

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Opening of Constitution 1945 in the first paragraph mentions that independence is the right of all nations, then the occupation of the world should be abolished because it is not in accordance with the humanity and the justice. Like Palestine, which is currently at war with Israel. Until now, the two countries have held hostilities that could be break out at any time of war. Palestine is a nation which until now has demanded independence and recognition as an independent State, but until now it has not been recognized as an independent State.

Related to this, Indonesia in accordance with the mandate of the first paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia consistently supports and participates in fighting for Palestinian independence on international forums. Indonesia's support for Palestinian independence in international politics cannot be separated from the doctrine of Indonesia's foreign policy, namely free-active politics. According to the professor of international law, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, the doctrine of free politics means that Indonesia does not take sides with forces which are basically incompatible with the national personality, as reflected in Pancasila (Kusumaatmaja, 1983). Meanwhile, an active means of implementing foreign policy, Indonesia is not passive-reactive but

active in realizing world peace in accordance with the legal basis possessed by Indonesia, namely the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945).

Indonesia cannot be influenced by the foreign policies of the other countries, such as in providing support for the independence of the Palestinian state.

Indonesia's support for Palestine is part of Indonesia's past and future history. Forms of Indonesian support for Palestine include not recognizing the establishment of the State of Israel after being proclaimed by Ben-Gurion on May 14, 1948. In addition, Indonesia has never established formal diplomatic relations with Israel since the country's establishment. Another form of support provided by Indonesia for Palestinian independence occurred on the soccer field, where Indonesia refused to play football against Israel ahead of the World Cup. The match held in Tel Aviv or Jakarta did not change Indonesia's refusal (Widi, 2020).

Furthermore, during the New Order era, Indonesia's support was conveyed by a written letter by President Soeharto. He wrote a message on the commemoration of International Solidarity Day with the Palestinian People on November 29, which was read by the Head of the RI Representative at the United Nations, Nana Sutresna. In his letter, President Soeharto supported the recognition of a fully independent Palestinian state. Indonesia supported the struggle of the Palestinian people to obtain their legal right to self-determination and to establish a sovereign and independent state in Palestine. Along with this support, President Soeharto criticized Israel for trying to suppress the legitimate resistance of the Palestinian people against the illegal Israeli occupation (Yusuf, 2008).

The both country's friendship continues. In 2006, when many Western countries rejected the election results organized by Palestine, Indonesia actually acknowledged the results of the election. In the years 2007 and 2010, President of Palestine, Mahmoud Abbas made a visit to Indonesia. It aimed to gain support for Indonesia, both in the effort to revive peace in the Middle East and the reconciliation of internal conflicts between the Fatah and Hamas faction in the country. Since then, Indonesia has committed to re-helping Palestine regain its independence (JR, 2019).

Another important role for Indonesia is Indonesia as one of the countries that provides voting support so that on October 31, 2011, Palestine became the 159th member of UNESCO. The status of "entity" (non-member observer entity) owned by Palestine also finally changed to a "state" (non-member observer state) through the UN General Assembly on November 29, 2012. On September 10, 2015, the UN General Assembly passed a draft resolution. which allows the flying of the flags of UN preview countries (Holy See Vatican and Palestine) at UN Headquarters and Offices. Here Indonesia contributes in providing voting support for Palestine through voting.

This support continued during the reign of President Joko Widodo. On 6-7 March 2016 a meeting of heads of state and ministers who are members of the Organization for Islamic Cooperation was held at the Jakarta Convention Center, Senayan, Jakarta. This meeting discussed issues related to conflict resolution in Palestine and Al-Quds Al-Sharif or Jerusalem. Indonesia hosted the meeting and Jokowi expressed the firmness of Indonesia's stance to defend Palestine.

Indonesia is also diplomatic to defend Palestinian rights. As Jokowi stated on 16 August 2017 during his state address on Indonesia's 72nd Independence Day which stated that Indonesia's diplomatic efforts were to move to defend the Palestinian people (Ali, 2017).

Indonesia's support for Palestinian independence was reaffirmed in international forums such as the UN Security Council Open Debate about the situation in the Middle East in 2019. In the UNSC open debate forum led by South African Foreign Minister Naledi Pandor, Indonesia emphasized that support for Palestinian independence. On that occasion, the Indonesian Permanent Ambassador to the United Nations, Dian Triansyah Djani, emphasized that Israel, as an enemy of Palestine, had to immediately stop illegal development projects and provocation in holy places in the occupied Palestinian territories. This was because of the consideration of Israel's violation of international law and UN resolutions, such as resolution 2334 (2016) and hampered efforts to achieve world peace (Kemenlu, Pimpin DK PBB, Indonesia Tegaskan Rencana Israel Aneksasi Palestina Harus Dibatalkan, 2020).

In its implementation, Indonesia runs an active foreign politics resting on the ideology of Pancasila and the Constitutional foundation of UUD 1945 which is the highest legal basis of the country of Indonesia. Pancasila as the foundation of Indonesian ideology reflecting the values contained in Pancasila as Indonesia's guidelines in the fight for national interest in international relations. Meanwhile, Indonesia's national interests are generally listed in the UUD 1945. In the Constitution, Indonesia's national interests are as follows: (1) Protecting all

Indonesians and whole blood; (2) advancing the general welfare; (3) Educate the life of the nation; and (4) to conduct a world order based on independence, lasting peace and social justice.

The relationship between Indonesia's foreign political policy is active and the three essences in international relations (*actors, interests, power*) will form an *identity* in the international relations system. It is the identity that Indonesia will use as a character and country, as well as a differentiator between Indonesia and other *actors*. Coupled with the non-active Indonesian foreign political policy will make Indonesia independent of the nature of dependence on one *actor* only. So that Indonesia can be more flexible in carrying out its role in international relations by implanting three essences as described previously.

In addition, national power must also be the concern of Indonesia to be used as a *collective value* in order to fulfill its national interests. Indonesia needs to consider several factors to be a national power, such as military, political, geographical condition, number and quality of the population, economy and resources of the country, and the ideology of the country. Indonesia's national strength will be to help the process of international relations, because the particular essence of *power* can be seen the success or absence of an interaction. Each *actor* has different strengths, the more power an *actor* will be, the easier the *actors* use to power in the context of international relations. (Enggartias Wahana Putera, 2018)

The State of Palestine is a Middle Eastern country between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. Its strategic location since time immemorial made

various nations come and go. The Palestinian Territories at this time were known as the land of Syria (Bilād as-Syam) which now consists of Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. The Palestinian territories, which are bordered by Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, make it the entrance and link of various continents, namely Asia, Africa and Europe. Economic and military activity has been well developed since ancient times. The border with Egypt can be drawn with a line that almost forms a straight line that divides the area between the islands of Sinai and the desert of Al-Naqab. This border starts from Rafah in the Mediterranean Sea to the Taba area in the Gulf of Aqaba. In the western part, Palestine lies next to the waters off the International from the Mediterranean Sea with a distance of about 250 km from Ras El-Nakoura to Rafah in the south. (Idjal, 2018)

B. Problem Formulation

The problem that can be formulated in this research: How is the diplomacy of Indonesia in supporting Palestinian independence in the reign of Joko Widodo?

C. Theoretical Framework

According to S.L. Roy's book entitled *DIPLOMASI*, there is chapter that discussed about the types of diplomacy. In that chapter there are 7 types of diplomacy namely commercial diplomacy, democratic diplomacy, totalitarian diplomacy, diplomacy by conference, tacit diplomacy, preventive diplomacy, and resource diplomacy.

Each type of diplomacy has its own definition. Here the author will briefly explain the definition of each type of diplomacy. According to Nicholson, who has discussed the concept of **commercial diplomacy**, this diplomacy is either

bourgeois diplomacy or civil diplomacy based on the assumption that a compromise settlement between disputants through negotiation is "generally more profitable than the complete annihilation of the enemies."

With the birth of the "Open Diplomacy" era, a new type seems to have made great progress. This new type of diplomacy has been referred to as "**Democratic Diplomacy**". In any democracy the sovereign ruler is established in the elected representatives of the people. The ultimate control of foreign policy lies with them. But until the time of World War I diplomatic negotiations were often kept secret not only to the general public but also to elected representatives. Only a few influential members of the government were given detailed explanations of the agreements. That way the democratic people do not know the complete provisions or agreements reached. But the provisions of the treaty involve the people going to war in support of their allies.

But the rise of "open diplomacy" has led to strong demands that diplomacy should be carried out frankly and openly and gain full public scrutiny. The principles of this form of democratic government require that in matters affecting the vital interests of the state, the public should be informed of each stage of negotiation.

Modern totalitarianism emerged after World War I. Its growth was due to various factors. Among other things, extreme nationalism, economic nationalism and ideological considerations are the most vital in developing totalitarian tendencies. All of these factors have played their respective roles in the growth of totalitarianism in the form of Italian Fascism, German Nazism, Franco Spanish

Fascism, and so on. In pursuit of foreign policy and its diplomatic relations, totalitarian states have a fixed tendency. They usually use an aggressive attitude in the face of their rivals. In their diplomatic relations they showed their strength and often a rigid attitude.

Nicholson and other western experts have expressed some of the special qualities of totalitarian diplomacy. One aspect that stands out is that in a totalitarian state decision-making is not under the supervision of the people.

Multilateral or parliamentary diplomacy is a type of conference diplomacy. This form of international negotiation has certain privileges that are not owned by the old model diplomacy conducted **bilaterally** (Roy, 1995). This parliamentary form of multilateral diplomacy emerged after World War I in the form of the League of Nations and re-emerged after World War II in the form of the United Nations.

The parliamentary form of multilateral diplomacy, as it is connotation, usually follows procedures and techniques commonly used by the legislative bodies of democracies, such as political debates, voting, commission reports, and so on. But there is a vital difference between the two. Unlike national legislatures whose majority decisions are legally binding, the decisions of the UN General Assembly are not legally binding and cannot be enforced.

Dag Hammarskjold correctly said, "The legislative process at the United Nations will play a role as it does only if it helps diplomacy reach agreement among the relevant countries. It is diplomacy, not speech and voting, that is constantly to achieve the last word in the peace-creating process."

The term "tacit diplomacy" is closely associated with United Nations diplomacy, as secret and open diplomacy represents two opposing types of diplomacy practiced by states, so does public diplomacy and silent diplomacy represent two different types of diplomacy practiced at the United Nations. But if secret and open diplomacy becomes two polar opposites, then silent diplomacy and public diplomacy are not so opposed to each other. They complement each other.

Such as public diplomacy and the tacit diplomacy of "preventive diplomacy" has also grown out of new techniques of diplomacy that are evolving at the United Nations for various reasons. In the post-World War II eras the newly independent countries and other backward countries saw with concern the expansion of the Cold War and the hegemonistic tendencies of the two superpowers. For them, the greatest danger arises from bipolar competition. They fear getting involved in the conflicts of these great nations and eventually becoming one satellite state or another.

Resources of important raw materials such as coal, iron, oil, uranium, and so on play an important part in the development of the industry. These materials also strongly support the increase in the power of a country. Only countries that have a lot of these ingredients can become large countries. This is why competition is constantly taking place to gain control over areas that have a lot of these materials.

Some countries are more fortunate in having these ingredients within their territory. Powerful countries that are not as fortunate as they are trying to gain

control of some of the territories that have such materials. Similarly, constant fighting between the various major countries is taking place for that purpose. This effort has led to a new type of diplomacy known as resource diplomacy.

And to answer the formulation of problems that have been proposed for the research on the diplomacy of Indonesia in the efforts of Palestinian independence during the reign of Joko Widodo, it could be analyzed by using the one of types of diplomacy namely diplomacy by conferences. The implementation of this theory is that the Indonesian government applies diplomacy by conference, which in S, L. Roy's book, states that multilateral diplomacy is a type of conference diplomacy.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the background above, during the reign of Joko Widodo, Indonesia applicate two types of diplomacy, namely conference diplomacy and bilateral diplomacy. In conference diplomacy, Indonesia has implemented several agendas such as:

1. OIC forums,
2. Asia Africa Conference,
3. diplomacy activities in peace conference forum,
4. Indonesian diplomacy at the CEAPAD, and
5. Indonesia as the host as the International conference on the question of Jerusalem.

While in bilateral diplomacy, Indonesian government gave assistance to Palestine. The Government of Indonesia committed US\$ 2 million or equivalent

to Rp 28.5 billion in capacity building programs, in accordance with the needs of the Palestinian people, including agriculture, entrepreneurship, women's empowerment, information and communication technology, governance and education.

E. Research Methodology

In this research, authors used a research method :

1. Qualitative method, is a method aimed at explaining events, social activities, perception, either individually or in groups. This research is descriptive.
2. The research method contains the author's analysis, the author does not jump into the field to find data, but conducts *study literature* in order to get conclusion of problem formulated.
3. Deductive means the author departs from a theory, a concept that is then followed by the search for data.
4. The scope of this research ranges from 2014 to 2020, where there are important events that occurred during these years, among others.

F. Writing Systematic

The writing system of this research used a descriptive writing system by making sub-points that could describe Indonesia's role in supporting Palestinian independence during the reign of Joko Widodo to answer main problem.

In Chapter I, examining the introduction which contained: background, problem formulation, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research methodology, and writing systematic.

Chapter II, explaining about foreign policy fundamentals of Republic of Indonesia, the dynamics of Foreign Politics of Republic of Indonesia to Palestine before Joko Widodo era.

Chapter III, explaining about the dynamics of the Palestinian struggle until 2020, the dynamics of Indonesia's bilateral relations with Palestine.

Chapter IV, explaining about forms of Indonesia's support for Palestinian independence efforts during Joko Widodo Era.

Chapter V, as the closing or the last chapter that consisted of conclusion from the entire as a whole.