1.1. Background Issues

During the second world war, the mandate of Palestine as a state under the rule of the British Empire into the history of who started the conflict in the Middle East region. Preceded by Balfour Declaration\(^1\) which expressed British support for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. This is where the conflict began seizing territory, coupled with the events of the genocide\(^2\) by Nazi Germany against Jews made many of those who fled to neighboring States, then Britain eventually giving the area where they can live in safety from the pursuing armies of Nazi Germany in the Palestinian territories. Since the Jews of Europe moved into the territory of Palestine, Jews all over the world were rushing to come and make their territory in Palestine as a Jewish State. Taking the lead and the seizure of the Israeli occupation of Palestine made the Palestinian population had to flee to other areas and even into neighboring countries. This incident also sparked ongoing conflict between Israel and the Palestine that ultimately the Arab states in

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\(^2\) It was the genocide of millions European Jews and millions of others during World War II, a programme of systematic state-sponsored murder by Nazi Germany, led by Adolf Hitler, throughout Nazi-occupied territory. See *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*, Yale University Press, 2001.
the Middle East who opposed the establishment of the State of Israel in the region make this conflict escalate into conflict Arab - Israel.³ The conflict had lasted a considerable number of victims. Resulted in many civilian casualties and humanitarian tragedy of war is still going despite a ceasefire and Israel's promise to withdraw troops was given. Even the United Nations (UN) and the countries that put pressure on Israel to halt its aggression appear to be less successful.⁴ Effect feud in Palestine, or rather in the Gaza Strip, also brings another dimension of the problem in other parts of the world.

The State of Israel became the main topic of conversation around the corners of the world, due to the attack against the Palestinians, indirectly causing a huge impact for diplomatic relations and other cooperation with countries that disagree with the Israeli invasion of Palestine. One of them is Indonesia; Indonesia has not even had time to establish diplomatic relations or cooperation with Israel, which includes predominantly Muslim Indonesia.

Effect of intense conflict between the two countries are making diplomatic co-operation opportunities and the other became closed because of a very strong protest over Israel's actions come from the citizens of Indonesia. Massive demonstration by Muslim of Indonesia in government offices and embassies of Foreign State⁵ make the government of Indonesia cannot let demonstration

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³ The Arab–Israeli War, which was fought in the months surrounding the formation of the State of Israel, intensified the Arab–Jewish conflict in Palestine. The military events of that war began in November 1947 and were concluded by the armistice agreements in early 1949. See P R Kumaraswamy, Op. Cit. Page 21 – 23.

⁴ Due to a veto by the government of US that fully supports all Israel’s political decisions.

interfere in the political system of the state so that the Government of Indonesia was taking action to reduce the turmoil in this country.

Indonesia has begun its role to help Palestine in April 1955, by signing The Bandung Declaration that express support for “the right of the Arab people of Palestine” and called for the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Palestine and a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

The President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) confirmed his government will be more proactive in the support for Palestinian sovereignty. For example, by calling for hundreds of humanitarian activists from the countries of Asia-Pacific region gathered to discuss the fate of the Palestine. And Indonesia also supports a full membership of Palestine in the UN, called on the countries in the ASEAN and non-aligned movement to join the fight for Palestine. Not only that, Indonesia also has a training program for a number of Palestine on the issue of bureaucracy and administration. The purpose of this activity is to prepare human resources capable and reliable in the future. The conflict between Palestine and Israel that led to the sympathy of Indonesian Muslims have an impact and influence on politics affairs in Indonesia which had issued foreign

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policy is one of them with do not open diplomatic relations of cooperation with Israel.

The Israeli government also had many times to offer cooperation between the state of Israel and Indonesia, but it has always failed due to the opposition of Indonesian society. However, President of Indonesia SusiloBambangYudhoyono ruled out establishing formal diplomatic ties but said: "Any communication between Indonesian and Israeli officials will be oriented to the objective of assisting the Palestinian people in gaining their independence".\(^\text{10}\)

In context with the conflict in the Middle East, Indonesia as the world's largest Islamic adherents state has consistently supported the Palestinian sovereignty is based on United Nations of Security Council (UNSC) resolution No. 242 (1967) and no. 338 (1973).\(^\text{11}\) Indonesia in his capacity as a member of the UN General Assembly became one of the main initiator of the implementation of the UN General Assembly Special Session on 15-16 January 2009 regarding the Palestinian issue. The trial gave birth to Resolution No. A/RES/ES-10/18 which contains support for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1860, as well as appeal to the international community to assist the humanitarian crisis in the Gaza Strip.\(^\text{12}\)

\(^{10}\) "Indonesia rules out diplomatic ties with Israel." 14-10-2005  

\(^{11}\) The resolution states the unconditional return of all Arab territories occupied by Israel and there cognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, as well as establishing a state on its own homeland with East Jerusalem as its capital, under the principle of "land for peace". Not be separated from the contributions made by the government of Indonesia, in December 2008, for the first time since 2004, the UN Security Council has passed Resolution No.1850 regarding the peace process in the Middle East, especially Israel and Palestine.

\(^{12}\) RI presidential rule attachment number 5 of 2010 concerning the national medium term development plan (RPJMN) 2010-2014, BAPPENAS 2010.
And the author will explain the impact and Indonesia's support to maintain political stability of the State due to influences Israeli - Palestinian conflict in a study titled "Indonesia’s Foreign Policy: On Israel – Palestine Conflict Issues."

1.2. Research Question

Based on the background issues above, the research question is: how the influence of Indonesia’s role on multilateral relation towards Israeli - Palestine conflict resolution?

1.3. Research Purposes and Benefits

1.3.1. To determine the effect of the conflict between Israel and the Palestine against the Indonesian state and explaining the Indonesia’s foreign policy on them and also to investigate the relationship between Indonesia with both States and examine the impact of good and bad of Indonesia.

1.3.2. Practically, to provide information and explanations about the effect of the conflict between Israel and Palestine against Indonesia and the attitude role of government of Indonesia. And academically, as a contribution in the development of social and political science student majoring in International Relations in particular for use as an input or additional readings on the basis of subsequent research with research material and objects associated with foreign policy of Indonesia towards Palestine - Israel.
1.4. Literatures Review

Research on the relationship between State - State has pretty much done, With a variety of connection relations between the two actors will involve research on the politics of other countries that affect the State Policy. Research conducted and taken by the researcher is in the form of books, news and journals.

In this study, the position of State - State which wants to study is the position of the Israeli – Palestinian Conflict to national interests and influence policy making and foreign policy of a State. To research how conflicts that affect the State in policy making occurs when regional stability is threatened and caused a lot of new State shall adopt policies and play a role in the conflict issue to shore up its interests in regional and international systems.

In a book titled The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy, by John J Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, describing the Israeli influence on American and the important role and interests of the United States in the Palestinian peace process with Israel. Here the authors express the same discussion but with different actors namely Indonesia. In the book are presented all kinds of roles the United States to reconcile the two countries. And also explained about U.S Interests in the Middle East and the power of the Israel lobby are so thick in the politics of the United States.

Second, the research thesis entitled “Politik Luar Negeri Mesir Pasca Perjanjian Camp David (Peran Mesir bagi Terciptanya Stabilitas Politik di Timur Tengah)” by the University of Indonesia student, Arief RA in 2000. The study describes the state of Egypt after the Camp David to restore confidence in Middle
East countries that do not approve the agreement between Egypt and Israel. And it’s also explained about the efforts of State of Egypt to create political stability in the Middle East region. In that study by using the same concepts and variables with this research, but have the object or different research actors.

And in fact there are many more literatures and writings that discuss the Issue of State's role in another State. However, the author gives only the above literature that is considered closest to the discussion of the concept of this paper. And this study has a pattern in which the diplomacy of Indonesia to support the advancement of foreign policy as well come to be one of the countries which have an important role in world peace, focusing in Israel and Palestine conflict.

1.5. Concept of Foreign Policy and Theory of Decision Making Process

Concept of Foreign Policy explains the collection of the orientation of the external conditions that determine the position of the State in international politics, a set of commitments and plans to act as well as a form of behavior or action taken in dealing with the external environment based on the general orientation and commitment as well as international political objectives of a State. In this paper, the concept of foreign policy will describe how the impact of Israel - Palestinian conflict can affect politics affairs in Indonesia and how Indonesia’s attitudes influence these conflicts.

Foreign policy of a country is a reflection of its national interests so the changes that occur in the State also influence the foreign policy of that State because in a democratic system foreign policy can never be detached from the
demands of domestic politics. So the concept of national interest works on this problem. This concept is where the national interests as the main basis of the bargain between the two countries. Any measures taken and decided by the State shall be based on national interests of that State. In international politics, national interest is considered as an instrument and objectives of the State to survive in the international arena. This concept also takes the perspective of diplomacy as soft power of national interest. Soft power relies on the ability to determine the political agenda in a proper way so as to form another party option. The ability to form another party choice is often associated with power sources that cannot be calculated (intangible power resources). This concept is also equipped with the theory and practice of diplomacy and foreign policy which describes multitrack diplomacy as a way of reconciliation conflict in Middle East.

Indonesia’s foreign relations shall be conducted on the basis of the independent and active foreign policy and dedicated to the national interest, especially to supporting national development in all spheres of life, and for the purpose of establishing a world order based on freedom, lasting peace and social justice. International relations should aim to strengthen international and regional friendly relations and cooperation through various multilateral and regional channels, in accordance with the national interest and potentials. In this regard, the positive image of Indonesia abroad should be enhanced such as by way of cultural activities. Any international developments and changes shall be watched

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carefully in order that appropriate steps can be promptly taken to protect national stability and development from any possible negative impact. At the same time, international developments that provide opportunities to assist and speed up national development should be seized and fully exploited.

In this case, the authors take one of 3 models of decision making by Graham T. Allison to explaining Indonesia’s decision for its foreign policy from his book Essence of decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis, to be the instrument for describing the proses of foreign politic of Indonesia toward Israel – Palestine conflict. The authors take the paradigm of decision making third model in which the authors view of Politics – Bureaucratic, which the unit of analysis of this model is the actions of officials government in applying the authority to the State, as the model most suited to this research. This models will explains that the government of Indonesia does not stand alone in making decisions about the case of Israel - Palestine, but also social process that is foreign policy is the result of the interaction, bargaining games and political process between the various actors and organizations in decision making process.  

It states that no foreign policy is made without referring to the domestic consequences and vice versa. With regard to this study, the influence of domestic politics and foreign policy of Indonesia has mutual influence on each other. Indonesia will not have a foreign policy to support the Palestine if it were not for the influence of the mass and the sympathy of the Muslim people of

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Indonesia to fight for the rights of sovereignty of the Palestinian people. The Muslim majority is one of the causes that people of Indonesia strongly support Palestinian sovereignty while also fighting for the rights of humanity in a democratic system in Indonesia and actively makes Indonesia as one of the supporters of the sovereignty of the Palestine.

So it can be concluded that foreign policy is taken as a result of State action which has its national interests, along with the development actors in international relations, the partnership and cooperation between countries increasingly necessary. Diplomacy here serves as explanatory tools in the role of Indonesia’s national interests in foreign policy issues in particular play a role in Palestine – Israel conflict. This approach will be adopted by researcher to conduct this research.

1.6. Research Method
1.6.1. Types of Research

Type used in this research is descriptive research. The research is to describe data and analyze how Indonesia’s foreign policy towards the Palestinian – Israel issue.

1.6.2. The Scope of Research

The author determines the scope of research to facilitate the focus of this research. The scope of research based on the time limitation is the year 2005 - 2012 which focused the scope based on material since Israel’s unilateral disengagement until The Upgrading Status of Palestine In United Nations which
considered to give a political contribution for Palestine and Israeli conflict and political conditions greatly affect Indonesia, which means that during the reign of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

1.6.3. Techniques of Data Collection

The author uses secondary data as a source of information and materials in conducting this research. The data obtained by conducting study bibliography of books, newspapers, articles or journals, internet sites and some lecture material obtained researcher during the lecture. In addition, researchers also use audio-visual data obtained from television news broadcasts about The Palestinian - Israel and the other, which is considered to contribute to this research.

1.6.4. Techniques of Data Analysis

Methods of data analysis techniques in the writing of this study using qualitative methods of data presentation used by researchers, making this research as a research library that presents the data to analyze the phenomenon that has been determined.

1.6.5. Level of Analysis

This study has two factors of independent and the dependent variable, independent variable is a variable that is used to describe the behavior of the dependent variable, while the dependent variable is a variable whose behavior will be analyzed, foreseen and predicted by the independent variable. In this study the independent variable is the Palestine – Israel conflict while the dependent variable is the foreign policy of Indonesia. This study puts Indonesia at the State level as the unit of analysis because the scope of its country in international politics which
will to analyze. While the level of the second State is Palestine and Israel as an explanatory unit, because of its role which will explain how the problems of the two countries have an impact on Indonesia.17

1.7. Hypotheses

The role of Indonesia as the country's largest Muslim - majority population in the world and one of the State Security Council non-permanent of United Nations and a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement make Indonesia should have a role in conflict resolution both countries. Indonesia has a role in the problems of Palestine - Israel, but that role has not been influential in the conflict between two countries. This is due to Indonesia only being associated with Palestine in the absence of relations with Israel. Indonesia only had a role in the case of Israel through a third party which is the United Nations. Indonesia has quite a significant role towards the Palestinian views of the overwhelming support in the State, but not for Israel. Indonesia’s rejection of any diplomatic relations with Israel made role to help Palestine were impressed prevented. And Indonesia could only do a lot of criticisms of Israeli actions against Palestine as a form of support. So in this case the role of Indonesia has not dominated the politics and the Middle East conflict. In this study, will discuss the Palestine - Israel issues and Indonesia's relationship with both countries based on foreign policy concept and the third model of decision making theory: Politics – Bureaucratic, to analyze the role of Indonesia on the issues of Palestine - Israel and discover how Indonesia’s

foreign policy in the two countries influence this issue for political interests domestically and internationally.

1.8. Framework of Thought

INDONESIA’S FOREIGN POLICY ON ISRAEL – PALESTINE CONFLICT ISSUES

Conflict of Israel and Arab Palestine

Influences in Indonesia

Non - Government

Government
1.9. Systematic Research

In Chapter I, which contains The Introduction, the author will explain the background and formulation of the problem in this study and its framework of thought and research methods.

In Chapter II, the Authors will describe the Israel – Palestine conflict and its influence to the world peace and Indonesia. Then also describe about the factors issue in domestic of Indonesia such as its impact to civil society, organizations and political parties that caused by the Israel – Palestine conflict.

In Chapter III, explain and describe Indonesia’s foreign policy and their role in international resolution for Israel – Palestine conflict.

In Chapter IV, contains the conclusions and suggestions based on the results of this study.