



Indonesian Social Community Contribution to the World Peace: Models of Support for Palestine Conflict Resolution

Mulawarman Hannase, University of Indonesia, School of Strategic and Global Studies, Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, Salemba, Jakarta, Indonesia mulawarmanhannase@ui.ac.id

Abstract- This paper explores how the Indonesian social community which consists of many religious communities and social organizations to respond the recently crisis in Palestine and to support conflict resolution. This article uses two approaches; theological and political approach. Ideological approach adopted to compare the doctrine espoused by Islamist group in Palestine with some Islamists and Muslim Organization in Indonesia. While political approaches used to answer the question how the political support of the Indonesian people against the Israeli Palestinian resolution conflict, in particular the conflict between Hamas (Gaza Strip) and Israel. In dealing with the Palestine issue this paper make (conflict resolution theory) as a tool to identify analyze the core issue of Palestine problem and its potential solution. Based on review of the above problems, it can be found that from an ideological perspective, Palestine Islamist Group has a strong networking in various countries, including Indonesia. Whereas the model of Indonesian Muslims support to the Palestine crisis, at least identified in three forms: pan-Islamism, diplomatic support and humanitarian support. That's mean that Indonesian Muslim community have a highly intention to the international world peace and to make harmony in the world civilization.

Keywords: community, World Peace, Palestine Conflict Resolution

I. INTRODUCTION

The entire world community today witnessed the conflict that has plagued in the Middle East and seemed to be inexhaustible. Before the sticking up of the Arab Spring which caused a bloody conflict in some Arab countries; Tunis, Egypt, Libya, and now Syria, the Palestinian conflict is the most severe problems in the region, even in the whole world. It is very difficult to achieve a resolution of the conflict in this region because of multilayered issues that was created conflict. Today, the Palestine conflict still absolutely in top religious crisis in the world. In addition to their external conflict between Palestine and Israel, it was extremely severe internal conflict involving the major political factions in the country.

In the context of the internal problems, as in the Khalid Hurub view, it was caused by different view in looking at patterns of the struggle for Palestinian independence. In the issue of the interaction with Israel colonization, Hamas in his attitude firmly have consideration against Israel and favoring military confrontations. In this case, Mohammed Hafez called the movement as an uncompromising movement. In the view of Hamas, the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians constitute a religious and civilizations conflict. Thus, Hamas putting the Palestinian conflict as a religious conflict because of the Israeli army does not exclude the holy places of Muslims -like al-Aqsa Mosque - in its military attacks. Hamas is not interested in the path of peace settlement of the conflict but are more likely to use themilitancy struggle. This is in contrast to Fatah which still put the dialogue and peace talks approach to resolve the Palestinian issue.(Khalid Hurub, 1999, 47).

Furthermore, the main question in this paper how the role and contribution of Indonesia as the largest Muslim country in the world in an effort to resolve the conflict in Palestine so far. In the context of Indonesia, it was could hardly be found the literature in detail and comprehensively discussed the Palestinian relationship with Indonesia or Indonesian communities support to the Palestinian problem. However, the attention of the Indonesia people and government on this issue is enormous considering significant. Relating to this issue, it could be found in various printing and online media in the country, articles, opinions and comments suggested how the role of Indonesia and what should the Indonesian government do to end the Israeli Palestinians conflict in particular against the several wars in Gaza in recent years. Regarding the relationship between Indonesia and Palestine, at least we can identify in terms of the three approaches, namely from the ideological perspective or pan-Islamism, from a political standpoint and from the humanism approach.

A. Theoretical Framework of Conflict Resolution

Muhammad Abu Nimr, a prominent conflict resolution scholar in American University Washington, argued that it is essential to recognize that the experience of conflict evokes a deep-seated need for affirmation of identity and restoration of meaning. Conflict resolution does more than address material clashes of

interest; it speaks to social reintegration, restoration and redemption, existential security, personal transcendence and transformation. These concepts are drawn from the backdrop of the sacred, defined by Bateson as “the pattern that connects” the individual to the broadest context within which he or she belongs. The affirmation of individual and group identity achieved through redemptive transformation is essential in giving meaning to the conflict and its resolution. Attempts to divorce the spiritual from conflict resolution practices deny an essential component of healing and social restoration that permits conflicts to be experienced as resolved. (Mohammad Abu Nimer, 1996).

In a world where distance between cultures, religions, and civilizations has collapsed, there is a profound need for cross-cultural and multi-religious studies of peace, peacemaking, coexistence, and reconciliation. Given the persistent frictions between Western and Muslim societies, the need for careful study of Islamic traditions of peace and peacemaking becomes particularly evident. Islam, like all religions, is not only a theological affirmation but also a living historical process with multiple syntheses and expressions that have to be taken into account.

Furthermore, Nathan C. Funk and Abdul Aziz Said made five Islamic approaches to peace:

- **Power Politics: Peace through Coercive Power:** Based on pessimistic reading of human nature, Islam is used as a language for legitimation of power and authority and for the preservation or social order; threats to a given political order are often framed as a threat to Islam. The power-political approach views peace as an absence of war, and underscores political necessities created by the restlessness of political subjects and the threatening posture of external enemies.
- **World Order: Peace through the Power of Law:** Peace is a condition of order defined by the presence of such core Islamic values as justice, human dignity, cultural coexistence and ecological stability, and not merely by an absence of direct violence. A situation in which these values are not present may be characterized as disorderly, unstable and un-Islamic.
- **Conflict Resolution: Peace through the Power of Communication:** Traditional Islamic approaches are explored: reconciliation, methods of mediation and arbitration. These methods affirm a restorative conception of peace and justice, encompassing notions of compensations for losses, attentiveness to issues of “face” or social esteem, renunciation for the sake of the whole and forgiveness.
- **Non-Violence: Peace through Will Power:** Adherence to Islam requires non-violent solidarity against oppression, the promotion of renewal through broad-based social movements and training for programs of direct non-violent action. Only a linkage of just ends with just means can secure authentic justice, peace and human dignity.
- **Transformation: Peace through the Power of Love:** This approach defines peace as a condition of all embracing harmony perceived through the inward renewal and transformation of human consciousness. The cultural community is the context and the receptacle of human realization; renewal takes place within each person through inward cleansing and loving surrender to the divine.

By using these theories the study aim to suggest new ways of organizing knowledge about Islam, within the context of emerging global perspectives on the promotion of human solidarity and the full utilization of cultural and spiritual resources for the advancement of peace. Its kind of peace could be related with the Indonesian community support to the Palestine issue.

B. Ideological Perspective

From the perspective of pan Islamism it can not be denied that the relationship between Indonesian Muslims was very strong with the issue of the Palestinian struggle for independence. Accordingly, the relationship caused by the fact that Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world with a wide range of religious patterns. In addition, the majority of Muslims in Indonesia are Sunni Muslims with two major Islamic organizations, namely Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Both of Islamic Organizations of respectively asserted that the Palestinian issue must be supported by Muslims in Indonesia in order that this country could be free from the bondage of Israel. Both of Islamic Social Organization is also likely to see this issue as an ideological issue that is related to the identity and interests of Islam in the world. Both of Organizations also wants how Muslims reach the resurrection and glory without colonized by other state entities and the so-called pan-Islamism.

The issue of Palestine is also an important issue in view of Muslim scholars in Indonesia. In their views, the Palestinian crisis and a solution to it is often commented upon completion although limited to writing and comment in the social and public media. Academics and intellectuals such as, Ridwan Saidi (Ridwan Saidi 2006, Said Aqil Siraj, Din Syamsuddin, Azyumardi Azra, Zuhairi Misrawi, Hasibullah Sastrawi and more. Azyumardi Azra is one of the scholars who are giving many opinions and comments regarding the Palestinian case. One comment about this case is, Azra optimistic that Indonesia could become a mediator

of the Palestinian crisis. One positive step for it is the President's (Joko Widodo) plan to open the Indonesian representative in Ramallah.

Unlike the intellectuals and academics, the Palestinian issue in the perceptions of the common people in Indonesia was dominated by theological dimension. They mostly do not understand the Palestinian problem in detail, such as Fatah and Hamas problems. For instance, when there is a war in the Gaza Strip which was broadcast live on television and other mass media, they understand that the war involves all elements of society and militias in Palestine. In fact, a lot of war that's was going on recently in the Gaza Strip only involve the Hamas militants and the people of Gaza, although it continues to be supported morally by the West Bank and Palestinian society as a whole. In spite of their limited understanding about the Palestinian conflict, Indonesian Muslims are fully aware that the oppressed Palestinian people should be supported because it is associated with dignity of Muslims (TriasKuncahyono 2008).

Such support can be identified from the various forms. When performed Friday prayers for instance, is commonly found khatib (preacher) who closes his speech by inviting the congregation to pray for the Palestinian struggle. The practice of preachers in Indonesia is also a preacher routine in Arab countries, with the emotional tone denounced and cursed the Jews and Israel and praying for Muslims in Palestine in order to win the war. Thus, generally Indonesian Muslims support the Palestinian issue can not be separated from the theological element.

Throughout the history of the Palestinian conflict, it is most often done in Indonesia as a form of support for Palestinian Muslims are staging demonstrations. The demonstrations against war in Palestine, especially in the Gaza Strip carried out by various groups, both among students on college campuses, Islamic organizations, Islamic parties and various NGOs. Basically that's demonstrations was a form of humanity, as was done by other communities in European countries and the United States. However, if observed, these actions can not be separated from the ideological dimension as the pioneer and mass demonstrations, mostly from Islamic groups with different ideological background, such as Hizbut Tahrir, Tarbiyah Movement and others. The symbols used were very closely with Islamic nuance, such as women who took action to wear the hijab and posts in the banners of Islam.

To be more specific, the ideological relations between the Palestinians and the Indonesian Muslim community can be seen on the network of Islamic parties affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt, namely the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). (Anthony Bubalo and Greg Feely, 2008, 1-5) The majority of researchers and Islamism expert stated that PKS is one of the Islamist parties in the world affiliated with the Brotherhood such as Hamas in Palestine and the AKP in Turkey. (Hakam Yafuz, 2009) As one of the Indonesia Parties, PKS which dominated by Tarbiyah activists have the basics movement adopted from the Brotherhood ideology. One of the Brotherhood thought which influenced the PKS is the view of the necessity of taking political action in fighting for Islam. Without going through political channels, it is impossible the Islamic triumph can be achieved.

As a party that managed to get in power in Indonesia, especially in the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and the Government of Joko Widodo today, PKS _ plays its role in providing support to the Palestinian crisis, especially the crisis in the Gaza Strip. That role could be identified in the form of a statement issued and in the form of humanitarian assistance by sending logistics to the Gaza Strip. In addition, most of the volunteers are scattered in various volunteer organizations also have an affiliation with the PKS and the doctrine of the Muslim Brotherhood.



Source: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20170125171937->

At least, that are the form the ideological perspective of the community and the Indonesian government to the Palestinian crisis. It is undeniable that from the perspective of pan Islamism, as noted, there is a very strong support despite Muslim Indonesia could not give a major influence on conflict resolution and for internal and external conflicts of Palestine.

C. Diplomatic and Political Support

The relationship between Indonesians and the Palestinians from the political standpoint can be seen from some form of relation. The most dominant was the Indonesian government's commitment to support the independence of the Palestinian people, both in the form of diplomatic support by international organizations and the government statement to end the Palestinian crisis. Such support was very reasonable because in Indonesian history, Palestine and Egypt were the first two countries to recognize the independence of Indonesia.

The real support by the Government of Indonesia to the Palestinian was also given in the context of a diplomatic by the opening of Palestinian Embassy in Jakarta, although the embassy's activity was very limited because it can not serve important matters such as consular affairs. Palestinians themselves do not have the authority to grant visas because they blockaded Israel. In context of international relations, the opening of embassies is a kind of recognition of the country's sovereignty. (Ian Brownlie, 1979, 345).

On the contrary, since the establishment of Israel in the Palestinian territories, until now, there has never been the Government's recognition of Indonesia to Israel, although in the period of President Abdurrahman Wahid or Gus Dur was emerged the plan to open diplomatic relations with the state of Israel. However, the discourse was not realized due to strong opposition by elements of the Indonesian people, both from the Islamic organizations, academia as well as public. Until today there was no any diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Israel and both countries not open embassies in Jakarta and Tel Aviv which represents the governments of two countries.

In the event of the Indonesia President election in 2014 ago, one of the issues in the vision and mission of the foreign policy of each candidate for President and Vice President (Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa and Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla) is the Palestinian issue. Both candidates competed to reinforce its support for Palestinian independence. One of candidate had participated in a solidarity action in support for Palestine when the last war in the Gaza Strip. Both are aware that the Palestinian issue is a problem that is supported by the majority of Indonesian people. So this issue will be effectively to be used as a campaign media to gain greater political support. Regardless of whether the issue is only used as a political commodity, or really a sincere support, which certainly proves that the Palestinian political issue was significant for Indonesia Muslims community.



Source: <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/palestina.html>

Then how does Indonesian government to response the strengthening of Islamists (Hamas) in Palestine? The Indonesian government has no any formal relation with Hamas since the establishment of this organization. When Hamas took power after winning elections in 2006, political relations between these organizations and the Government of Indonesia was not visible. There are several factors that led to the loss of political relations between the two sides. Among them, politically, Hamas does not represent the Palestinian government as the PLO once led by former President Yasir Arafat, and has been in a relationship with Islamic countries, including Indonesia.

Nonetheless, at some moment, the Government of Indonesia, consciously or not, to support the struggle of Hamas in various throes of conflict in the Gaza Strip in recent years. When there was war in Gaza Strip, the Indonesian government continues to provide support to the Palestinian struggle represented by Hamas in the Gaza Strip and condemned the brutality of Israel militant. In providing support, the Government of Indonesia was sometimes criticized by some quarters. For example, when the war in Gaza, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono issued a statement that the Palestinian issue is entirely a political issue not a religious problem. This statement was criticized by many who thought that the Palestinian problem can not be separated from the issue of religion and politics.

An effort to establish political relations with Indonesia carried out by the Hamas movement recently. In 2014 a Hamas delegation visited Indonesia to explore the opening of political relations with Indonesia. The Hamas delegation visited the Indonesian Parliament for approval the establishment of formal relations between Indonesia and Hamas. However, it was not successful because the various parties do not agree to this effort, including MUI, NU and Muhammadiyah. One of the groups that explicitly rejects was Muhammadiyah. As stated by the Muhammadiyah general chairman Din Syamsuddin, the opening of diplomatic relations between the Government and Hamas will be a problem because the current government has a formal relationship with the Palestinian Government Official. So to avoid duality of the relationship between Indonesia and Palestine, Indonesia must be only recognized the Palestinian Authority, while Hamas does not represent the Palestinian Authority.



Source: <https://internasional.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/palestina-israel>

Until today, the Government of Indonesia continues to make a serious attempt to strive for the independence of Palestine. In the commemoration event of Asian-African Conference (AAC) in 2015 held in Indonesia, the Palestinian Authority, represented by Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah was not want to waste valuable opportunity to build the support from the countries of Asia and Africa to support independence. The momentum was very good indeed, where one of discussion focus in the confrence was about the Middle East crisis and how to end the conflicts in the region. There were two important issues discussed in the context of the Middle East conflict are the problem of Palestinian independence and the issue of IS terrorism.

Referring to the implementation of AAC in Bandung in 1955, the main theme discussed the countries participating in the Conference was the problem of colonialism. It was still a lot of the colonial countries and yet di not gained independence. One of the countries that experienced the colonial occupation was Palestine. After 60 years of first ACC that was call for the elimination of colonialism, in fact, there are countries in this world that is not free today. In a sense, the Asian-African Conference still fails to bring the mission of independence for countries in Asia and Africa because the Palestinians have not been able to achieve his independence.

Indonesian President Joko Widodo in his speech in front of conference participants expressly called to Palestinian independence, and agreed by the leaders of Asian and African countries were present. The final decision of the Conference produced three documents, one of that contains the declaration of aPalestine independent. However, if observed, numerous calls by leaders of Asian and African countries can not be considered as a concrete step and can not give any influence on the Israeli-Palestinian peace. Since the first event ofAAC 1955 until today, all countries that are members of the Conference, especially the Islamic countries want the independence of Palestine. But the support has not in fact produced anything.

D. HumanitarianAid

As wel known that when there is a conflict, especially armed conflict, it of course would have resulted in human casualties. (Johan Galtung, 2007). In this case, the Palestinian conflict was one of the longest conflicts and caused many victims on both sides. Not only from the Palestinian side, on the Israeli side also claimed many victims. However, the number of casualties on the Palestinian side is much more than the victims of the Israelis. Ironically, casualties of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are mostly civilians.

To see the relation between Indonesia and Palestine from the perspective of humanism, it is most fitting to be discussed how the efforts of the international community in helping the victims of conflict in Palestine. In the context of Indonesia, the Palestinian crisis is always to be society and governments concern, so that efforts to contribute in this issue are to continuiosas a form of solidarity and no doubt that the strength of

religious solidarity between Indonesia and Palestine. The attempt to give humanitarian aid was in some form. Among other things, assistance in education, health, and most do was to provide financial assistance. The significant assistance has been done by the Muslim community and the Indonesian government was direct assistance in the form of money, food, medicine and health infrastruktur (hospital). This assistance provided through government agencies, volunteer organizations and international humanitarian organizations. There are so many volunteer organizations that concern to mobilize assistance to the Palestinians, especially Gaza. Such organizations: MER-C (*Medical Emergency Rescue Committee*), Indonesian Red Crescent the Indonesian Committee for Solidarity with Palestine (KISPA), the National Committee of the Palestinian People (KNRP), and others. All of these organizations basically have the same goal of collecting funds from the people of Indonesia and submit them directly to the residents of the Gaza Strip, in the form of money, food and medicine. One of the important achievements of some of these organizations is the success of the volunteers Mercy Hospital building in the Gaza Strip.

The militancy of Indonesian volunteers to help the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip was largest than others. Many of Indonesian volunteer who have many years of living in the Gaza Strip with humanitarian missions. One of them is Abdullah Onim, a volunteer who is still in the Gaza Strip and also a correspondent for one of the leading television channels in Indonesia. In the event of the Israeli air force attack against a ship carrying logistic aided to the Gaza Strip in May 2010, the Mavi Marmara from Turkey, some Indonesian volunteers also participated in the ship-one of them the head of KISPA Ustadz Ferry Nour-although no one becomes a victim. This ship was not able to penetrate the Gaza Strip because it was intercepted by the Israeli military. These events later received international condemnation including from the Government of Indonesia.

Until today, the activity of the Indonesian volunteers is very limited because it is difficult to deliver aid to the Gaza Strip. After the falling of Egypt President Muhammad Mursi from his power in mid 2014, which ousted President Mohammed al-Sisi this time, the Gaza Strip can not be penetrated by the volunteers because of the attitude of the Egyptian Government very repressive against the Brotherhood links. The Egyptian government shut down the Rafah border for fear the intense interaction between the Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.

II. CONCLUSION

From the above explanation it can be concluded that the shape of Indonesia's support to the Palestinians could be identified in three types; ideological, political and humanism. From the standpoint of ideology, Indonesian community has always supported Palestine issue in a variety of expressions. Praying for Palestinians in a Friday sermon, staged and others support form of expression by Indonesian Muslim society to the struggle of the Palestinian people is always existed. From a political standpoint, the Indonesian government has always supported the Palestinian struggle for independence, either in the form of a statement or through international organizations. From the humanism perspective, Indonesia is including of many countries that provide humanitarian aid to the Gaza Strip.

Model of support for Palestine issu also can not be separated by political interests and elements of sectarianism. The existence of Iran and other Arab countries in case of Fatah and Hamas competition could not be separated from the Sunni and Shiite rivalry. Regarding Indonesia's relationship with Palestine, it also can not be separated from three standpoints; Pan-Islamism viewpoint, political and Humanism. The accumulation of these three issues make the support of Indonesian Muslim community to the Palestine is considered strong enough.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ali AbuNimeh, "Hamas and the Two State Solution: Villain, Victim, or Missing Ingredient," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XV, No. 3, (2008).
2. Yossi Mekelberg and Greg Shapland. *Israeli-Palestinian Peacemaking The Role of the Arab States*. Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2019.
3. Mekelberg, Y. and Shapland, G. (2018), *Israeli-Palestinian Peacemaking: What Can We Learn From Previous Efforts?*, Briefing, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/israeli-palestinian-peacemaking-what-can-we-learn-previous-efforts> (accessed 8 Jan. 2019).
4. Mohammad Abu-Nimer. "Conflict Resolution in an Islamic Context: Some Conceptual Questions." *In Peace & Change*, Vol. 21, no. 1. January, 1996.
5. SherifaZuhur, "Hamas and Israel: conflicting Strategies of Group-Based Politic", dalam NejcKardelj (ed.), *Israel Versus Hamasi* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2010).

6. Michael Irving Jensen, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009).
7. ICJ, *Relocation of the United States Embassy to Jerusalem (Palestine v United States of America)*, Application Instituting Proceedings, 28 September 2018.
8. KuelJok, "Conflict of National Identity in Sudan" *Academic Dissertation*, University of Helsinki, (2012).
9. Osama Abu Rashid dan Paul Syam, "Hamas: Tashaddud 'Aqa'idiwaMurunahSiyaasiyyah", *SilsilahTarjamat al-Zaitunah* 47, (Januari 2010).
10. Victor Kattan, 'Why US Recognition of Jerusalem Could be Contrary to International Law' 47 *Journal of Palestine Studies* 72.(2018)
11. Robert Satloff, "Origins, Tactics, Strategy, and Response" dalam *Hamas Triumphant, Implication for Security, Politics, Economy, and Strategy*, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy (2006).
12. Abu Nimr tentang studi perdamaian bisadilihat dalam Muhammad Abu Nimer, *Nonviolence and Peacebuilding in islam* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2003).
13. Mahmud Zihar, *Ishkaliyyah al-Khitab al-Siyasi al-Islami al-Mu'asir* (Beirut: Dar al-Mustaqbal, tt.).
14. Ashraf al-'Ajrami, "al-Mar'ahwa al-Intikhabat" *MajallahTasamuh*, Edisi 5, (2004).
15. Ali Abunimeh, "Hamas and The Two State Solution: Villain, Victim, or Missing Ingredient," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XV, No. 3, Summer 2008.
16. Jim Zanotti (ed.), "Israel and Hamas: Conflict in Gaza (2008-2009)" *Congressional Research Service*, (Februari 2009).
17. Aaron D. Pina, "Fatah and Hamas: the New Palestinian Factional Reality", *CSR Report for Congress* (Maret 2006), 2.
18. David Potter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh, Paul Lewis, *Democratization* (USA: Polity Press in Association with the Open University, 2000).
19. John L. Esposito & John O. Voll, *Islam and Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
20. Komaruddin Hidayat dan Ahmad Gaus AF (ed.). *Islam Negara dan Civil Society* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2005), 279.
21. Majid Khadduri, *Arab Contemporaries, the Role of Personalities in Politics* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press).
22. Hakan Yilmaz, "Islam, Sovereignty, and Democracy: A Turkish View", *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (Summer, 2007).
23. David Held, *Models for Democracy* (London: Blackwell Publisher, 2000), 294.
24. Sami Zubaida, *Islam the People and the State: Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009).