



Indonesia's Foreign Policy Post-Reform in the United Nations Security Council

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Received : December 23, 2023

Accepted : April 3, 2023

Published : April 30, 2023

Citation: Lukman, M, Z. (2023). Indonesia's Foreign Policy Post-Reform in the United Nations Security. Ilomata International Journal of Social Science, 4(2), 143-156. <https://doi.org/10.52728/ijss.v4i2.666>

ABSTRACT: Indonesia has a national interest in carrying out the constitutional mandate in terms of maintaining active involvement to affirm that independence is the right of all nations and colonialism is contrary to the arguments of humanity and justice. Therefore, through United Nations Security Council, Indonesia rejects all forms of colonialism, including issues between Israel and Palestine. This research focuses on Indonesia's foreign policy and its capacity as a Non-Permanent Member of the UN Security Council. The method used is a qualitative method with a literature study that is validated through an explicit confirmation process at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while the analytical framework used is a comparative foreign policy perspective to map the factors that influence the process of making Indonesian foreign policy in different terms of office, that is president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono 2007-2008 and Joko Widodo 2019-2020. The findings of this study indicate that consideration of enacting Indonesia's foreign policy on Palestine is a sustainable policy with the roots of the constitutional mandate and Indonesia's commitments in the past, that's why almost no major changes can be found even though they have gone through the presidential transition process. Palestine also can be has a vital position for Indonesia considering that Palestine is the only conflicting country that has always existed in a formal discussion of Indonesian state documents. The difference can be found in how each reign reacts to external factors such as the invasion or blockade that Israel has done.

Keywords: Comparative Policy; International Conflict; Israel; National Interest; Palestina



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INTRODUCTION

The international system implies disorder and the possibility of chaos often referred to as a state of international anarchy. This tendency to move towards tension and conflict encourages long debates in looking at how the nature of international security is based on various theoretical aspects. Strengthening efforts based on the derivatives of collective security values from a liberal approach offer an optimistic outlook in assessing the future of international politics ([Heywood](#),

2013), especially if it is based on the idea of Multilateralism ([Ruggie, 1992](#)), which allows countries in the world to build a potential peaceful atmosphere through a forum that becomes where international cooperation mechanisms such as the United Nations (UN) take place.

To realize world peace based on freedom, eternal peace, and social justice, following the mandate of the opening paragraph of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, paragraph 4, Indonesia participates actively in various international activities, both regionally and globally. Indonesia joined the United Nations as the 60th member on September 28, 1950, specifically for the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Indonesia has been elected 4 times as a representative from the Asia Pacific region in the period 1973-1974, 1995-1996, 2007-2008, and 2019-2020 ([The United Nations in Indonesia | United Nations in Indonesia, n.d.](#)). Indonesia's candidacy as a non-permanent member of the UNSC is a manifestation of fulfilling national interests which are mandated by the country's constitution, considering that the UNSC is an important decision-maker in global security issues because it has a vital role in the formulation of resolutions or other policies. Thus, Indonesia will have the opportunity to provide views and input in determining policies on world problems (Pusat P2K Multilateral & PACIS, 2017)

One of the countries that have become the focus of the dynamics of Indonesia's foreign relations is Palestine. Indonesia has consistently supported the independence of the Palestinian people since the administration of President Soekarno to President Joko Widodo, it is based on historical background, and national interests in the form of Indonesia's commitment to the Asian-African Conference and also as a form of increasing Indonesia's contribution to the international community. Bilaterally, Palestine continues to seek recognition from various countries where until September 14, 2015, 136 countries out of 193 UN members recognized Palestine as a state ([Isu Palestina. | Portal Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, n.d.](#)), even though Palestine is still the only country participating in the 1955 Asian-African Conference that was not yet independent and received full statehood in the United Nations.

This study aims to demonstrate how post-reform Indonesia's role as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in dealing with conflicts between Israel and Palestine, as well as how internal and external factors influence Indonesia's foreign policy formulation. The results will be transformed into a comparative descriptive form using a comparative foreign policy perspective (CFP). The perspective emerged as a variant of the study of international relations and politics in the mid-20th century, which then developed as a framework for policy analysis. This perspective links the study of international relations (the way states relate to each other in international politics) with domestic politics (functions of government and its relationship between individuals, groups, and institutions). CFP analysis begins with a theory that identifies various factors, actors, and conditions that can influence a country's foreign policy ([Blavoukos & Bourantonis, 2014](#)). Simply put, the perspective can be studied into two factors which are external and intern ([Kaarbo et al., 2012](#)). External factors of foreign policy can be found in the position in which countries place themselves in the international system, which can limit the behavior of other countries. Internal factors of foreign policy can consist of various aspects ([Cantir & Kaarbo, 2016](#)) such as government institutions, bureaucratic structures and processes, community groups, public opinion, core values of national identity, and the individual factor of the leader ([Hermann, 1980](#)).

Several articles study Indonesia's foreign policy that focused on one actor ([Jubaidi & Budiman, 2021](#); [Mantik & Budiana, 2022](#); [Ubaedillah et al., 2023](#)) and comparative models that frequently present foreign policy comparisons between countries ([Hermawan & Habir, 2015](#); [Indraswari, 2022](#); [Muttaqien, 2013](#); [Sitamala, 2020](#)). Comparing two actors in one country is still a lack of exploration, especially regarding Indonesia's involvement in the UN Security Council. Therefore, to obtain a comprehensive and systematic assessment, an investigation of two government actors' foreign policy with continuous terms of office is still required. The fact that Indonesia has been involved in the membership of the UN Security Council is interesting for further study. The relationship between Indonesia's domestic aspects and the external strategic environment creates the formulation of the problem of how to do a comparative analysis of the considerations taken by Indonesia's foreign policy as a Non-Permanent Member of the UN Security Council for the 2007-2008 and 2019-2020 periods regarding the Israeli-Palestinian issue. The hope is that the growth of new knowledge about various matters between Indonesia and its membership in the UN Security Council can help build a climate of peace in the Middle East.

METHOD

The research method used is a qualitative method that focuses on literature studies by utilizing library resources to obtain research materials. The data obtained is then processed through in-depth analysis, classification, filtering of relevant information, and analysis based on the perspective used which is comparative foreign policy. There are two reasons why a literature study is an option. Firstly the problems encountered are considered more suitable to be answered through literature research. Moreover, in some cases, field data is not significant enough to answer research questions so the empirics information collected by others is preferred ([Mustika Zed, 2008](#)). The primary data is collected from various papers made public by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the United Nations, then analyzed and classified into a set of particular points that are subsequently confirmed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs via the PPID feature on its website. While secondary data consists of books, journals, and supporting electronic publications deemed relevant to the study.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Constitutional Basis and Style of Foreign Politics

Table 1. Constitutional Summary of Indonesia's Foreign Policy-Making Toward Palestine.

Regime	Constitutional Basis
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	1. Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, paragraphs 1 and 4. 2. Development Vision and Mission in the 2004-2009 RPJMN. 3. Point 3 of the 2004-2009 National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN).

	4. The main activities included in it are: "Promoting and actively increasing the role in every international forum for the immediate resolution of the Palestinian issue fairly through the United Nations and ending the Israeli occupation, as part of efforts to contribute to creating world peace."
Joko Widodo	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, paragraphs 1 and 4.2. Development Vision in the 2015-2019 RPJMN3. The 3rd mission, namely "Realizing a free-active foreign policy and strengthening identity as a maritime country."4. 8 Directions of national policies and strategies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.5. 3rd point Improve Indonesia's role and influence as a middle-power country in the international world, and 4th point Strengthening economic diplomacy.6. Point 2 of the 17 Policy Directions to Increase Indonesia's role and influence as a middle power country in the international world, reads: "Strengthening diplomacy in resolving conflicts in the Middle East, especially in resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict."

Source: Processed Data

Two general dichotomies are often faced when discussing a foreign policy that is two paradigms concerning the strategy and orientation of a country's foreign policy ([Gravelle et al., 2017](#)), namely internationalism and isolationism. Internationalism has simply defined as an outward-looking foreign policy emphasizing multilateralism and demanding active involvement in many international issues. Meanwhile, isolationism ([Kertzer, 2013](#)) focuses on domestic issues and reduces involvement in international issues or inward-looking. The most prominent feature of the internationalist policy is high foreign political activism, especially in participation in global forums, while isolationism has been seen as an attempt to withdraw from international relations to improve domestic conditions ([Rosyidin, 2014](#)).

The democratic election of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) as President of Indonesia in 2004 gave rise to some public hopes in resolving some of the domestic problems resulting from the 1997 crisis. One of SBY's tasks was to revitalize Indonesia's international role so it could return to playing an active role and contributing to global issues, As well as the fulfillment of national interests through foreign policy instruments. At the 50th anniversary of the 2005 Asian-African Conference, SBY offered the New Asian-African Strategic Partnership (NAASP), Which was an early manifestation of Indonesia's desire under SBY's government to return to being active in the international community ([Beni Saputra, 2013](#)). Ten years of SBY government implemented a proactive foreign policy using the jargon of a thousand friends without opponents (a thousand friends with zero enemies). Consequently, Indonesia in the SBY government was often active in the arena of international relations (outward-looking) with a style that put forward Indonesia's positive image in participating in international forums ([Sudira et al., 2019](#)).

When carrying out his foreign policy, President SBY use a concept of Soft Power, which has become a separate identity for SBY ([Widhiyoga & Harini, 2019](#)). This philosophy was also emphasized by SBY while carrying out Indonesia's foreign policy, SBY did not want to implement

hard power but soft power ([Sukma, 2011](#)), and it was implemented during his two terms. Soft power is a form of diplomacy used to carry out in various fields other than the military, such as cultural exchanges, economic cooperation, education, investment, interfaith dialogue, and so on ([Nye, 2021](#)). SBY conveyed his criticism of the use of hard power, through his statement: "I conveyed criticism in front of the leaders that there are still many ideas that use hard power. The 20th century was a century full of violent powers marked by two world wars and conflicts. I hope this century can become the soft power of the century."

On the other hand, Indonesian President Joko Widodo was inaugurated on October 20, 2014, which then determined five foreign policy directions: (1) border management; (2) strengthening the role of Indonesia in ASEAN; (3) strengthening economic diplomacy; (4) Improving the quality of protecting the rights and safety of Indonesian citizens/legal materials abroad (WNI/BHI) in particular the protection of Indonesian workers (TKI); and (5) Indonesia's role in global cooperation. This foreign policy is defined as the implementation of Nawacita's vision which is the president's political thoughts on foreign policy. With this policy direction, President Jokowi carried out a foreign policy that was different from the previous government, namely a foreign policy that, although firm in international politics, emphasized domestic needs ([Haryono, 2019](#)). The principle of free and active foreign policy must remain one of the principles carried out by Indonesian leaders ([Connelly, 2014](#)), where it also applies to President Joko Widodo: "I want to emphasize that in my administration, Indonesia is the third largest country with the largest Muslim population in the world, as the largest country in Southeast Asia, we will continue to carry out a foreign policy that is free and active which is interpreted for the national interest and to create world peace based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice" ([Sudira et al., 2019](#)).

Jokowi's election as president implies a different style of Indonesia's foreign policy. Jokowi has the impression of displaying a low-profile foreign policy or reducing too much appearance abroad and focusing more on domestic affairs to improve and strengthen domestic stability so that the strengthening and development of the national economy appear to be the main priority of Indonesian foreign policy. Unlike his predecessors, Jokowi's foreign policy is more inward-looking than outward-looking. If President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is known as an internationalist president who is very active on the global stage, in contrast to Jokowi who tends to be concerned with domestic issues, this can be seen from the idea of middle power diplomacy which places Indonesia as a regional power with global involvement. "selectively" by giving priority to issues that are directly related to the interests of the nation and people of Indonesia. This statement can be interpreted that there is a commitment to shift priorities from international activism to the domestication of Indonesian foreign policy ([Rosyidin, 2014](#)). The terminologies "inward-looking" and "outward-looking" are criticized in contemporary debates on Indonesian foreign policy because it looks like having weak accuracy. Jokowi himself refused to call Indonesia an "inward-looking" country. Nevertheless, terminology such as "inward-looking" is still useful to refer to Indonesia's tendency under Jokowi to use domestic interests as the basis for Indonesia's decisions to involve or not involve itself in various multilateral forums ([Alvian et al., 2018](#)).

Table 2. Comparative Summary of Indonesia's Foreign Policy Patterns

Regime	Diplomatic Tendencies	Foreign Policy Orientation	Principle
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	High Profile, Actively involved in various world stages.	Outward-looking, leading to the restoration and development of Indonesia's image in the international community.	Free-Active with an emphasis on soft power diplomacy through the idea of a million friends, zero enemies.
Joko Widodo	Low Profile, focus on domestic issues and reduce involvement in international issues.	Inward-looking, emphasis on all activities should lead to the achievement of domestic interests.	Free-Active with the character of pragmatic diplomacy, emphasizing middle power diplomacy which is selective in the involvement of international issues.

Source: Processed Data

Identification of Factors Influencing Indonesia's Foreign Policy on Palestine (2004-2009).

According to the perspective adopted, foreign policy formulation has been influenced by two factors that are external and internal. The following are descriptions of the factors affecting Indonesian foreign policy formulation focus on the Israel-Palestine conflict. In 2006, Indonesia was elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for 2007-2009. Indonesia's non-permanent membership in the UN Security Council is a "political investment" to restore the international community's trust in Indonesia and also contributes significantly to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict ([RPJMN Evaluation, 2004-2009](#)).

The program to affirm the commitment to world peace in the ([RPJMN 2004-2009, n.d.](#)) was one of the cornerstones of Indonesia's foreign policy direction during the reign of President SBY. This program aims to emphasize Indonesia's commitment to implementing and formulating international rules and laws, maintaining the importance of the principles of multilateralism in international relations, and opposing unilateralism, aggression, and the use of all forms of violence in solving international problems. There is one main activity related to Palestine within this RPJMN: "Promoting and actively increasing the role in every international forum for the immediate resolution of the Palestinian issue fairly through the United Nations and ending the Israeli occupation, as part of efforts to contribute to creating world peace."

Regarding the future of solving the Palestinian problem, on various occasions, President SBY often stated that it was time for Indonesia to take an essential role in helping to find a comprehensive solution to the Palestinian problem. Therefore, the United Indonesia Cabinet (KIB) under the leadership of President SBY has outlined policies so that the Indonesian government can show

higher concern for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and be involved to play a major role in efforts to find a peaceful resolution to the problem. This commitment was spelled out in the 2004 Working Meeting of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the Heads of Representatives with four opportunities that could be exploited in initiating the role of handling the Palestinian issue, which is Indonesia as the largest moderate Muslim country; Indonesia's close relations with countries in the Middle East region; Indonesia's influence and position in intra-regional organizations such as the Non-Aligned Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC); and the golden momentum of the 2005 Asia-Africa Summit in Jakarta; and Indonesia as the third largest democratic country (Strategic Plan, 2004-2009).

During the period of Indonesia's tenure in the UN Security Council 2007-2008, most of the problems in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that were in the spotlight were due to the victory of the Hamas faction in the legislative elections in 2006, which then strengthened its control in Gaza. Hamas itself as an organization has been branded a terrorist group by Israel, the United States, the European Union, the United Kingdom, and several other countries ([Toomey & Singleton, 2014](#)). Since then, the group in Gaza has fought three battles against Israel. Indonesia and other members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), condemned Israel's military aggression against Palestine and Lebanon in July 2006. Indonesia supports UN Security Council Resolution 1701, which ordered a ceasefire between the two sides. Indonesia believes that every act of aggression must stop and restart dialogue and negotiations toward achieving a just, comprehensive, and lasting solution for the realization of peace in the Middle East ([RPJMN Evaluation, 2004-2009](#)).

In carrying out total diplomacy, the government realizes the importance of public participation and the mass media as a representation of second-track diplomacy, which is also an essential factor in the success of Indonesia's foreign policy. Through partnerships with the public and the mass media, it is expected to strengthen institutional reliability and accountability as well as the policy-making process ([RPJMN Evaluation, 2004-2009](#)). This also applies to the Israeli-Palestinian issue, the response from the public, be it individuals or community groups, is always the government's concern. As an illustration, in 2007, the Pew Research Center conducted a global survey, one of which discussed the views of the international community regarding the Middle East conflict. As a result, in the Middle East as well as in Asian countries, which are mostly Muslim, the overwhelming sympathy lies with the Palestinian people. The most one-sided opinion is in Egypt, which borders Gaza where 93% of Egyptians sympathize with the Palestinians. In Indonesia, the value shown is quite high where 68% of people sympathize with Palestine and 4% for Israel.

Figure 1 Views of the Middle East Conflict

	Middle East Sympathies		(Vol)	(Vol)	DK
	Israel	Palestinians	Both	Neither	
	%	%	%	%	%
United States	49	11	5	17	18
Canada	24	21	6	29	21
Germany	34	21	4	34	8
France	32	43	4	16	5
Sweden	18	29	7	28	18
Britain	16	29	9	26	20
Spain	11	27	14	36	13
Italy	9	16	12	50	13
Czech Rep.	37	14	6	26	17
Slovakia	31	17	6	23	23
Ukraine	15	11	13	41	20
Russia	14	16	13	40	16
Bulgaria	10	20	28	20	22
Poland	9	13	9	48	21
Morocco	7	90	1	*	2
Lebanon	4	70	10	16	*
Turkey	4	64	1	13	17
Jordan	2	88	3	7	1
Kuwait	1	86	2	7	4
Egypt	*	93	1	5	1
India	30	20	17	9	25
South Korea	19	17	18	29	17
Japan	13	7	8	46	26
China	8	29	18	18	26
Bangladesh	6	79	4	3	8
Malaysia	5	67	3	7	19
Indonesia	4	68	5	10	13
Pakistan	2	76	1	5	17
Ivory Coast	61	16	5	17	*
Kenya	39	28	21	8	4
Uganda	38	19	8	14	22
Ethiopia	37	25	8	27	3
Ghana	35	22	19	11	13
Nigeria	29	44	14	5	8
South Africa	28	19	19	20	14
Tanzania	25	27	5	23	20
Mali	13	40	17	24	5
Senegal	6	52	3	33	6

* Less than 1%.

Question: Now thinking about the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

This question was not asked in the Palestinian territories or Israel. See topline for Latin American results.

Source: (Pew Research Center, 2007).

Identification of Factors Influencing Indonesia's Foreign Policy on Palestine (2004-2009).

The implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy has two main aspects: to support the achievement of national interests and attempt to contribute to the benefit of the international world (Strategic Plan, 2015-2019). The free-active foreign policy of the Republic of Indonesia has been carried out using an all-directions foreign policy approach (Clark, 2011), in which, at a practical level, good relations and cooperation between all countries are implemented with the spirit of a million friends and zero enemies. This approach is sharpened by Indonesia's focus on becoming a bridge for various interests and positions in social justice. Taking into account the complexity of handling the Palestinian issue, Indonesia's efforts will be focused on efforts to ensure that the UN Security Council continues to pay attention to this issue, including by holding various UN Security Council meetings in Palestine regularly. The issue of Israel's illegal occupation of the Palestinian territories and peace in the Middle East will not materialize as long as the

Palestinian-Israeli conflict is not resolved in a fair manner using parameters previously agreed upon by the international community (Imseis, 2020), that parameters are the keyword for resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Naser-Najjab, 2014). These parameters have been clarified through various UN Security Council Resolutions, which means that all parties should respect and follow up on them, including regarding the status of East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine (Kattan, 2018) which on several occasions the President of the United States, Donald Trump wants to make it the capital of Israel which then sparked a global debate (Khalidi, 2020).

Domestic support such as the circulating public opinion in society is one of the major considerations in responding to international issues. Indonesia considers several dimensions in its foreign policy, two of them are the governance dimension, which measures public opinion about "Competency and Fairness" including the commitment of a country to global issues. This thing makes the mass media have an important role in the success of Indonesia's foreign policy agenda, which is then carried out through the dissemination of news that forms a positive opinion in society. In an analysis of its performance, one of the issues that shows achievement in this regard is the activity and strategic role of Indonesia's diplomatic efforts related to humanity, especially support for Palestinian independence. Along with this, tolerance, pluralism, and democracy are considered to be Indonesia's national identities which will continue to be intensified in international cooperation (Pusat P2K Multilateral & PACIS, 2017). In some ways, this can be interpreted as a public diplomacy asset, in the form of things that are owned by Indonesia, to win the hearts and minds domestically and internationally, among others, and as the third largest democratic country in the world with the progressive economy, a pluralist society, tolerance, moderate Islam, and cultural diversity (Annual Reports, 2019a).

A survey (SMRC, 2021) shows a significant public response to the Palestinian issue: around 88% of residents know that recently there has been an increase in conflict between Israel and Palestine. Of those who know about the Israeli and Palestinian conflicts, around 71% think that the Israeli side is guilty in that conflict and 3% think the Palestinian side is guilty, and there are 5% think both are guilty and 21% don't answer. Apart from that, there is also a survey showing opinions about the government's role and expectations of the government regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, showing the following results: among those who know the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there are around 48% expect the government to declare support for Palestine, while those who expect the government to support Israel is only 2%. There were 42% who hoped the government would help find a middle ground for peace between the two parties, who did not answer 9%. The majority (63%) of residents who know about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict think that the Indonesian government has so far played a big/very big role in helping resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with a small/very small rating of 19%, and 18% who did not answer. This data shows that the government's alignment and consistency have shown continuously since the early reign of the Republic of Indonesia is directly proportional to public opinion.

President SBY and Jokowi interpreted foreign policy decisions on Israel and Palestine as being in the national interest. It is undeniable that the Israel-Palestine Issue is one of the main issues that has always been a concern to the international community because both the SBY government and Jokowi see that taking sides with Palestine also brings benefits in building Indonesia's image in global forums, especially this is in line with the identity they carry, which is the state democracy with the largest Muslim population in the world. It is directly proportional to the effort to maintain

domestic socio-political stability, considering that the majority of public opinion is sympathetic to the plight of the Palestinian nation (Cervi & Marín-Lladó, 2022; Ukk et al., 2019). Moreover, the president's style or traits as a policy-making actor have no significant influence. It is comprehensible given that internal variables such as the image that has been developed and the history of Indonesian independence have become crucial concerns and even become a natural thing or the primary consideration for foreign policy decision-making in Indonesia. External factors such as aggression, illegal settlement policies, and America's alignment with Israel, on the other hand, did not show much difference in the performance of the Indonesian government at the UN Security Council, other than President SBY frequently taking a direct role in conveying his vision, whereas, President Joko Widodo allowed the ministry structure to take a more direct role.

Two main things are interesting after the process of reviewing the position of Palestine's literature for Indonesia. First, Palestine occupies a very important position or can be said to be strategic for Indonesia not only because of historical commitments but also visible of how Palestine is in writing and specifically always present in every formulation of Indonesia's foreign policy as contained in macro state documents such as the RPJMN and The Strategic Plan. Second, it is different from the tendency of other political spheres where when the political configuration of a region or agency changes, the effect of individual or group interests under elected actors oftentimes interfere with previous policies, in the foreign policy sphere related to the Israeli-Palestinian issue, political activity runs progressively and continuously so this shows that the influence of the existence of Palestine is very strong so that it becomes a vulnerable step for political actors to take policies that are different from the values that have been internalized in the culture of the Indonesian, given the public opinion against Palestine is not impossible that mistakes in decision making will have an impact on domestic stability.

Table 3. Summary of Considerations for Making Indonesian Foreign Policy on Palestine.

Regime	Identification of Factors Influencing Indonesia's Foreign Policy Making Against Palestine as a Non-Permanent Member of the UNSC.	
	Internal Factors	External Factors
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004-2009)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Core values and Indonesian national identity: Indonesia as the largest moderate Muslim country, Indonesia's close relations with countries in the Middle East region, Indonesia's influence and position in intra-regional organizations such as the Non-Aligned Organization, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and the Asian-African Summit, and Indonesia as the third largest democratic country. 2. Opinion and public attitude of the Indonesian people, the majority of whom support Palestine. 3. The national interest is in the form of a constitutional mandate. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Israel's military aggression against Palestine and Lebanon in July 2006 as the consequence of the victory of the Hamas faction in the 2006 legislative elections in Gaza. <p>The commitment United States of America as the Permanent Member of the UN Security Council, which sided with Israel in the International Forum.</p>

	<p>4. History of bilateral relations and Indonesia's commitments.</p> <p>5. Restoration of Indonesia's image and "political investment" to restore the international community's trust in Indonesia.</p>
<p>Joko Widodo (2014-2019)</p>	<p>1. Core values and national identity are in line with the definition of public diplomacy assets in the form of things that belong to Indonesia, to win the hearts and minds, domestically and internationally, as follows: The third largest democracy in the world, Progressive economy, Pluralist and tolerant society, Moderate Islam and cultural diversity.</p> <p>2. Opinion and public attitude of the Indonesian people, the majority of whom support Palestine.</p> <p>3. The national interest is in the form of a constitutional mandate.</p> <p>4. History of bilateral relations and Indonesia's commitment.</p> <p>5. The Strategic Goals of Indonesia's Foreign Policy are "Increasing Indonesia's Image in the International World" and increasing Indonesia's role and influence as a middle-power country in the international world.</p> <p>6. As part of Indonesia's economic diplomacy to countries in the Asia Pacific, Africa, Middle East, and Central America regions through technical cooperation assistance activities.</p>

Source: Processed Data

CONCLUSION

Based on previous information, it can be concluded that Indonesia's involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is motivated not only by humanitarian concerns, but also by national interests such as efforts to maintain the image of a Muslim-majority country, carrying out constitutional mandates, increasing influence in international politics, and even economic diplomacy. This broadens efforts to address the Palestinian issue, which is no longer only dependent on the use of hard power. Furthermore, the president's role in determining foreign policy is not particularly prominent; rather, it is directed to adhere to the values that Indonesian society and governmental structures have internalized when it comes to understanding Indonesia's position and its

relationship with the Israel and Palestine issues, especially, because this relates to efforts to maintain the international image that has been built and as a form of avoiding the possibility of potential domestic instability.

The recommendation is related to the consistency of Indonesia's support for the Palestinian people, which must continue until efforts to achieve independence through the framework or parameters set at the UN forum, which is the two-state solution successfully reached. Maintaining this policy would not be detrimental given that Indonesia has, from the time of President SBY's administration until Jokowi, developed an image of itself as a democratic nation with the largest population of moderate Muslims in the world, potentially leading to hope that it can continue to play the role of a bridge between the western and Islamic worlds while also bringing reason to the national interest.

Two things could be the cause of this research's deficiency. The first is that there is a chance of misinterpreting the meaning of the data because literature studies demand a high level of textual interpretation skills. Second, the data obtained is still too wide and lacking in depth, despite having undergone confirmation from the ministry of foreign affairs when collecting and verifying data, the process still relies on text-based activities. Improving this research can be accomplished by combining thorough literature review techniques and in-depth interviews focusing on the study of the roles and potential of Indonesia based on its experience as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council.

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