

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

**THE FAILURE OF MECCA AGREEMENT IN
DEESCALATING THE CONFLICT BETWEEN
HAMAS AND FATAH**

**Submitted to complement the assignments and to fulfill the requirement in
Political Science's Bachelor degree**



**Written by:
HABIBI KURNIAWAN
20050510213**

**INTERNATIONAL CLASS FOR INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY MUHAMMADIYAH OF YOGYAKARTA**

2009

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

**THE FAILURE OF MECCA AGREEMENT IN
DEESCALATING THE CONFLICT BETWEEN
HAMAS AND FATAH**

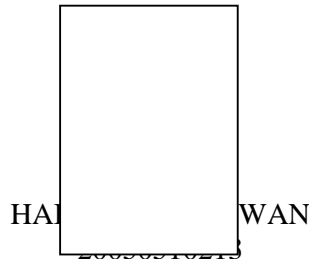
**Submitted to complement the assignments and to fulfill the requirement in
Political Science's Bachelor degree**

**Written by:
HABIBI KURNIAWAN
20050510213**

**INTERNATIONAL CLASS FOR INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY MUHAMMADIYAH OF YOGYAKARTA
2009**

ENDORSEMENT PAGE

This Undergraduate Thesis Entitled:
THE FAILURE OF MECCA AGREEMENT IN DEESCALATING THE
CONFLICT BETWEEN HAMAS AND FATAH



This undergraduate thesis has been examined and endorsed by the Board of
Examiners from the Dept. of International Relations, Faculty of Social and
Political Sciences, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

On

Day/Date: Thursday, August 20th, 2009

Time: 08.00 a.m.

Place: Laboratory of International Relations B

**Acknowledged by,
Adviser I/Chief of Examiner**

Surwandono, S.Sos., M.Si

Adviser II/Examiner

Examiner

Sidiq Ahmadi, S.IP

Sugito, S.IP, M.Si

I would like to dedicate this undergraduate thesis
to

... The big family of R. Ng. Duto Semito II.

... The big family of H. Soewignyo.

... My Parent,

H. R. Slamet Riyadi & Hj. Hexi Rahayu.

... My lovely sister,

Alfie Rizkita Putri.

... My soul mate,

Marina Silvia Sari.

HABIBI KURNIAWAN

Motto of My life....

FOREWORD

Alhamdulillahirabbilalamien. All praises be to Allah, by all of his mercy, this undergraduate thesis under the title of “**THE FAILURE OF MECCA AGREEMENT IN DEESCALATING THE CONFLCIT BETWEEN HAMAS AND FATAH**” is completed. This undergraduate thesis is an expression of intellectual which was conducted by the writer as the result of the three years and eight months of learning in University Muhammadiyah of Yogyakarta, majoring International Relations. This thesis may still reach away from the expectation; however I wish that the existence of this thesis will contribute more or less to the development of International Relation’s science generally and to the issue of Conflict Resolution in Palestine particularly.

May Allah give the benefits for all human being with the presence of this thesis.

Habibi Kurniawan
20050510213
don_abie@yahoo.com

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to extend my deep gratitude to:

1. Rector of University Muhammadiyah of Yogyakarta, Ir.H. M. Dasron Hamid, M.Sc.
2. Dean of Faculty of Social and Political Science, University Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Prof. DR. Tulus Warsito, M.A
3. Head of International Relations, University Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Grace Lestariana Wonoadi, S. IP, M. Si.
4. Supervisor Lecturer, Surwandono, S. Sos., M.Si, for every meaningful helps, enlightening and advices given to me during the writing times of this undergraduate thesis.
5. Sidiq Ahmadi, S.IP as the 1st examiner, for the constructive criticism and critiques that comes through the proposal examination and final examination.
6. Sugito, S.IP, M. Si., as the 2nd examiner, for the critiques and the advices that come through the final examination.
7. Coordinator of International Class, Wahyuni Kartikasari, ST, S.IP, M. Si.
8. Ex coordinator of International Class, Dian Azmawati, S.IP
9. All of the lectures in International Relations major, University Muhammadiyah of Yogyakarta: Drs. Harwanto Dahlan, M.A, (May rest in peace) Dr. Bambang Cipto, Drs. Djumadi M. Anwar, M. Si., Dra. Nur Azizah, M. Si., Drs. Bambang Sunaryono, M. Si., Dra. Mutia Hariati, M. Si., Drs. Sidik Jatmika, M Si., Siti Muslikhati, S.IP, M. Si., Hilman Latief S.Ag., M.A., Adde Marup Wirasenjaya, S.IP., Winner Agung Pribadi, S. IP., and Atien Prabandasari, S.IP
10. 3rd vice rector of University Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Drs. Husni Amriyanto Putra, M. Si., for every support in extra activities.
11. Staff of International Relation offices, Pak Jumari and Ibu Ati for every helps to support the academic administrative.

12. My lovely parents in Madinah, Saudi Arabia; Ayah H. R. Slamet Riyadi and Ibunda Hj. Hexi Rahayu. Ayah& Ibu thanks the prayers to your son during the process of this undergraduate thesis.
13. My lovely sister: Alfie Rizkita Putri (Gopie), Thanks for the prayers to your brother during the writing process, the cares and supports. Mostly the Hula-hoop exercise to make me slimmer. **Hopefully** ☺
14. My lovely Family in Jakarta: Bapak' Inyok, Mama' Inyok, Eyang Putri and Pakde Nano (May rest in Peace), Bude Yati, Pakde Untung Sugiharto, Bude Susi, Pakde Tri Hardjono, Bude Tri, Om Joko, Om Hendro (Subagyo), Tante Retno, Tante Heti, Mas Rudi, Mas Oki, Mba Santi, Mba Yanti (May rest in Peace), Mas Koko, Mas Hendi, Mas Heru, Mas Hendro, Mas Iqbal, Mba Nuni, Mba Nani, Mba Vita, Haldi, Thea, Sara, Hanum, Dara and Syasa.
15. My lovely family in Jogja: Pakde Fachruddin, Bude Fachruddin, Bude Bani, "Cak" Nur Cahyo, Mas Arif, Mba Menuk, Mba Menik and Dwi.
16. The Member of Blue House: Mba' Sri. Thanks for your helps Mba.
17. My lovely Blue House, my D 1239 SL, my AB 2584 MH, my ex-B 3328 FT, my Lenovo, my Epson C-90, my broken N 70, last, my books. **Without "them" my thesis would not be existed.**
18. HMI-MPO Cabang Yogya, HMI-MPO KORKOM UMY, and All my friends in HMI-MPO, kanda Fatwa, kanda Wahab, bang Dani, Mba Sri, Ahmad Sahide, "Batax" Irfan, Christo, si "Mmbe", "Ncess" Arie Purnama, Rudi, Mahruz, Zull, Irsal, dll. Keep *Bahagia HMI!!*
19. UMY debaters. *Bang* Fido, Ardi, Ulum, Anam, Shellin Ndut, Navhat, Tia, Rebi, Maya, Kamal, Kuncoro. Always keep the jargon spirits of UMY ya.."*We Come We Fight We Win, Lillahi ta'ala Allahuakbar!*". Woro-woro, saiki wis ono debaters *cah enom* seng neruske nama Abi, Ulum karo Tia (Team IVED Bali 2008) lho!! ☺.
20. The big family of JDF (Jogja Debating Forum)**The Sesepuh of JDF:** Mas Indra , Mas Irfan, Mas Iponk, Mas Iyan, Mas Nanang, Mas Rahkmat, Mas Dede, Mba Vitri, Mas Zaka, Mas Nantyo, Mas Ajib, Mba Astri, Mba Eling. **The Kisanak of JDF:** Sani (UGM&UII), Adit (UII), Heru (UII),

Fajri (UGM), Agung (UII), Tri (UAD), Angga (UII), Adi (UII), Ade (UII), Hakim (UAD), Nanda (UII) dll. For members of Kontrakan CaCat AsMarA, Sani, Adit, Heru thanks yoo Kisanaks,, bwt FREE hoTsPOTnya it was helping me a lot.

21. The “big” family of International Class of International Relations 2005. Especially the Islamic World Class, “the Jack” Rangga, “the Mbah Dharmo” Angga, “Si Gentur” Gentur, “Wandaaktauy saya” Wanda. Simply, we finally graduate man! Except the two of us, woi,,cepel lulus yo... Amien.
22. The one whom I have been passing my life with happiness, passionate, and love. Marina Silvia Sari. It is an honor for me to always be a Man beside you.

ABSTRACT

This undergraduate thesis aims to explain the failure of Mecca Agreement for deescalating the civil armed conflict between Hamas and Fatah in Palestine. As the resulted, mass casualties were conducted rapidly between both parties, therefore it is important to evaluate the role of Mecca Agreement and post-Mecca Agreement negotiation as the final peace agreement in maintaining the conflict resolution for the shake of betterment in Palestine.

To give the comprehensive understanding in this research, I divide the explanation into three layers. In the first layer, I explain the ripe momentum, dynamics, mediation process, and development of Negotiations under the third party mediation for seeking a peace settlement over the civil armed conflict between Hamas and Fatah. In the second layer, I use the post-agreement negotiation theory to explain the implementation of Mecca Agreement as final peace agreement which is transformed into the Palestinian Unity Government Platform. In the last layers, I use the concepts of DDR (Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration) and Legalization as the tools to analyze the lack of final peace assistance in Mecca Agreement and Post-Mecca Agreement negotiation to conducting the mandates for Hamas and Fatah to establish peace.

In the end of this research, I found that the civil armed conflict between Hamas and Fatah was rapidly escalated and has created a dilemma for the entire people of Palestine. This situation was followed by the non-comprehensive final peace Mecca Agreement, which are the non-comprehensive legalizations upon the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration issues in reconstructing the peace in Palestine.

LIST OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE.....	i
ENDORSEMENT PAGE.....	ii
DEDICATION PAGE.....	iii
MOTTO.....	iv
FOREWORD.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	vi
ABSTRACT.....	vii
LIST OF CONTENT.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF GRAPHICS.....	xi
CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION.....	1
A. Problem Background.....	1
B. Research Question.....	16
C. Objectives of The Research.....	17
D. Theoretical Framework.....	17
E. HYPOTHESIS.....	28
F. Research Method.....	28
G. Writing System.....	29
CHAPTER II : THE DYNAMIC OF THE CIVIL ARMED CONFLICT IN PALESTINE SINCE 1994 – 2007.....	30
A. The History of The Hamas in Palestine.....	30
B. The Failure of PA Under the PLO Leadership.....	36
C. Civil Armed conflict between the Hamas and Fatah in Palestine.....	40

CHAPTER III: DYNAMIC OF MECCA AGREEMENT AND ITS

IMPLEMENTATION AS A PEACE AGREEMENT..... 47

- A. The Ripe Momentum for Negotiation..... 48
- B. Getting in the Table: How Mecca Agreement can be forged by the Third Party..... 58
 - B.1.Declaration on Comprehensive National Reconciliation 59
 - B.2.Preparing the Negotiation Process by the Third Party 60
 - B.3.The Content of Mecca Agreement and How it Mandate 68
- C. The Outcome of Negotiation That Still Indicating the Existence of Conflict Escalation in the Post-Agreement Phase..... 71

CHAPTER IV: THE DETERMINANT FACTORS OF THE FAILURE OF THE MECCA AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION AS A PEACE AGREEMENT..... 80

- A. The Non-comprehensive Legalization of Disarmament Issued In Mecca Agreement and Post-Mecca Agreement Negotiation 85
- B. The Non-comprehensive Legalization of Demobilization Issued in Post-Mecca Agreement Negotiation Agreement 93
- C. The Non-comprehensive Legalization of Reintegration Issued in Mecca Agreement and Post-Mecca Agreement Negotiation..... 99

CHAPTER V :

CONCLUSION..... 103

REFERENCES 107

APPENDIX

- **Palestinian Unity Government Platform**

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1. Casualties of Civil Armed Violence in Palestine Annual Fatalities in Civil Armed Violence between Fatah-Hamas 2006-2007.....	14
2. Form of International Legalization	27
3. The Final Distribution of PLC Seats in 2006	43
4. Casualties of Civil Armed Violence in Palestine Annual Fatalities in Civil Armed Violence between Fatah-Hamas 2006-2007.....	52

5. Table of Aid to Palestine in 2005	54
6. Form of Disarmament Legalization in Mecca Agreement	92
7. Form of Demobilization Legalization in Mecca Agreement	99
8. Cabinet Minister: The 2007 Palestinian Unity Government	103
9. Form of Reintegration Legalization in Mecca Agreement	107

LIST OF GRAPHICS

Graphics

1. Graphic of Escalation in Fatah-Hamas conflict	54
2. Graphic of Import of goods into Gaza – rockets and mortars fired from Gaza	77

