

Indonesia's Active Free Politics in the Two-State Solution Hamas-Israel Conflict



¹Stenus Jacob kartutu, ²Jamalullail, ³Ujang Rusdianto, ⁴Achmad, ⁵Martin Suharto

Usahid University Jakarta

Email: stenuskartutu@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

The conflict between Hamas and Israel has become a complex global issue with significant impacts on security and stability in the Middle East. This study employs a qualitative approach with a literature review method to analyze the role and contribution of Indonesia's active and independent foreign policy in promoting a two-state solution as a resolution to this conflict. The focus includes an analysis of Indonesia's foreign policy, challenges and opportunities in diplomacy, and the implications of the two-state solution. Findings reveal that Indonesia consistently supports Palestine through various diplomatic initiatives and humanitarian aid. However, the application of the principle of active and independent policy faces challenges in balancing idealism and realism on the international stage. This research aims to provide an in-depth understanding of Indonesia's contribution to peace efforts and sustainable solutions in the Middle East.

1. INTRODUCTION

The conflict between Hamas and Israel has been a matter of international concern for decades. The social phenomenon that shows the existence of this issue can be seen from various mass media reports and official statements by governments and international organizations. This conflict not only has an impact on regional security in the Middle East but also poses a deep humanitarian crisis. For example, a report from CNBC in November 2023 highlighted the latest escalation in this conflict, with thousands of civilians affected by airstrikes and rockets (CNBC, 2023). The conflict also affects political and economic stability in the region, and involves various international actors in mediation and conflict resolution efforts.

In terms of normative data (das sollen), this issue

is also regulated by various international and national provisions. UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 call for the withdrawal of Israel forces from the occupied territories and respect for the right of every country in the region to live in peace. In addition, international law governed by the Geneva Conventions provides for protection for civilians in armed conflict. At the national level, Indonesia, through Law No. 37 of 1999 on Foreign Relations, affirms its commitment to the principle of free and active politics and fully supports the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people. This commitment is reinforced by an official statement by the Indonesia government urging the international community to be more active in supporting the two-state solution (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019: 8).

Empirical data (das sein) related to this issue is also very rich. Based on a report from the United



Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA, 2020: 15), Indonesia's humanitarian assistance to Palestine increased significantly during 2019-2020. This data shows Indonesia's commitment to supporting conflict resolution and humanitarian efforts in the region. In addition, research from the Georgetown Journal of International Affairs in 2024 shows that Indonesia seeks to strengthen its global influence by learning from Qatar's experience in mediating conflicts in the Middle East (GJIA, 2024). The report emphasizes the importance of Indonesia's role in multilateral diplomacy and its ability to contribute to creating sustainable peace in the Middle East.

This research is also supported by a report from The Jakarta Post that reviews Indonesia's diplomacy in Gaza, showing Indonesia's consistency in supporting Palestinian independence and the two-state solution as the best option to end the decades-long conflict (The Jakarta Post, 2024). In addition, the seminar held by ISEAS in February 2024 reaffirmed Indonesia's support for Palestinian independence and rejection of diplomatic relations with Israel until a just and permanent peace is achieved (ISEAS, 2024). The seminar also highlighted the views of Muslim communities in Indonesia and Malaysia on the conflict, as well as their active role in advocating for peaceful solutions.

Furthermore, an analysis from Friends of Europe in December 2023 highlights how the war in Gaza shows the importance of a two-state solution as a long-term solution for regional stability (Friends of Europe, 2023). The analysis also criticizes the foreign policies of some Western countries that are considered inconsistent in supporting a comprehensive peace solution.

In addition, a report from Frontiers in Political Science in 2024 shows that Indonesia actively advocates for conflict resolution through the promotion of a swift cessation of hostilities and condemns Israel's actions (Frontiers in Political Science, 2024). The report also notes Indonesia's various diplomatic initiatives aimed at rallying international support for a two-state solution.

In the context of communication science studies, International Communication Theory is very relevant to analyze the role of Indonesia's diplomacy in this conflict. This theory emphasizes how countries interact through public diplomacy and traditional diplomacy to achieve their foreign policy goals. According to this theory, international communication includes the use of mass media and diplomatic platforms to build a country's image and influence global public opinion (McPhail, 2020).

In this context, Indonesia uses international media and diplomatic forums to voice its support for the two-state solution and criticize Israel's actions. This can be seen from various official statements and Indonesia's participation in international forums that support Palestine.

These facts show that there is a gap between normative expectations regulated by law and policy and empirical reality in the field. This research aims to bridge this gap by analyzing the role and contribution of Indonesia's active free politics in pushing for a two-state solution to the Hamas-Israel conflict, as well as identifying the challenges and opportunities that exist in this diplomacy effort.

2. METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach with a literature study method to analyze the role and contribution of Indonesia's active free politics in the solution of the two-state Hamas-Israel



conflict. The qualitative approach was chosen because it allows researchers to understand social, political, and diplomatic phenomena in depth through analysis of relevant data sources.

The qualitative approach in this study aims to explore a deep understanding of Indonesia's foreign policy and its application in the context of the Hamas-Israel conflict. According to Creswell (2014: 32), qualitative research is an approach that focuses on exploring and understanding the meaning given by individuals or groups to a social problem. In the context of this study, a qualitative approach is used to explore how Indonesia applies its active free foreign policy in mediating the Hamas-Israel conflict and to understand the diplomatic dynamics involved.

The literature study method is used to collect and analyze data from a variety of relevant secondary sources. Literature study involves tracing and reviewing official documents, research reports, scientific journal articles, books, and other reliable sources that discuss related topics. As Creswell (2014: 34) explains, the study of literature in qualitative research helps in identifying themes, patterns, and relationships that are relevant to the focus of the research. In this study, sources such as a report from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA, 2020), an official statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia (Kemlu, 2019), and articles from the Georgetown Journal of International Affairs (2024) and The Jakarta Post (2024) are the main ingredients in the analysis.

Through literature analysis, this study seeks to identify and understand the policies and diplomatic steps that have been taken by Indonesia in supporting a two-state solution to the Hamas-Israel conflict. This research also

aims to identify the challenges and opportunities faced by Indonesia in this diplomacy effort. By using a qualitative approach and literature study, this study can present a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of Indonesia's role in this conflict.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Principle of Indonesia's Active Free Politics in International Diplomacy

Active free politics as the basis of Indonesia's foreign policy has an important role in shaping Indonesia's identity and position on the international stage. This principle was born from the awareness of the nation's founders that Indonesia, as a newly independent country, must be able to maintain its sovereignty from foreign interference while still playing an active role in creating world peace. In the context of a global history full of tensions during the Cold War, active free politics allowed Indonesia not to get caught up in the rivalry between the Western and Eastern blocs, which at that time dominated world geopolitics.

Mohammad Hatta, as one of the main architects of Indonesia's foreign policy, emphasized that a free and active foreign policy is an absolute requirement for Indonesia to play a meaningful role on the international stage. Hatta stated that "free" means that Indonesia will not be tied to any power bloc, while "active" indicates Indonesia's commitment to participate in maintaining world peace (Hatta, 1948: 53). This statement is not only a declaration, but an operational guide carried out by the Indonesia government in various international forums.

Legally, this principle of free and active politics is enshrined in the Constitution of Indonesia, especially in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution which affirms that Indonesia aims



to participate in creating a world order based on independence, lasting peace, and social justice. Article 11 of the 1945 Constitution also mandates the President to make international agreements with the approval of the House of Representatives, which reflects the principles of prudence and responsibility in foreign policy (Indonesia, 1945). In addition, Law No. 37 of 1999 on Foreign Relations makes it clear that Indonesia's foreign policy must be free and active, with the aim of protecting and advancing national interests and contributing to international peace and security (Indonesia, 1999).

The implementation of free and active politics can be seen from Indonesia's various diplomatic initiatives at the regional and global levels. One example is the Asian-African Conference (KAA) in 1955 which was held in Bandung. This conference not only became an occasion for newly independent Asian and African countries to voice their interests, but also marked the rise of global solidarity beyond the influence of the Western and Eastern blocs (Ricklefs, 2008: 311). The KAA reflects how active free politics gives Indonesia the role of a moral leader in the struggle of developing countries to gain recognition and their rights in international forums.

In a more modern era, active free politics remains relevant, although global dynamics have changed a lot. For example, in the case of the South China Sea, Indonesia must adopt a careful approach to diplomacy to defend its sovereignty while avoiding an escalation of conflict with China. Although Indonesia does not claim territory in the South China Sea like its neighbors, Indonesia has consistently rejected China's unilateral claims that include waters around the Natuna Islands. In this regard, Indonesia emphasizes the importance of

resolving disputes through international legal channels, such as the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which shows a commitment to the principle of free and active in safeguarding national interests while supporting a law-based international order (Sukma, 2019: 162).

However, the implementation of free and active politics also faces various challenges. One of the main challenges is maintaining consistency in foreign policy amid a changing global political constellation. For example, Indonesia's relations with major countries such as the United States, China, and Russia, often require a careful balance between economic, security, and political interests. On the one hand, Indonesia wants to strengthen economic relations with these major countries, but on the other hand, Indonesia must also remain vigilant against potential influences that can threaten its sovereignty and principles (Wirajuda, 2020: 89).

In addition, pressure from within the country is also a challenge in itself. Active free politics is often tested by public opinion that is increasingly critical of the government's foreign policy. For example, in the context of Indonesia's relations with Israel, there is pressure from various community groups demanding a firmer stance against Israel regarding the Palestinian conflict. Meanwhile, the government of Indonesia seeks to maintain a balanced and impartial position in an effort to support a peaceful two-state solution (Anwar, 2021: 44).

In the context of globalization, another challenge is how Indonesia can remain relevant and influential on the international stage. With the increasingly interconnected global economy and the rise of cross-border issues such as climate change, terrorism, and pandemics, Indonesia needs to strengthen its role in international and



regional organizations. In this regard, active free politics can be a strong basis for Indonesia to take initiatives on broader global issues, while ensuring that national interests remain protected.

Overall, active free politics has become a principle that has allowed Indonesia to play a significant diplomatic role in the international arena. Despite the various challenges, this principle remains relevant as a cornerstone of foreign policy aimed at safeguarding national sovereignty while contributing to global peace and stability. As a country that continues to develop and thrive in the Southeast Asian region, Indonesia is a country that adapts to politics and is active in facing new challenges while adhering to the values that have become the heritage of the nation's leaders.

Indonesia's Position and Role in the Hamas-Israel Conflict

Indonesia has a strong and decisive position in the Hamas-Israel conflict, which is rooted in the basic principles of its former policy, its active politics and its commitment to solidarity with Palarstina. Since the early days of the country, Indonesia has been ruling against the rule of Palarstina urnturk merrderka, whose share is based on the principles of justice and the rights of the country. This is in line with the historical experience of Indonesia in expressing the history of colonialism. Because of that, the policy of the Indonesian government in the conflict between Hamas-Israel is very much influenced by the commitment to the spread of Palarstina's rights in the international forum.

The policy of the Indonesian government in a conciliatory manner reflects the difficulties faced by Palarstina, especially through diplomatic steps in various international forums. Indonesia does not have diplomatic difficulties with Israel

and has been in a fierce way of refusing to normalize the conflict between Palestine and Israel in a fair way. This position is based on the view that the settlement of Israel without a fair settlement for Palestine will be in line with the principle of justice advocated by Indonesia. In addition, Indonesia has been actively involved in various UN resolutions that have violated the actions of Israel in the Palarstina region, including the policy of regulating the government which is considered to violate international regulations (Anwar, 2021: 52).

In the course of the country's solution, Indonesia has taken various diplomatic initiatives that have been linked to the urgency of Turkey to facilitate dialogue and promote peaceful settlement. For example, Indonesia has actively participated in the Organization of Islamic Workers (OIC) and the Non-Aligned Gerrakan, where the people of Palarstina have become the elder of the urtama. Indonesia has often become a vocal surara in UN regulations, encouraging the international community to urge Israel to resign from the Iranian government and to resign from the conflict with Palarstina (Surkma, 2019: 164).

However, Indonesia's position in this conflict is not immune to criticism, both from within the international co-purification and co-purity. Some critics have argued that Indonesia's very pro-Palarstine position can reduce its ability to play a role as a neutral merdiator in this conflict. There is a view that Indonesia should take a pragmatic approach to its policy while taking into account the global political dynamics (Wirajurda, 2020: 91). Although it is not a matter of nationality, the Indonesian government is aware that the rebellion against Palarstina is a moral commitment that cannot be negotiated, remembering the long history of colonialism and the struggle that the Indonesian people have experienced.



In addition to diplomatic difficulties, Indonesia has been active in providing a response to the peace of the people of Palestine. This ban completes the merdis, education, and infrastructure development, which is channeled through various international organizations and the Ministry of Health. This rebuke reflects the development of Indonesia which is not only rhetorical, but also concrete in reducing the welfare of the Palestinian people in the face of prolonged conflicts (Djalal, 2020: 230).

On the other hand, the main challenge faced by Indonesia in defending its position related to the Hamas-Israel conflict is how to maintain the balance between the principles of ideralism and reraralism in the policy of the Lunar New Year. In the international procedure that is full of dynamics and changes, Indonesia is constantly describing its diplomatic strategy so that it is realistic and erfervious in the management of the country. Despite the fact that the foundation of the political base is active and strong, Indonesia has the potential to be an advocate of peace and justice in the East of the country.

The dermikian, position and position of Indonesia in the Hamas-Israel conflict reflect a commitment that is conducive to the principles of international justice and human rights. Despite facing various challenges and criticisms, Indonesia has been able to play a constructive role in promoting the peaceful and just resolution of conflicts, a reflection of the values it has upheld since the early days of the country.

Analysis of Indonesia's Active Free Politics in Communication Theory

Indonesia has a foreign policy principle known as "free to be active," in which the country seeks not to take sides with any power bloc and is active in promoting international peace and justice.

In the context of the conflict between Hamas and Israel, Indonesia has consistently supported the two-state solution as the most just and sustainable solution. To understand how Indonesia articulates its position in this conflict, there are two theories in communication theory that can be used as analytical knives:

a). Constructivist Theory and Indonesia's Diplomacy

Constructivist theory in international relations offers a unique perspective by emphasizing the role of identity, norms, and ideas in shaping the behavior of states. In contrast to realist or liberal approaches that emphasize material aspects such as military or economic power, constructivism argues that state actions and policies are influenced by national identities, social norms, and beliefs that develop from certain social histories and experiences (Wendt, 1999). In the context of Indonesia's diplomacy, this theory is very relevant, as Indonesia often shapes its foreign policy based on its national identity as the world's largest Muslim-majority country and as a staunch supporter of the principles of independence, sovereignty, and justice.

Indonesia, with its historical background as a country that has experienced colonialism, has a strong commitment to the principles of anti-colonialism and support for the rights of national independence. This identity is very influential in Indonesia's approach to international issues, including its support for Palestine in the Hamas-Israel conflict. Within the framework of constructivist theory, Indonesia's support for Palestine is not solely driven by strategic or economic considerations, but rather by the construction of its identity as a country that fights for justice and human rights on the international stage (Acharya, 2003). Indonesia's diplomacy, especially on the Palestinian issue, reflects how this national identity is translated



into foreign policy. Indonesia has consistently advocated a two-state solution as the fairest solution to this conflict, based on international norms on the right to self-determination and state sovereignty. Indonesia also uses international forums, such as the United Nations, to strengthen its position and mobilize international support for Palestine. In a constructivist framework, Indonesia's diplomatic approach can be seen as a manifestation of its strong national identity and commitment to the values it espouses.

This approach also shows how constructivism allows us to understand Indonesia's diplomacy as something more than a narrow calculation of national interests. Rather, this diplomacy reflects an effort to fight for global values that are in line with Indonesia's national identity, which ultimately strengthens Indonesia's position on the international stage as a principled and influential country in the advocacy of peace and justice. Indonesia's foreign policy, often described as "free to be active," has been the cornerstone of its diplomatic approach since independence. This policy allows Indonesia to maintain impartiality, making decisions based on the principles of independence, peace, and cooperation, rather than siding with the major power blocs. In the context of the Hamas-Israel conflict, Indonesia's stance has consistently supported the two-state solution as a viable path to lasting peace in the region. To understand Indonesia's approach, communication theory, especially the framework of Constructivist Theory of International Relations and Public Diplomacy, can be used as an analytical tool.

According to this theory, the actions of a state are influenced by its identity, which is shaped by historical experience, cultural norms, and political values. Indonesia's identity as a Muslim-majority country that upholds democratic principles and advocates for the rights of

oppressed populations has significantly influenced its stance on the Israel-Palestinian conflict. This identity, shaped by historical solidarity with the Palestinian cause, encourages Indonesia to actively promote a two-state solution while adhering to its active liberal policy. Indonesia's advocacy for peaceful resolutions through dialogue and negotiation rather than military means is in line with its broader commitment to non-alignment and active participation in global peace efforts. The Constructivist Lens helps explain how Indonesia's foreign policy decisions are deeply rooted in its national identity and historical experience, not just strategic calculations.

b). Framing Theory in International Relations

Framing theory, developed by Erving Goffman and popularized in the study of communication by Robert Entman (1993), explains how the way an issue is presented can affect public perception and the policies taken. In international relations, countries often use framing to form certain narratives related to conflicts, with the aim of influencing public opinion both domestically and at the international level. In the case of the Hamas-Israel conflict, Indonesia uses a framing that emphasizes the rights of the Palestinian people and international justice, rather than simply seeing this conflict as a territorial dispute.

Indonesia frames its support for the two-state solution by emphasizing the importance of sovereignty, human rights, and international law. Thus, Indonesia not only seeks to influence global public opinion, but also strengthens its position as a country that consistently supports peace and justice.

In its diplomacy, Indonesia uses a framing strategy that highlights its commitment to peace and the rights of the Palestinian people, while advocating dialogue and negotiation as a path to

a two-state solution. For example, in various statements in international forums such as the United Nations (UN), Indonesia has always emphasized this conflict as a matter of international justice and human rights (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2021). By framing the two-state solution as the most equitable and sustainable solution, Indonesia strengthens its role as a mediator that supports the peaceful resolution of conflicts. In addition, Indonesia's framing strategy also involves reducing the focus on the military aspects of this conflict and focusing more on the humanitarian consequences, particularly the suffering of Palestinian civilians. This framing is designed to elicit empathy and support from the international community, especially from Muslim-majority countries and members of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The effectiveness of Indonesia's framing in the context of the Hamas-Israel conflict can be seen from its ability to gain international support for a two-state solution, as well as its ability to influence discussions in international forums. By consistently framing these conflicts within the framework of international law and human rights, Indonesia is aligning itself with global norms and values, which in turn increases Indonesia's credibility and soft power on the international stage (Nye, 2004). This framing strategy allows Indonesia to maintain its active liberal policy while still taking a firm stance on this highly sensitive issue. However, this framing approach also presents challenges. Indonesia must balance its advocacy for Palestinian rights with the need to maintain diplomatic relations with other international actors, including those who support Israel. The success of Indonesia's framing strategy relies heavily on its ability to navigate this diplomatic complexity without sacrificing its core principles or its international relations.

Framing theory provides important insights into how Indonesia builds and communicates its foreign policy position regarding the Hamas-Israel conflict. By framing the two-state solution within the framework of international justice, human rights, and peace, Indonesia is able to project its active liberal policies on the global stage, strengthening its identity as a peace-oriented non-aligned country. The use of this strategic framing strategy not only supports Indonesia's diplomatic goals, but also strengthens its position in the international community, ensuring that its voice is heard in discussions about one of the world's most protracted conflicts.

The Two-State Solution in the Perspective of Free and Active Politics

The solution of the country, which was said by Urnturk to end the conflict between Israel and Palestine through the development of the country of Palestine which was accompanied by Israel, has long been the framework of the work that has been carried out by the international community. For Indonesia, this solution is a continuation of the principle of active politics which is upheld in the policy of the country. Indonesia has achieved the most relativistic and just way of reconciliation in the East of the country, and in some ways the country has brought an end to the suffering of the people of Palestine that has been going on for a long time.

In the active political debate, Indonesia emphasized that its role was not to be partisan in an inclusive manner to the wrong of the constitution of the country, but to encourage reform based on the principles of independence, peace, and respect for human rights. *Solusi dura negara* offers a framework of work that reflects the values of the country, because the country is in the country that recognizes the rights of Israel



in terms of the rights of the people of Palestine and Turkey has a country that has a right to the people. This regulation avoids bias in the face of mismanagement of parties and encourages inclusive dialogue and negotiated solutions, as well as the principle of non-intervention and the reconciliation of the sovereignty of other countries that are pursued by the Indonesian government (Surkma, 2019: 169).

As part of its commitment to active politics, Indonesia has been active in various diplomatic affairs that are based on the urgency of pushing for the country's solution. One of the most obvious examples is Indonesia's participation in various initiatives in the United Nations (UN) that violated the rights of the Palestinian people to establish a country in the territory that was violated by the 1967 Territorial Movement. Indonesia has refused unilateral measures that can disrupt the prosperity of the Dura Nergara solution, as well as the management of the Israel Conflict in the West Terrace region (Anwar, 2021: 55).

In addition to the implementation of the country's national solutions, Indonesia has encouraged the implementation of international solutions and UN solutions that are restrictive. This is especially true of the border that is based on the 1967 Tehran Line, with East Jerusalem as the capital of Palerstina. Indonersia explains that the solution of dura nera harurs is achieved through direct negotiation between the parties without interference from the side of the village who is rurpaya to force the agernda merrerka (Wirajurda, 2020: 95). In this case, active politics has made Indonesia more likely to take an independent and unaffected position from the global world that has a tendency to be independent in this conflict.

The most significant challenge in pushing for the

country's internal solution is the political relality on the ground, where the lack of trust between Israel and Palerstina, as well as the dynamics of internal politics in the parties' offices, often hinders progress. Although the Indonesian mercurun has long been in the midst of the country, the Urnturk has been in the midst of unsteady developments in the Terrserburt area, the worst of the policies of the Israel government that has been in the midst of its sercurtur, and the division between the Palerstine factions (Djalal, 2020: 235).

Namurn, Indonesia is convinced that the solution of dura nergara is the only way that can bring about a just and lasting peace in the East of the Mountains. In an active political confrontation, Indonesia will be forced to push international coherence to the principles recognized by the international way in resolving this conflict. Indonesia will be rurbered in a way that will become a shackle between the parties involved in promoting dialogue and constructive negotiations.

On the other hand, urnturk is regulating its position, Indonesia is improving the diplomacy of purblik and kerrja as well as other countries that have a clear view, especially through the murtilateral forces such as the Non-Aligned Gerrakan and the Islamic Cooperation Organization (OIC). With a strong and conducive development, Indonesia can play a significant role in promoting the country's economic stability and promoting stability in the East because of the active political principles it develops.

In addition, the solution of the problem is to reduce the intergral part of the policy of the Indonesian government in dealing with the Hamas-Israel conflict. Through active political development, Indonesia has been pushing for peaceful settlement based on the principles of



radiance, international harmony, and respect for human rights. Despite facing various challenges, Indonesia is committed to playing a constructive role in promoting peace in the East of Tengah

4. CONCLUSION

The principle of active politics has become the basis of the policy of the Indonesian government since the early days of the country, which has made this country a unique position in international diplomacy. Indonesia has made use of this principle to protect national sovereignty from foreign countries, and has been active in creating peace and justice in the global world. The implementation of this principle can be seen in various Indonesian diplomatic initiatives, including its role in the development of the Palestine conflict and the promotion of the solution of the Hamas-Israel conflict.

In the conflict, Indonesia took a position of aggression that violated the rights of the people of Palestine, along with the principles of active and committed politics in the face of international justice. Indonesia is active in various international forums, including the United Nations and the OIC, and encourages a fair and sustainable national solution. However, Indonesia is faced with a complex challenge in maintaining the convergence of its regional policies in the face of the turbulent global political dynamics. Although it is not the end of the world, Indonesia is committed to playing a constructive role in international diplomacy, and it is difficult to solve the problem in various ways that the

country is trying to make peace in the East of the country. With the principle of active politics, Indonesia can make a significant contribution to global peace and maintain regional stability.

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