foreign policy at that time still adhered to the free-active principle that had long been the foundation of Indonesian diplomacy. Indonesia tried to balance its international relations, not favoring any particular bloc and being active in various international initiatives to maintain regional and global stability and security. This focus is particularly evident in Indonesia's active role in ASEAN and other multilateral forums. Although Islamic politics is growing in the domestic context with the rise of Islamic parties and the increasing influence of religious groups, this has not directly changed the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy. Foreign policy remains more influenced by national strategic interests, regional stability, and the need to respond to global challenges such as terrorism.

6. The Rule of President SBY

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) was the next President of Indonesia after Megawati's leadership. Slightly different from the previous president, foreign policy under SBY tended to be pro-active and high profile. SBY adopted "Thousand Friends Zero Enemy" as his foreign

policy jargon. There were many efforts made by SBY to show Indonesia's important position in the international world, one of which was through his international political safaris. In the early years of his administration, SBY visited Malaysia and Singapore, which are close neighbors of Indonesia (Widiatmaja & Albab, 2019).

The 9/11 tragedy that occurred during Megawati's presidency also became one of the issues that SBY often discussed. Under SBY, Indonesia portrayed itself as the largest Islamic country in the world that rejects Islamic-based terrorism. SBY chaired the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Counter Terrorism Task Force and participated in many global forums on anti-terrorism. He also played an important role in building relationships with non-Islamic countries to instill confidence in Islam. SBY emphasized that Islam is against all forms of extremism. This was conveyed during a meeting with the Secretary General of the OIC, Iyad Ameen Madani (Widiatmaja & Albab, 2019).

Another Islamic agenda in foreign policy that appears in SBY's leadership is Indonesia's policy in helping resolve the conflict between ethnic Rohingya and ethnic Rakhine in Myanmar in 2012 by prioritizing peaceful conflict resolution through soft diplomacy, cooperation and still holding the principle of non-intervention. Policies related to Rohingya were carried out based on humanity and the similarity of Muslim Identity between the victims, namely the Rohingya ethnicity and the

Indonesian population, the majority of whom are Muslims. SBY is categorized as a leader who is conciliatory enough to allow him to embrace other parties in the process of helping to resolve the problem (Ardani, 2015).

Overall, Islam as the religion of the majority of Indonesian people has a significant role in the foreign policy making process in the SBY era, especially in certain issues. Some of these policies can be seen from how SBY tried to clear the name of Indonesia as the largest Muslim country after the rise of terrorism, as well as the assistance provided by Indonesia in the Rohingya case.

7. The Rule of President Jokowi

Joko Widodo's leadership also dealt with the same issue in responding to the humanitarian crisis that was repeated by the Rohingya ethnic group in Myanmar in 2017. Humanitarian values and similarities in identity were also raised as the initial basis for the policies taken. It's just that in policy making there is a change in pattern. Changes in patterns are natural in foreign policy making. This is explained as a form of evolution.

Indonesia's foreign policy under President Joko Widodo is very different from that of SBY. Many have questioned whether President Joko Widodo has an inward-looking perspective or is more focused on domestic dynamics. One factor that influences Joko Widodo's leadership style is the difference in his background with SBY. SBY has a military

background and national and international political experience, while Joko Widodo is unfamiliar with multilateral meetings. Joko Widodo uses humble or down-to-earth diplomacy to help the Indonesian people directly in his foreign policy. In other words, all forms of cooperation, especially those related to the economy, are centered on national interests. This shows that Indonesia under Joko Widodo is not too focused on building a positive image in the international arena. Joko Widodo wants quick results from international cooperation carried out by Indonesia (Widiatmaja & Albab, 2019). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Indonesia's foreign policy sets several strategies: protecting national integration, protecting Indonesian citizens abroad, strengthening economic diplomacy and increasing Indonesia's global contribution (Ubaedillah & Ali, 2020).

The role of Islamic identity in Indonesia's foreign policy during Joko Widodo's presidency (2014-2019) is visible through its influence in foreign policy formulation and implementation. Islamic identity is considered an important factor influencing Jokowi's foreign policy orientation, including in diplomacy related to the Saudi Arabia-Iran conflict, the Rohingya crisis, and support for the Palestinian cause. Jokowi's foreign policy reflects Indonesia's commitment to Islamic issues and solidarity among Muslim countries, and integrates Islamic values in foreign policy platforms and orientations (Ubaedillah & Ali, 2020).

These efforts can be seen in how Indonesia tries to raise issues from Muslim-majority countries. The first is support for Palestine. Jokowi showed continuous support for the Palestinian cause, which became one of Indonesia's main focuses in foreign policy. Indonesia is one of the countries that has consistently supported Palestine, especially in various UN sessions, especially considering that in this era Indonesia is a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. Another issue that Indonesia often discusses is the war in Afghanistan. Since 2016, Indonesia has taken a role as a facilitator in the peace process in Afghanistan. Jokowi himself also directly visited Afghanistan to express Indonesia's commitment to help Afghanistan achieve peace (Ubaedillah & Ali, 2020).

Jokowi elevates Islam in his foreign policy because Islamic identity is considered an important element for achieving national goals through foreign policy. Islam serves as a factor that influences the formulation and implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy, and resonates with the majority of Indonesia's population. In addition, Jokowi integrates Islamic values into his foreign policy platform and orientation, which is also in line with the state ideology of Pancasila, known as a religion-friendly ideology. Through a constructivist approach, this shows that Indonesia's foreign policy is not only influenced by national interests, but also by identity and ideology rooted in Pancasila. As such, Indonesia has successfully positioned itself as a

middle power in international relations, with an emphasis on solidarity among Muslim countries and the promotion of peace.

Islam Identity in Foreign Policy of Indonesia

The identity of Islam as the religion of the majority of Indonesian society has a significant influence on its foreign policy. This argument stems from the large Muslim population in Indonesia, which is even the country with the largest number of Muslims in the world. Since the beginning of independence, this identity has played an important role as one of the efforts to seek recognition from other countries, especially from Islamic countries. At the beginning of independence, especially in the old and new orders, this Islamic identity was ostracized and rejected. It was only in the reformation era that Islam was increasingly used and promoted as the identity of the Indonesian state**.**

This identity as the largest Muslim country had given Indonesia a bad image, especially after the 9/11 tragedy and Bali Bombing I, whose perpetrators were suspected to be Muslim extremists. After this incident, the then president Megawati took steps to clear Indonesia's name in the global arena. The same steps were also taken by SBY, one of which was by becoming the Head of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Counterterrorism Task Force and participating in various global anti-terrorism forums. Another Islamic agenda is also present in the peace efforts of the Rohingya and Rakhine ethnicities in Myanmar. Meanwhile, during the Jokowi administration, the issue of

terrorism itself was not an issue of concern to the state. Even so, the Islamic agenda is still present, especially on the issue of war. One of the issues that Indonesia often raises is human rights violations in Palestine. On the basis of Islamic solidarity, Indonesia is still a country that consistently urges the UN to immediately resolve this problem.

Conclusion

Islam as the religion of the majority of Indonesian society has played an important role since the beginning of independence. Islam acts as a positive element in diplomacy, especially in gaining international recognition and support. This research aims to find out how the political construction of Islam affects Indonesia's foreign policy making, especially from the Soekarno to Jokowi administration. The research method used is a qualitative method by adopting constructivism theory as an analysis knife. The results showed that most of the Islamic agenda had a major influence on Indonesia's foreign policy making, especially during the reigns of Soekarno, Megawati, SBY and Jokowi. Meanwhile, during the reigns of Presidents Soeharto, Habibie, and Gus Dur, Islam remained one of the aspects taken into account, although there was no significant influence in their foreign policies.

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