Religion (Islam) and International Relations: A Perspective

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ABSTRAK

Artikel ini berargumen bahwa agama (Islam) dan hubungan internasional di era globalisasi pasca perang, mempunyai relevansi dan kontekstualitas masing-masing. Selama ini hubungan internasional pasca Perang Dingin diwarnai dengan maraknya aktor dan isu. Pada ranah aktor, bermunculan aktor-aktor non-negara yang melakukan berbagai praktik hubungan internasional baik yang mengarah pada kerja sama dan perdamaian maupun menuju konflik. Negara tidak lagi menjadi aktor dominan meski tetap menjadi aktor utama. Dalam ranah persoalan, perhatian umat manusia tidak lagi terfokus pada high politic yang berupa persoalan keamanan nasional dan militer semata, namun persoalan-persoalan yang semula masuk dalam kategori low politic justru semakin mengemuka. Dampaknya, gangguan terhadap keamanan dan ketertiban internasional bukan merupakan monopoli persoalan keamanan nasional. Ancaman keamanan non-tradisional seperti permasalahan lingkungan hidup, penyebaran penyakit, kejahatan transnasional dan lain-lain, juga mengancam perdamaian global. Konflik identitas komunal yang biasanya berlandaskan agama, suku, ras, marga, suku, atau identitas lainnya menjadi salah satu yang menonjol. Dan dalam situasi internasional seperti ini, Islam ditantang untuk merespons kompleksitas permasalahan internasional saat ini.

Kata kunci*: Islam, Agama, Perang Dingin, Hubungan Internasional, Barat, Timur*

ABSTRACT

This article argues that religion (Islam) and international relations in the era of post-war globalization, have their own relevance and contextuality. So far, international relations in the post-Cold War period have been marked by the rise of actors and issues. In the realm of actors, emerging non-state actors who perform various international relations practices both leading to cooperation and peace as well as toward conflict and conflict. The state is no longer a dominant actor although it remains the primary actor. In the realm of the issue, the concern of mankind is no longer focused on high politics in the form of matters of national security and military alone, but the issues that were originally included in the category of low politics were even more prominent. As an impact, disruption to international security and order is not a monopoly of the issue of national security. Non-traditional security threats such as environmental issues, the spread of disease, transnational crime, and others, also threaten global peace. Conflicts of communal identity that are usually based on religion, ethnicity, race, clan, tribe, or other identity become one of the leading ones. In such an international situation, Islam is challenged to respond to the complexities of today's international problems

Keywords*: Islam, Religion, Cold War, International Relations, The West, The East*

INTRODUCTION

Since the collapse of Communism in the 1990s, the West sees Islam as an enemy that will replace that secular ideology. Even Samuel P. Huntington states that the ideological war rhetoric of the US with communist militant has been diverted to cultural and religious war with Islamic militants, even the true 21st century conflict. This is a deep conflict between Islam and Christianity.

> *"The rhetoric of America"s ideological war with militant communism has been transferred to its religious and cultural war with militant Islam", dan "The twentieth-century conflict between liberal democracy and Marxist-Leninism is only a fleeting and superficial historical phenomenon compared to the continuing and deeply conflictual relation between Islam and Christianity" (Azra & Hudson, 2008).*

A similar view was also conveyed by Bernard Lewis that in fact for almost a thousand years, since Muslims touched the land of Spain until Turkey took Vienna 1529, Europe felt constantly under threat from Islam,

> *"For almost a thousand years, from the first Moorish landing in Spain to the second Turkish siege of Vienna in 1529, Europe was under constant threat from Islam (Hasan, 2009)."*

In the perspective of international relations and the history of European diplomacy, the Westphalia 1648 treaty was referred to as the initial momentum of religious marginalization in relations between nations. That is, religion has long been discarded in studies and practices of modern international relations. Conversely, the practice of real politics or power politics or interest-based match politics has dominated. However, throughout history, religion has formed a significant political identity and played an important role in global politics (Mansbach & Reffery, 2012).

After the Cold War, according to Juwono Sudarsono, has given birth to at least four important matters in international relations. First, international relations are characterized by efforts to maintain national unity and face an international environment that is more blurred, more erratic, and contains more competition for access to knowledge, capital, and markets in rich countries. Second, questions related to regional security. The absence of a superpower that supplies military power has created new competition among member countries of certain regions. Third, attention to international political economy became important after the Bretton Wood System collapsed in 1971-1972, which originally guaranteed gold to be a pillar of the world economy since the end of World War II.

At the same time Germany and Japan became new forces in the economic field that rivaled the US. Fourth, in the international relations a new problem arises, namely "3-in1" in the form of the environment, human rights and democratization and the impact of economic globalization throughout the world. The end of the Cold War of the 1990s, the clash of civilization phenomenon as Samuel Huntington reviewed, the WTC 9/11 Bomb and the spread of terrorism nama 'in the name of Islam', for the most part became the factors that

triggered and encouraged it. Islam, also Christianity and Confucianism, is increasingly believed in its role in international relations. (Sudarsono, 1996). Religion is a source of identity politics that is increasingly competing with citizenship in gaining community loyalty. Religion is a transnational phenomenon that is like two sides of a currency that has the potential to create harmony and conflict (Fox & Sandler, 2004).

In turn, the 21st century has made us aware of the issue of religion in the study of international relations. In this connection, Jonathan Fox and Shmuel Sandler see modernity as having generated a resurgence of religion in international relations after the collapse of communism (Fox & Sandler, 2004). The tendency to show, after the 2001 World Trade Center (WTC) bomb attacks, the role and influence of religion on international relations has strengthened. Western and Eastern scientists in the field of international relations as a branch of political science, examine further the phenomenon of religion in relations between nations. The phenomenon of religious revival in international relations and the importance of religion in the discipline of International Relations is increasingly felt objectively by Western and Eastern scientists (Snyder, 2012).

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

As an illustration, the role of religion in international relations can be seen from the role of religious organizations that we categorize into three groups, namely:

- First, groups of religious defenders who can give influence and ideas to the international world. Among them are the World Conference of Religion and Peace (WCRP), the Parliament of the World Religions, the World Council of Churches, and Han Kung's Global Ethics Foundation.
- Second, groups focus on humanitarian issues such as CARE, World Vision, or Save the Children.
- Third, religious spiritual groups and carry out religious functions, such as the Sufi Brotherhood, Opus Dei, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, Muslim Brotherhood, Jama'at-i-Islami, and Jama'at al Tabligh.

By referring to the religious organizations above, academics generally have a similar view that religion is important in the realm of international relations, and has a strong impact on international politics. Especially after the Al Qaeda bomb attack led by Osama bin Laden, 9/11 WTC, New York 2001, which shocked the West. The religiously motivated bomb

attacks touch the heart of the Western World, as noted in the first page of Jonathan Fox and Shmuel Sandler's books (Fox & Sandler, 2004):

> *"The attacks on the Twin Towers in New York City and the ensuingones in Washington and Pennsylvania by Osama Bin Laden's religiously motivated Al-Qaeda organization seemingly caught the Western world by surprise. What was particularly surprising to the West is that religious phenomena could have such an impact in the heart of the Western world."*

After the 9/11 incident US President George W Bush made a War Against Terrorism speech that shocked the world community. The US feels so devastated and humiliated that it states that every country must choose: with the US against terrorists or vice versa instead of joining terrorists, who claim to be global jihadists (Arif, 2015):

> *"Every nation in every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime."*

The US seems to reopen the tragic history of warfare in the name of religion or God which has been preserved for a long time, especially the text by George W. Bush regarding the Crusade. This happened because in the eyes of Bush, religion became an influence or impetus for political movements or war conditions commonly referred to as "political religion or religionized politics", borrowing the term Bassam Tibi (Tibi, 2012). In this case, it is not surprising that then Islam and the West after the Bomb / 11 WRC in 2001, fell into tension and prejudice, and even spread Islamophobia in the US / West.

It is estimated that the composition of the world's population in 2020 will consist of Christians (54.2%) and Muslims (37.76%). Islam does suck the attention of the world community. The global Muslim population is currently around 1.5 billion, and is estimated in 2020 to be 1.9 billion. Along with the increase in Muslim population in the world will affect the consumption needs of halal-labeled products. Increased consumption of halal products in the world is known to reach US $ 580 billion, up seven percent every year. While the potential trade in halal products in the world reaches 2.7 trillion US dollars (Desch, 2013).

The US sees Islam as very influential in the transnational terrorism movement. Even the phenomenon of suicide terrorism broadly shows the strong influence of religion (Islam) in international politics, in international relations after the 2001 WTC bomb. Simply put,

suicide bombers do what they do because they are religiously motivated. Violence in the name of religion, according to Daniel Philpott, has been "motivated by religion, not only by ideas, economic, strategic and liberal political motivations. On the contrary, those involved are more motivated by religion." Religious factors color relations between nations because religion is often the cause of war between religious groups such as Sunni-Siyah in the Middle East (Iran vs. Iraq, Israel vs. Palestine) and Iran's relations with the United States, just an illustration, have deteriorated because Iran is a "theocratic" (Islam) country and so on (Philpott, 2002). Religion as a set of ideas and reasons, can cause war and give a wider influence on how, when, and where war must be carried out. However, as Robert Pape's perspective is, however, leaders who send them to death in acts of terrorism have political rather than religious aims. Thus religion provides motivation and validity for individuals in committing suicide or global terrorism attacks, where acts of violence in the name of religion are also driven by alternative ideologies, nationalism sentiments, and their own logic (Pape, 2003).

In the eyes of the West, Islam is crucial in the realm of international relations. International relations experts recognize that religious legitimacy can influence policy makers and their constituents in a country. Especially in the phenomenon of local religion, there are religious and cross-regional conflicts. There are various types of transnational phenomena regarding religion which concern religious fundamentalism and terrorism. We must recognize that religion can influence the way the state acts in the international system, the system of international relations, or International Relations (HI). Religion is seen as an organizing principle, especially in Islamic countries, while secularism is on the other end of the spectrum with the separation of state and religion from the foundation of liberal international relations theory.

Religion essentially has an important role in the study of international relations studies. And although religion is not a major force in international relations, the legitimacy of religion sometimes influences policy makers in their interactions in international politics. Religion in International Relations (HI) sees the existence of phenomena in religion that emerge in the international world. What is a fundamentalist, extreme, radical or militant form of religion. This will certainly lead to instability in a country that has a religious population with different beliefs (Fox & Sandler, 2004). In relation to religion and HI, international

issues such as human rights, democracy and the environment are also included and how society must be able to control religious forces that are sectarian, radical or extreme.

In this case, terrorism bomb attacks on WTC (11/9/2001 or popular in the West as 9/11), and the emergence of ISIS (Islamic countries in Iraq and Syria) have changed the face of religion in relations between nations. The attacks that are suspected and perceived by Al Qaeda, the terrorism network formed by Osama Bin Laden 's become' big bang 'in the study of international relations. There is a strong assumption that the motive for attacking the WTC twin buildings is based on religious motivation through the Al-Qaeda terrorist organization. Al Qaeda's attacks on the WTC further strengthen and legitimize the stigma that Islamic fundamentalism, Islamic radicalism or Islamic sectarianism are synonymous with violence and terror. Especially before the WTC bomb, there were also many acts of terrorism that used in the name of religion in their attacks. Here. Borrowing Hooffman's perspective, (2009) terrorism is an act of creation and exploitation of fear for citizens who deliberately carried out to bring about political change. All terrorist acts involve threats of violence. This act of violence is carried out by non-governmental actors or individuals, as well as those who are not part of official military bodies, law enforcement agencies, intelligence agencies, or other government institutions established by the state or nation. The phenomenon of terrorism in the Bali Bombing I (2002), the London bombing, the bombing of Cairo, the Spanish bomb, the bomb of Brussels, the French bomb, the German bomb and so on is the turning point of a new awareness in the West that in the international world threats and attacks come from a group of Muslims in the name of religion (Jihad).

Then how is the Al-Qaeda and ISIS terrorism network that has many networks in various countries on the basis of religion. This proves the importance of religion in the study of International Relations. Likewise, the Israeli and Palestinian conflict is indeed a form of clash of civilizations that is very clear in religion. This is a form of clash of civilization expressed by Samuel Huntington. The situation in Israel is very complex, where there are religious problems, the power of one party and of course religion. This is a clash between religion and civilization that we can still see in the phenomenon of international relations. Is the Al-Qaeda and ISIS Terrorism Network a form of religious threat to relations between nations? In taking the example of a religious case in international relations is Al-Qaeda and ISIS terrorism network. Al-Qaeda and ISIS terrorism network perceived as a terrorism organization capable of threatening the global world system.

Al-Qaeda is an international terrorist network led and founded by Osama bin Laden in 1988. The current goal of Al-Qaeda is to establish a pan-Islamic caliphate throughout the world by working with Islamic extremist groups to overthrow the regime they call "non- Islam". February 1988, Al-Qaeda issued a statement under the banner "The World Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders" and stated that the task of killing US citizens (military or non-military) was the duty of Muslims. Al-Qaeda sees their struggle as being allowed by religion in the name of jihad. The explanation which mentions the existence of "holy war" in religion is a fact, and that is Jihad in the sense of many Muslims. Jihad for some individuals is considered bad but also considered good. Sometimes jihad is also synonymous with acts of terrorism that occur internationally. In an al-Qaeda member house in Afghanistan, the New York Times reporter found a brief statement of "The ultimate goal and purpose of Jihad": Establishing the rules of God on earth. Reaching martyrdom in the way of Allah. Purification of Islamic teachings from elements of depravity.

If we discuss jihad, for example, there are several views which will certainly differ from each country. Jihad seen for a Muslim country is a sacred sacrifice and resistance, but what about Western countries that see bombing in public places in the name of jihad? Or the attack on the WTC 9/11 building in the name of jihad? Of course they will see it as an act or act of terrorism. This is because HI as an interdisciplinary science sees various views without breaking the theories that existed before. In terms of religion and international relations, the ongoing Revolution in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and other Middle East, known as the Arab Spring in the period 2011-2012, is almost certainly destroyed by the US / West if the revolution has an Islamic ideology and intends to establish an Islamic Republic in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and other Middle Eastern countries. But because the Arab Spring was not initiated by the Muslim Brotherhood or the Jihadist Muslim group, the aim was to make the Islamic revolution, as feared by the West, get US / Western support despite prejudices, worries and anxieties mixed with caution.

METHODS

Qualitative research methods aim to explain a phenomenon in depth and are carried out by collecting data in as much depth as possible. Qualitative methods prioritize observing phenomena and researching more into the substance of the meaning of these phenomena. To understand how a community or individuals perceive certain issues. Here, the researcher must understand and have adequate knowledge regarding the problem he will research. If

the researcher does not understand what he wants to research, then the research does not qualify as qualitative research. Apart from that, researchers are also able to get the right data, limit assumptions, and write persuasively so that readers can experience the same experience. In this regard, the author uses a historical approach, in which the historical approach advocates the historical study of the development of international relations. It involves a description of the history of relations between nations. The central idea in this approach is that the study of the past is essential to understanding the nature of international relations today. This view considers history as a storehouse of information and facts that can help us understand the true nature of international relations.

With a historical approach, the study of primary sources and other sources containing information about Islamic relations and international issues in the past, carried out systematically, so that it can be said that the historical approach in the study of Islam and international relations is a conscious effort and systematically to know and understand and discuss in depth the ins and outs of Islam and international relations in the past and its trends in the present and future.

DISCUSSION

For fourteen centuries, Islam had a long history in relation to its encounter with the West. The meeting between Islam and the West which has been going on for centuries and is still ongoing until now is colored by rivalry: First, cooperation and Second, conflict. Historically, Western civilization emerged first, then followed by the emergence of Islam. In the course of the next history, the development of the newly born Islam was faster, even to the point of being able to eradicate the Romans and Persians who had triumphed before. After seven centuries of Islamic development, the West does not want to lose. The academics noted, the collapse of the Spanish Islamic empire was the momentum of the start of a new round of rivalry, which was then followed by the era of Western world imperialism-colonialism over the Islamic world. This era of imperialism-colonialism runs almost four or five centuries, and this is a symbol of the victory of the West over Islam as a socio-political community. Therefore, as Rahman stated, for many observers, the history of Islam in modern times is the influence of the West on Islamic society.

Indeed, since the outbreak of World War II towards the second half of the 20th century, the Islamic world began to break away from the grip of Western colonialism and become independent countries. However, in many ways the Islamic world still depends on the West. Development funds, military equipment, consultants in various fields, and the

results of heavy industry, almost all Islamic countries still depend on the West. The dependence of the Islamic world in particular and the Third World in general to the West is nothing but imperialism-colonialism in its new form.

In other words, it can be stated, even though the Islamic world has freed itself from Western imperialism and became independent countries for more than half a century, but in reality the Islamic world is still under the influence of Western domination. Prof. Bambang Cipto noted, the study of Islamic relations and international relations strengthened since the end of the Cold War. The increase in studies in this field was caused, among others, by the symptoms of Islamic revival in Muslim countries. There are several reasons why this phenomenon grows in a country with a majority of Muslim population (Cipto, 2001).

First, modernization which became the slogan of new countries turned out to only cause various disappointments for most people. The progress of science, technology, education is only enjoyed by a handful of citizens, while the decline of religion and tradition is experienced by most of the people.

Second, post-independence, which was originally expected to bring changes in post-colonial political life, ended with authoritarian regimes that deprived most of the political, social and economic rights of the people.

In this case, international relations in Islam are first understood as a further and more complex manifestation of international relations in a single world. The most fundamental in international relations is the principle of "cooperation". Through cooperation, it is expected that Muslims can participate in prospering the world for the sake of the realization of rahmatan lilalamin. Justice is the second principle that underlies the relationship of brotherhood. Justice is expected to reduce inequality between people and between nations.

In relation to Islam and international relations, among the relevant verses of the Koran the discussion section is: Q.S. al-Hujurat, 49: 13; which means,

"*O man, Truly We created you from a man and a woman and made you nation - nation and tribe so that you know each other. Surely the most noble person among you on the side of Allah is the one who is the most pious among you. Verily Allah is All-Knowing, All-Knowing.("Hai manusia, Sesungguhnya Kami menciptakan kamu dari seorang laki-laki dan seorang perempuan dan menjadikan kamu berbangsa - bangsa dan bersuku-suku supaya kamu saling kenal-mengenal. Sesungguhnya orang yang paling mulia diantara kamu disisi Allah ialah orang yang paling taqwa diantara kamu. Sesungguhnya Allah Maha mengetahui lagi Maha Mengenal).*

The Islamic Spirit reveals the meaning that international relations in Islam is only a means of living together in a world created by God in large and different numbers. The ultimate goal is not only to achieve power, security, or prosperity of a nation but to be beyond worldly life. All human activities culminate in achieving the highest level of piety. In this process all forms of power and prosperity must be subordinated to efforts to achieve the 'piety'.

Referring to Nurcholish Madjid's view, to understand and understand better about the nature of Islam in International Relations (HI) perhaps we must first understand the existence of a kind of tension in Islamic society between the normative provisions of Islam regarding international relations and the reality that exists in history. This tension is increasingly felt in recent times, times marked by anomalous situations in relations between Muslim countries such as the Gulf War, and more elusive, the Iraq-Iran War. Even though the unreasonable situation might be explained in terms of certain social and historical science tools, but the inequality is still accepted by Muslims worldwide as an irony, even as a moral and psychological burden (Madjid, 1992).

Nurcholish Madjid explained that normatively, Muslims in the Holy Scriptures were declared to carry out sacred duties as "mediators" (ummah wasath) who were obliged to be witnesses of all humanity. And with a life attitude that upholds morality and morals (do al-mar bi al-ma'rûf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar) on the basis of faith in God, Muslims are declared as "the best people, which are presented to the people humans "to take on leadership roles. The normative provisions, as with every provision of "what should be," in history often clash with hard facts, which compel the normative provisions to compromise.

Nurcholish Madjid revealed that at the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, international relations could be seen in the values and ethics as stipulated in the Treaty of Hudaibiyyah and the Medina Charter as a milestone in international relations in his day. The Hubaibiyyah agreement according to many political and state experts is a basic milestone in the life of the nation and state. This proves that state life before the existence of the science of international relations based on the Westphalia Treaty of 1648 and before the formation of the League of Nations in 1920, had long been held by Rasulullah SAW for the sake of peace, humanity, tranquility and human dignity (Madjid, 1992).

In this case, there are some basic principles of international relations in Islam which are developed based on the main points of the Qur'an as presented by the Professor of

International Relations at the University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Bambang Cipto, as follows (Cipto, 2001):

1. Principles of Cooperation

   In a Qur'anic verse, it says that humans are made up of various ethnic groups but not to fight each other but to cooperate. Indirectly it can be said that cooperation is the basis of Islamic international relations by not looking at the religion of both Islam and non-Islamic countries in its implementation. In addition, the Qur'an also says that the best humans are the most devoted humans. Therefore the most powerful or rich man is not an assumption for human perfection. Therefore, human success is seen from the high level of devotion.

2. Principles of Peace

   Paragraph 90 of the letter An-Nissa says that Muslims are encouraged to accept peace. Islamic countries realize that peace is necessary and conflict is a bad thing. Therefore, based on the verse, the Muslims accept peace as one of the principles in human relations.

3. Principles of Human Glory

   Paragraph in the Qur'an teaches to glorify humans, therefore humans are required not to commit humiliation because it is contrary to the message conveyed by the Qur'an. The implementation of international relations in this case is required to be a buffer for the full fulfillment of basic human needs and still maintain the glory of man himself. Cooperation and peace are difficult to realize if there is no principle. Therefore each principle is closely related.

4. Principles of Justice

   In a verse of the Koran, it is said that each human being must be an enforcer of truth and justice. The call is intended for every citizen and becomes stronger for every government policy maker considering the elites have and control the influence and power that can lead to change is very meaningful to people's lives. The wrong or wrong attitude will have an impact on international relations. Such a feeling of hatred has a destructive impact and creates injustice for other countries.

5. Principles of Meeting Promises

   In the Qur'an it is said and recommended to fulfill promises. With the fulfillment of this promise can increase the trust of others, therefore in making relationships with

others more easily and smoothly. When the state doesn't trust other countries, international relations are very difficult to do. The obligation for Muslims is to foster trust for other nations. In addition, it is also required to do the best in the world in various fields. When success has been achieved, the image of the Muslim community will be viewed by other nations as a trust and example for other nations.

Religion is a system of belief and practice as a means for a group of people to interpret and respond to what they feel. Therefore, Islam as a religion also has a major role in international relations. Although not a direct actor like other actors in international relations. But Islam has a big influence in influencing the direction of the objectives of various actors in international relations, such as NGOs and Individuals. So that Islam is not only an actor, but also as a foundation or framework for thinking of actors in international relations. At least, international study experts noted there are three things that need to be underlined here, namely:

- Islam as Legitimacy

  As a foundation for thinking or thinking, Islam is often used as a legitimacy for the actions of actors in international relations. Here, Islam is used as a way to legitimize the objectives of actors in international relations. In fact, state actors such as Saudi Arabia and Iran also use Islam in every domestic political policy and foreign policy. Likewise, non-state actors, namely Al Qaeda and ISIS, do the same thing, although not infrequently, the policies taken are contrary to Islamic values or sources of Islamic law so that whether or not policies are taken with Islamic values, it is highly dependent on interpretation. and the actors' perceptions that make these policies, which are often manipulative and deviative, in relation to Islam.

- Islam as a World View

  Aside from being legitimate, Islam is also used as a world view in international relations. Just like Islam as Legitimacy, it also influences actors in international relations. The difference is that Islam as legitimacy uses Islam as a strong foundation in speech and its actions by using the source of Islamic law. While Islam as a world view only makes Islam as a view or ground of action without the source of law or the argument in it. In practice, Islam as a view is also often used by leaders of secular countries whose population is predominantly Muslim. For example, Erdogan, who is the president of Turkey, uses an Islamic perspective or is motivated by Islam as a speech base and his actions. Another example is Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY)

to some extent, who often shows his position in the international world that brings Islam in it. Of course the words and actions of the two figures use the view of Islam, even though they do not use Hujjah, reasons which are based on Islamic law, Islamic based.

- Islam and Domestic Pressure

  By making Islam a domestic force, where Islam can change a country's foreign policy. Usually this is done by institutions that are based on Islam and then urge the government to do what is demanded by Muslim groups. And not infrequently this method works. For example the case of Lady Gaga's arrival in Indonesia was canceled due to demands from the Islamic Defenders Front. Or revocation of Visa-free against Israel due to demands from many elements of Islamic society in Indonesia. In relation to Indonesian Muslims, at least two major religious organizations are often identified with moderate groups namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah including religious organizations that oppose Israel's annexation of Palestine. So that their existence as the largest group in Indonesia makes their political attitudes and behavior are influential in Indonesia's foreign policy in the international sphere. As a pillar of civil society, NU and Muhammadiyah often conducts second-track diplomacy to help deal with several international security problems with the aim of achieving international peace and security in accordance with Indonesia's national interests.

From the explanation above, it was revealed and captured that religion and international relations in the post-Cold War era of globalization had their own relevance and contextuality. Post-Cold War international relations are marked by the development of actors and issues. In the realm of actors, emerging non-state actors (non-state actors) conduct various practices of international relations both leading to cooperation and peace and towards conflict and conflict. The state is no longer a dominant actor even though it remains a primary actor. In the realm of the issue, the attention of mankind is no longer focused on high politics in the form of national security and the military alone, but the issues that were originally included in the category of low politics are increasingly prominent.

As a result, disruption to international security and order was not a monopoly on the issue of national security. The threat of non-traditional security such as environmental issues, the spread of diseases, transnational and other crimes, also threatens global peace. The

existence of conflicts of communal identity which is usually based on religion, ethnicity, race, clan, tribe, or other identity, is one of the problems that surfaced. Non-state actors are actors who have an important role in the study of International Relations. Although these non-state actors may only be recognized by liberal viewers and others are neo-realists, this does not cause the role of non-state actors to be lost in the midst of the existence of a state that according to realists, the state acts as a single role in international relations.

All of these things cannot be separated from each other's point of view taken by experts / experts in making observations about roles in relations between nations. We know that non-state actors consist of various types, such as Transnational Corporations (TNCs), Multinational Corporations (MNC), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), International Govermental Organizations (INGOs), Al Qaeda terrorist organizations, ISIS and transnational crime groups . All types of non-state actors are facts and realities in international relations, and Islam is challenged to provide responses and answers to the complexity of international problems today. It all depends on the anticipation of 21st century by Muslims as historical actors. Will Muslims emphasize inclusiveness and promote dialogue between religions and civilizations, or does Islam place more emphasis on exclusivity and put forward the single truth claims of religion and civilization? The answer to that should be contemplated.

CONCLUSION

The preceding description brought to light and captured the unique setting of religion and international relations in the post-Cold War age of globalization. New players and new concerns have emerged in international relations since the Cold War. The international relations practices of emergent non-state players (non-state actors) can take many forms, including those that foster collaboration and peace as well as those that escalate into full-blown war. Despite its continued involvement, the state is playing a supporting role rather than a leading one. From a practical standpoint, people are paying more and more attention to what were formerly considered low-level political matters, rather than just high-level political issues like national security and the military.

Islam and international relations in the post-war age of globalization each have their own unique context and relevance, and we must understand this. There has been an explosion of players and issues in international relations since the Cold War. The world of international relations has seen the emergence of non-state players who engage in a wide range of actions,

some of which promote cooperation and peace and others which sow discord. Although it is still the primary actor, the state is losing its position as dominant player. Issues that were formerly considered low politics are gaining prominence, shifting the emphasis of human attention away from high politics, which primarily manifests itself in military and national security concerns. Therefore, threats to global peace and stability are not unique among matters of national security. Environmental issues, disease transmission, transnational crime, and other non-traditional security risks also pose a threat to world peace. An example of this is the prevalence of communal identity conflicts, which might have their roots in issues of religion, race, ethnicity, surname, or any number of other identities. And in a global context like this, Islam faces the difficulty of addressing the intricacy of contemporary global issues.

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