

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the middle of 2010, there was a huge incident occurred in the international waters, about 65 kilometers Gaza coast. Israeli naval Special Forces intercepted the convoy of Flotilla mission to Gaza (Freedom for Gaza) in international waters. They took control of five of the ships without resistance. However, some activists on a large Turkish passenger vessel challenged the commandos. The confrontation resulted in eight Turks and one Turkish-American killed, more than 20 passengers injured, and 10 commandos injured. This incident becomes a spotlight of mass media from national and international. This incident shows how strict the Gaza blockade and making Palestine as a focus of various humanitarian organizations, including MER-C (Medical Emergency Rescue Committee) which is an Indonesian organization which still relatively new.

A. Research Objectives

MER-C was an Indonesian organization which with persistent give humanitarian aids in medical fields to the country which conflict of all time Palestine. In doing its humanitarian solidarity is not easy they have many difficulties and challenges such as the inhumane treatment on the Mavi Marmara convoy May 2010.

In addition, this topic was very interesting to research. The strict blockade by Israel toward Palestine was isolating the people in Gaza. MER-C

as a humanitarian organization saw the suffered of the people in Gaza Palestine and feel that they must help people there. They must find an efficient assistance toward people in Gaza, because the situation in Gaza which was isolated and potentially conflict.

Through this research, there are at least four significant points would be achieved:

1. Understanding MER-C's organization.
2. Understanding the way of MER-C to deliver humanitarian assistance toward Palestinians before Mavi Marmara tragedy.
3. Comprehending and Elaborating the priority of MER-C solidarity toward suffer of Palestinians after Mavi Marmara tragedy.
4. Also, this research is a requirement to obtain the degree of undergraduate (S.1) in International Relations Department of Social and Political Sciences Faculty in Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

B. Background

The State of Israel newly formed in 1948. Since the destruction of the kingdom of Israel and the occupation by the Romans, Israel was Diasporas, and never had a sovereign self-government. Diaspora has resulted in the spread of the Jewish people throughout the world, especially in Europe. They assimilate with the surrounding community, but still practicing the teachings of Judaism. At first, there was no Jewish nationalist movement whose objective was to return to the land of Israel, because in general the Jews

received in the areas where they assimilated. However, after the emergence of pogroms in Russia, the nation of anti-Semitism in Central and Eastern European region, and also the death of Alfred Dreyfus (French Army Captain who are Jews) because of accusations of spying for the enemy, the Jewish nationalist movement emerged among European Jews.¹ This movement is commonly referred to Zionism, who discovered and popularized by an Austrian Jewish journalist named Theodore Herzl, through a book called *Der Judenstaat*. Herzl considered, with prolonged discrimination against Jews in almost all parts of Europe, and then the assimilation is no longer a choice for the Jews if they want to stay alive.² Zionism has succeeded in raising Jewish nationalism in Europe. This led to massive immigration of Jews to Palestine is sheathed religion, sympathy, and humanity to the suffering of Jews in Europe at that time.

The UN General Assembly issued resolution No. 181 on 19 November 1947 which affirmed divide Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. These UN resolutions no 181 delivered David Ben Gourion proclaimed the Jewish state on 14 May 1948. Israel's proclamation of independence on 14 May 1948 sparked the anger of the Arabs, and has initiated the long-running conflict between the Arabs (which is now known as Palestine) with Israel. Large scale immigration of Jews to Palestine led to the expulsion of about 1 million

¹ Dennis Ross. (2005). *The missing Peace The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace*, Farrar Straus and Giroux, New York.

² CIA (January 2011). *Gaza strip*. Retrieved on January 16, 2011, from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>.

Palestinians, depriving Palestinians the right of property, the city annexed tens and hundreds of villages. Terror and massacres happen everywhere.

In addition, Israel also made the isolation of Palestine on the grounds that there was no smuggling arms into Palestine. Between 1994 and 1996, Israel built the Israeli Gaza Strip barrier. The separation barrier was first constructed to improve security in Israel. The barrier was largely torn down by Palestinians at the beginning of the Al-Aqsa Intifada in September 2000. Between December 2000 and June 2001, the barrier fence between the Gaza Strip and Israel was reconstructed. A barrier on the Gaza Strip-Egypt border was constructed from 2004. There are three main crossing points in the barrier: the northern Erez Crossing into Israel, the southern Rafah Crossing into Egypt, and the eastern Karni Crossing used only for cargo. Israel controls the Gaza Strip's northern borders, as well as its territorial waters and airspace. Egypt controls Gaza Strip's southern border, under an agreement between it and Israel.

The isolation started in 2006 when Hamas won the Palestinian legislative election, triggering the 2006-2007 economic sanctions against the Palestinian National Authority by Israel and the Quartet countries. In 2007 Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip in the course of the Battle of Gaza seizing government institutions and replacing Fatah and other government officials with its own.³ Following the takeover, Egypt and Israel largely sealed

³ Black Ian and tran Mark (June 2007). *Hamas takes control of Gaza*. Retrieved on January 16, 2011, from: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/jun/15/israel4>.

their border crossings with Gaza, on the grounds that Fatah had failed and was no longer providing security on the Palestinian side.⁴

Since June 2007, Israel and Egypt implement more severe version of restrictions which began in 2001 to a land, air, and sea blockade on the Gaza Strip. The Gaza Strip has land borders with Israel and Egypt, and a sea border. Since 2007 Egypt and Israel largely keep their borders with the territory sealed. Israel allows only limited humanitarian supplies from aid organizations into the Strip.

On 27 December 2008, Israeli F-16 strike fighters launched a deadly series of air strikes against targets in Gaza. Various sites being used as weapons depots were struck: police stations, schools, hospitals, UN warehouses, mosques, various Hamas government buildings, a science building in the Islamic University, and a U.N.-operated elementary school in a Palestinian refugee camp⁵. Israel said that the attack was a response to Hamas rocket attacks on southern Israel, which totaled over 3,000 in 2008, and which intensified during the few weeks preceding the operation. Palestinian medical staff claimed at least 434 Palestinians were killed, and at least 2,800 wounded, made up mostly civilians and some Hamas members, in the first five days of Israeli strikes on Gaza. The Israel Defense Forces rejected claims the majority of those killed were civilians, providing evidence that Hamas deliberately hides weapons and fighters in "mosques, school yards and civilian houses" to

⁴ _____ (December 2008). *Ormert Aide supports free Gaza*. Retrieved on January 16, 2011, from:<http://washingtonbureau.typepad.com/jerusalem/2008/12/olmert-aide-supports-free-gaza.html>.

⁵ El-Khodary, Taghreed; Bronner, Ethan (28 December 2008). *"Israelis Say Strikes Against Hamas Will Continue"*. The New York Times. Retrieved on 3 May 2010 from <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/28/world/middleeast/28mideast.html>.

deter an attack and exploit Israel's rules of engagement. Israel began a ground invasion of the Gaza Strip on 3 January 2009. Israel rebuffed many cease-fire calls and both sides declared unilateral cease-fires. In total, between 1.100-1.400 Palestinians and 13 Israelis were killed in the 22-day war.

After 22 days of fighting, Israel decided to stop fighting, while insisting on holding its positions, while Hamas has vowed to fight on if Israeli forces do not leave the Strip.

In 2009 the amount of goods Israel allowed into Gaza was one quarter of the pre-blockade flow. The Israeli navy maintains a sea blockade from three nautical miles offshore. Egypt is constructing an underground steel barrier to prevent circumvention of the blockade through tunnels.⁶

Israel maintained that the blockade is necessary to limit Palestinian rocket attacks from the Gaza Strip on its cities and to prevent Hamas from obtaining other weapons. Egypt maintained that it cannot fully open the Rafah crossing since completely opening the border would represent Egyptian recognition of the Hamas control of Gaza, undermine the legitimacy of the Palestinian National Authority and consecrate the split between Gaza and the West Bank.

United Nations have called the blockade illegal according to the Geneva Conventions on a number of occasions, a call also echoed by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Both organizations repeatedly urge Israel to lift the blockade.

⁶ BBCnews.com (July 2010). *Guide: Gaza under blockade*. Retrieved on January 16, 2011, from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7545636.stm.

Facing mounting international calls to ease or lift their blockade, Egypt and Israel lessened the restrictions starting in June 2010, when the Rafah border crossing from Egypt to Gaza has been partially opened by Egypt, and Egypt's foreign ministry has made it clear that the crossing will remain open mainly for people, but not for supplies, to go through. In June 2010, Israel announced that it will allow all strictly civilian goods into Gaza while preventing certain weapons and dual-use items from entering Gaza. However, Israel continues to severely restrict or prevent people from entering or exiting Gaza, and according to a July 2010 Israel continues to prevent normal functioning of the economy of the people in Gaza (i.e., limiting exports from Gaza, and blocking imports of raw materials necessary for civilian industry and manufacturing such as textiles and industrial-sized buckets of margarine).

The blockade has severely affected the humanitarian situation in the Gaza strip although Israel and its critics differ about the effects. The Israeli government maintains that there is no humanitarian crisis in Gaza, and the Israel Defense Force (IDF) issues a detailed *Weekly Summary of Humanitarian Aid Transferred into Gaza* to support that position. The Ministry of Defense Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories (COGAT) issues a similar *Gaza Strip Merchandise and Humanitarian Aid Report*. They provide information on the number of trucks and persons allowed to enter Gaza and list the cargos of food, medicine, and other supplies. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Aid (OCHA) issues contrasting regular reports on the situation in Gaza. It

summarily states that the blockade has worsened conditions of life of Palestinians, deepened poverty and food insecurity, prevented reconstruction, and increased aid dependence by destroying livelihoods and economic activity. It refers to the blockade as “collective punishment.”⁷

The increasing attacks and the continuing Israeli blockade to Gaza made a greater concern from international world about the condition of the people in Gaza. The public facility like school, hospital etc in Gaza also not missed from the Israeli attacks. Gaza people have been unable to repair public infrastructure, hospitals, schools, electric systems, or sewage treatment plants, because Israel will not permit the delivery of materials such as steel, concrete, and tiles that could be used both for rebuilding and for the manufacture of weapons or other military purposes.

MER-C (Medical Emergency Rescue Committee) as social organization which engaged in humanitarian medical emergency and have the nature of trusteeship, professional, neutral, independent, voluntary, and high mobility also feel empathy toward the situation in Gaza. They immediately collecting fund and send their delegation to give emergency rescue toward the victims from the Israeli aggression.

The strict Gaza blockade made a difficulty toward the humanitarian assistance to enter Gaza. For the example was the Mavi Marmara accident. On May 22, 2010, the MV Mavi Marmara, a former Istanbul passenger ferry owned by the Turkish Humanitarian Relief Foundation (more fully the

⁷ John Holmes. (June 2010). *USG for Humanitarian Affairs and relief Coordinator on The Free Gaza' Flotilla crisis*, Retrieved from: [http //www.ochaopt.org](http://www.ochaopt.org).

Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief (IHH)), left Istanbul and, after stopping in the Mediterranean port of Antalya to pick up more than 500 passengers, met up at sea with five other ships south of Cyprus. IHH also sent two cargo vessels. Several ships from the Free Gaza Movement had departed from the Greek port of Piraeus. A six-ship flotilla then set sail for the Gaza Strip with the intent to deliver 10,000 tons of humanitarian aid and to break the Israeli blockade. In all, about 700 activists from 38 countries participated in the expedition, including approximately 11 Americans, some European parliamentarians, and Swedish writer Henning Mankell. On May 30, the ships refused Israel's offer to unload at the port of Ashdod in which that their cargos could be inspected before delivery accompanied by representatives of the non-governmental organizations.

On May 31, when the ships were in international waters between 80 and 100 miles from the Israeli coast, Israeli navy zodiac boats intercepted them and naval commandos took over five ships, reportedly without incident. However, the Marmara resisted and commandos rappelled from helicopters onto that ship and were confronted by some passengers/activists. The IDF released videos showing that individuals attacking the commandos were armed with iron rods, knives, broken glass bottles, and sling shots, and equipped with gas masks, night vision goggles, and life vests. The IDF says that the passengers also seized a commando's side arm. IHH President Bulent Yildirim admitted that activists had used iron rods, but claimed that they threw

seized Israeli weapons into the sea.⁸ It is not clear if the commandos, who had paintball guns and firearms, struck first or in response to an attack from the passengers, and each side has given a different account. Nine passengers were killed, including eight Turks and a Turkish-American; 24 were injured, including one American, and 10 commandos were injured. The dead were members of or volunteers for IHH, which hailed them as “martyrs.”

All of the ships were taken to Ashdod, where the passengers were detained and the cargo was unloaded, inspected, and trucked to the Kerem Shalom border crossing between Israel and Gaza. Hamas initially refused to allow the aid to be transferred into Gaza and the Israeli Defense Ministry stored it at a military base while it consulted international organizations. On June 15, it was announced that the U.N. would distribute the aid. By June 3, Israel had deported all the detainees, including all alleged perpetrators of the attacks on its military personnel, except for a few severely wounded who were repatriated a few days later. Shortly after the Mavi Marmara incident Egypt announced the opening of the Rafah crossing “indefinitely,” although it only allowed travelers with special permits and continued to restrict potentially dual use goods.

The incident of Mavi marmara has become a great attention from the International world. The incident showed how strict the blockade from Israel to let the aids to enter Gaza. All of goods which will enter Gaza must be get the approval from Israel, than it makes many goods which will entered restrained in the border. In the Mavi Marmara cases the goods which they bring were restrained in Ashdod, than

⁸ Anatolia. (June 2010). “*Humanitarian Foundation says People Still Missing from Aid Convoy*,” Retrieved from: www.crs.gov

after inspection and security check which take a long time the goods than can be allowed to enter Gaza.

The condition in Gaza which has ruined after the Israeli aggression and the difficulties in sending aid to Gaza make MER-C change its priorities in its assistance. After the Mavi Marmara incident the priorities of MER-C has been changed. Then, the researcher saw this as an interested case to be researched. Through this research the researcher wants to give information about the priority of MER-C in giving a significance humanitarian assistance to Palestinians in Gaza.

C. Research Question

From the exploration of background above, the research questions is “what is the priorities of MER-C in the delivery of humanitarian aid to the Palestinians after the Marmara incident? “

D. Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework is very useful in a research paper. Theoretical frameworks used by the writer as a foundation in writing the research paper. According to Mochtar Mas'oeed theory is a group of generalization and because of in generalization including concepts, it also can be interpreted that theory is a statement which link the concepts logically.⁹ So, theory must be the group of concepts which form a conclusion. Whereas, concept itself is an abstraction which represent an object, character, and particular phenomena.

⁹ Mas'oeed, Mochtar, Ilmu Hubungan Internasional : Disiplin dan Metodologi, Jakarta, LP3ES, 1990. hal. 186

1. The Concept of Trans-Nationalism

Constellation of the relations between states in the international arena in this era has been changed. The view of the "state centric" issues, where the state viewed as an actors who have goals and autonomous authority, is no longer dominant because involvement of non state actors which increasingly exists therein. This view based on observations of the increasing sensitivity of the countries and non-state actors¹⁰. International cooperation is now widespread and not limited to only between state governments but also involves non-state actors. With weakening and shifting role of state actors by non-state actor then interaction between countries is no longer an international relations but as a transnational relations.

According to Richard Falk defines that transnational relations is the transfer of goods, information and ideas across borders without the participation of national or controlled directly by the actors government.¹¹ From these definitions it can be argued that the concept of transnational relations will reduce the essential meaning of sovereignty and a form of international cooperation pattern which includes the role of state actors are no longer dominant and shifted the role of non-state actors which does not see to the geographical boundaries that separate nations.

¹⁰ Mas' oed, Mochtar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Displin dan metodologi, Penerbit LP3ES, jakarta, 1994, page. 232

¹¹ Falk, Richard, A Study Of Future World, fetrieved from Mochtar Mas' oed books, Ibid, hal.272

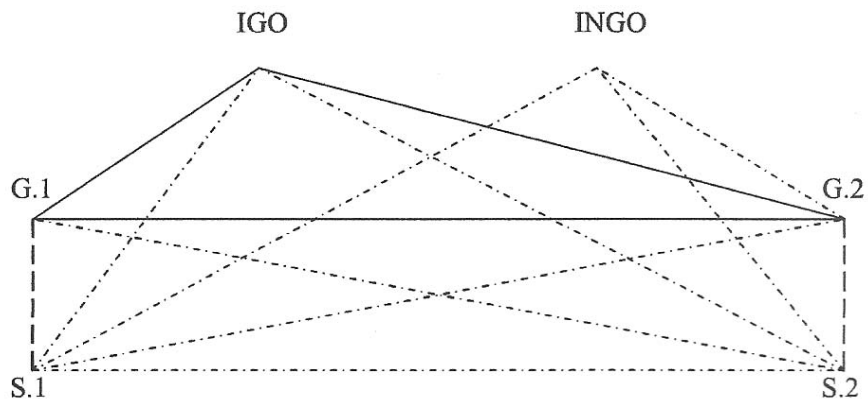
According to Mochtar Mas'oe'd the non-state actors in this international cooperative relationship could form tribal groups, ethnic or separatist in the state, various economic interest groups and multinational companies and even the parts of the government bureaucracy¹². In the implementation of transnational relations are often without the knowledge of the leaders of the states involved, peoples from one state could acting alone and interacted directly with peoples from other state. This was because the views of the central issues in international interaction have changed.

The patterns of transnational relations involve more various types of non-state actors, particularly from non-governments, international organizations and transnational corporations.

Chart patterns of transnational relations and political interaction between countries can be described in the chart below image.

¹² Ibid page 231

PICTURE 1.1¹³



Sumber: Adaptasi dari R.O Keohane dan JS Nye, *Transnational Relation and World Politic*, (dalam Mohtar Mas'oeed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Displin dan Metodologi*, Jakarta:LP3ES, 1990), hal.232.

Keterangan :

- | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|
| ————— | = politik antar negara klasik |
| ----- | = politik dalam negeri |
| | = interaksi transnasional |
| G | = pemerintah |
| S | = masyarakat |
| IGO | = organisasi antar pemerintah |
| INGO | = organisasi antar non pemerintah |

In the picture, we can see that international relations not only occur within the scope of the state only (straight line) but also from non-governmental organizations, both domestic and foreign. Even society can also interact with the community in other countries (line end point). Governmental and nongovernmental organizations can relate directly with communities of other countries without going through intermediary central government.

¹³ Ibid page 232

In the implementation of these relationships it can be known that the pattern of international relations as described in the chart above possible more involvement of non state actors, which means people of a nation can conduct an international relations with people from other countries, and governmental and nongovernmental organizations can relate directly with the people of a country through central Government.

From the pattern of the image above can be seen that in the authority the Government of Indonesia acting as facilitator and MER-C become the implementer into the project activities of cooperative relationships between the people of Indonesia with the Palestinian community.

The cooperation which done by MER-C is an international cooperation undertaken by non-state actor which is a non-governmental organizations which working on the problem of medical emergency.

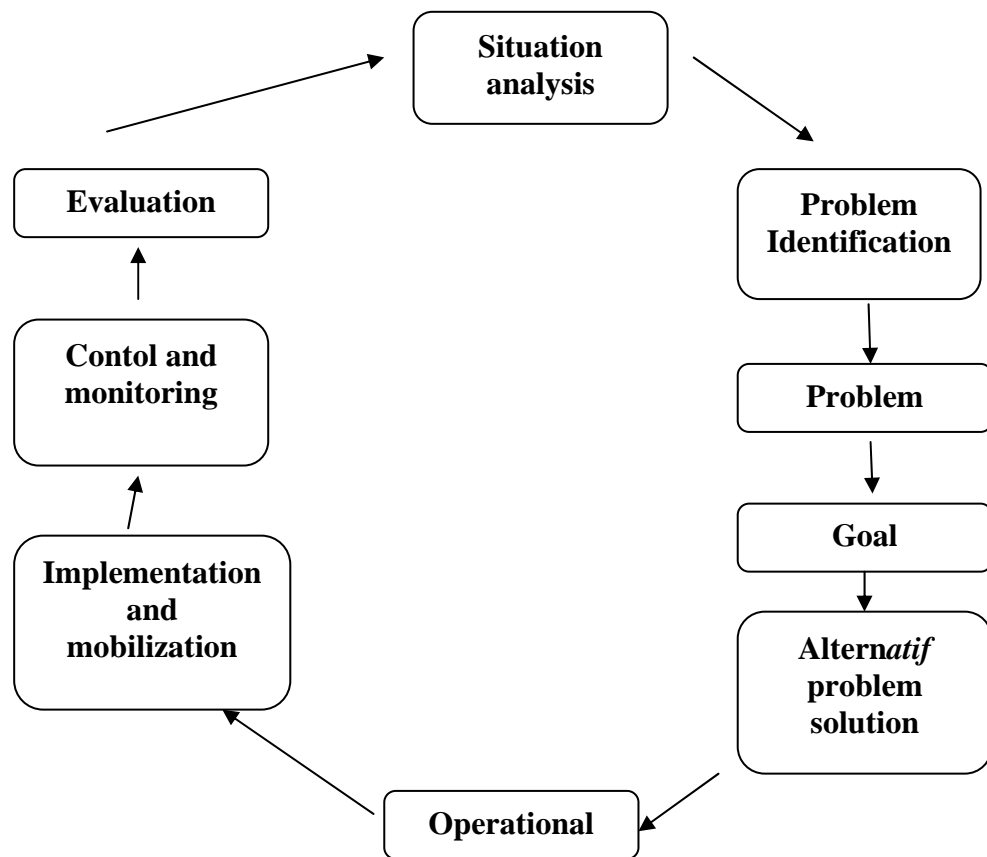
2. Problem Solving Theory

Problem solving theory is used as an integral and comprehensive approach in the preparation of plans and programs. Problem solving also expected to help provide an understanding of the situation and the problems faced because problem solving theory consists of a variety of techniques and methods of Road-map development program.

The problem solving theory was used to analyze the process of decision making by MER-C in determine the priorities of humanitarian

aids to Gaza people. This theory was used to answer the way of MER-C to determine its goals. Using situation Analysis MER-C collect and understand information about a situation which is useful to define the problem. The objective of situation analysis was to understand the problems of humanity in Palestine that has been going on for a long time, facilitate the prioritization of assistance that will be given to the Palestinian people, and facilitate the determination of alternative solutions. Chart patterns of problem solving cycles ¹⁴

PICTURE 1.2



Sources from presentation of Moh.Guntur Nangi,SKM.,M.Kes

¹⁴ Shapira Z., *Organizational Decision Making*, Cambridge Univ Pr., 1997

3. Strategy concept

Strategy, a word of military origin, refers to a plan of action designed to achieve a particular goal. In military usage strategy is distinct from tactics, which are concerned with the conduct of an engagement, while strategy is concerned with how different engagements are linked. How a battle is fought is a matter of tactics: the terms and conditions that it is fought on and whether it should be fought at all is a matter of strategy, which is part of the four levels of warfare: political goals or grand strategy, strategy, operations, and tactics.

Building on the work of many thinkers on the subject, one can define strategy as " a comprehensive way to try to pursue political ends, including the threat or actual use of force, in a dialectic of wills , there have to be at least two sides to a conflict. These sides interact, and thus a Strategy will rarely be successful if it shows no adaptability".

Strategy is the science and art of using capabilities with resources and environment effectively the best. There are four important elements in the strategy, namely: the ability, resources, environment, and goals. This element must be unite in a rational way so that it appears some alternative options than evaluated and took the best. Then the result is formulated as a tactics guide which then followed by the operational actions. The formulated strategy should at least provide information on what will be done, why it should be done, who is responsible and operate it, how much it cost and time and time of execution, and what the result will be

obtained.¹⁵ So the concept of strategy used by MER-C was a way to answer the phenomenon of life through the best of its ability as a way to realize its goals. Seeing the condition in Gaza after the Israel aggression where many public facilities were damaged, also the condition of Gaza which still isolated by Israel and still potential conflict in Gaza, than MER-C felt that Gaza people need public facility especially health facility which was really needed by the people in Gaza.

The strategies of MER-C to supplies the humanitarian aid to Palestinians after Mavi Marmara's tragedy includes:

1. MER-C used the close relation between Indonesia and Egypt as an advantage to enter the Palestine. Egypt is one of the states which bordered with Palestine.
2. MER-C established its branch in Gaza so that it can give an advantage, because entering Palestine was not easy because the blockade of the Israel.
3. MER-C used tunnels to distribute the hospital materials.

E. Hypothesis

By seeing the background and related to theoretical framework, the writer will draw the hypothesis. The priority of MER-C in supplies the humanitarian aids to Palestinians after Mavi Marmara accident in 2010 was focus on the process of building traumatology and rehabilitation hospital in

¹⁵ _____, *mengupas konsep strategi*. Retrieved on February 1st, 2011. From: <http://shvoong.com/books/management-literature/1658495>

Gaza. The establishment of hospital expected can significantly help the people in Gaza who had a long term conflict. MER-C used the close relation between Indonesia and Egypt as an advantage to enter Palestine, where Egypt is one of the states which bordered with Palestine.

F. Research Method

To collecting data, writer was using library research. It means that the writer search the data by using book materials like books, journals, newspaper, tabloid, and articles as the source of data. Writers also use the data from the sites on internet about, MER-C, Indonesian Hospital in Gaza, Mavi Marmara accident, and Gaza Blockade.

As for the technique or analytical steps that are used as follows. After collecting data and materials, then writer will do the selection based on relevance with the problem. The data must in line with the indication and tendency of International Relation at the present that become research object that is nongovernmental organization (NGO). After the selection, the next step was analyzing the related data based on theoretical framework which already explains above.

G. Range of Research

To make this research did not become general, than the writer made a limitation in this research. This research will focus in humanitarian assistance

which given to Palestine and the implementation of new humanitarian assistance by MER-C after Mavi Marmara tragedy.

H. Systematic of Writings

Chapter I: Introduction. This chapter outlines the background of the research, determines the exact problems to answer, verifies purposes and signification of research, decides the theoretical frameworks and methods to be implemented, and establishes the hypothesis as well as the systematic of writing.

Chapter II: This chapter describes the profile of MER-C (Medical Emergency Rescue Committee).

Chapter III: This chapter explains comprehensively the dynamic of humanitarian assistance by MER-C and Mavi Marmara accident in 2010.

Chapter IV: This chapter discuss comprehensively about the priority of MER-C in giving a significance humanitarian assistance to Palestinians in Gaza after Mavi Marmara accident.

Chapter V: This last chapter gives the conclusion of the research.