

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background of The Study

War is a cancer in the political body. The cancer is also a small disease that can be cured by mankind. This what has been expressed by Burchill and Linklater in his book, *Theories of International Relations*. In line with Burchill, Schumpeter in the book also reveals that war is the result of the aggressive instinct of irresponsible elites.<sup>1</sup> Indirectly, what has been stated by scientist before, can be seen in the current ongoing war in Syria, that became one of the insecure place in the world.

Indeed, the civil war and Syrian conflict are part of a middle east phenomena that occur in middle east region. Global world certainly remembered what happen in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya that produced a big wave of protests in Middle East and known as the Arab Spring.<sup>2</sup> The issue of Arab Spring has increasingly impacted to some countries in the Middle East. However, the escalation of the conflict spread widely, even involve superpowers in the conflict. Not only United Nations and Arab Leagues, but also the the European Union involve their intervention in the conflict.<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, before the conflict happened in Syria, Syria had good relations with other country in Middle East and several countries in the world, including Indonesia. However, since the conflict affecting the country in 2011, diplomatic relations between Syria and several countries

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<sup>1</sup> Scoot Burchil et. al, *Theories of International Relations*, Nusa Media, (Bandung: 2012)

<sup>2</sup> *The Arab Spring, A Year of Revolution*, retrieved from <http://www.npr.org/2011/12/17/143897126/the-arab-spring-a-year-of-revolution> accessed on Tuesday, September 12, 2017

<sup>3</sup> *The EU and The Crisis in Syria, European Union External Action*, retrieved from [https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/6\\_syria\\_5pg.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/6_syria_5pg.pdf), accessed on Tuesday, September 12, 2017.

gradually began to fail in relations.<sup>4</sup> Several countries worried about the fate of their diplomats. In the March 2012, several countries that concerned about the safety of their diplomats and embassy staff lives, closed their embassies in Syria.<sup>5</sup>

The past and current Syria's conflict has offended human rights itself, by hurting the peace and security of soul and civilians. In addition, the conflict is complicated to understand, because the involves of lot of actors and stakeholders especially for superpower countries. If the conflict can be resolved, it will take a long time and negotiation to recover in order to establish peace around the Syrian country.

The Governments of the Republic of Indonesia do not keep in silence with the past and the current civil war in Syria, that was one of the one of the countries that had supported Syria to raise political support after the proclamation of Indonesia's independence. As the democratic country's largest Muslim population in the world, the free and active role of the government of Foreign Policy of Indonesia are absolutely needed. Although directly the government's role has not been able to end and solve the conflict, but the contribution of Indonesia today is very needed, especially in term of humanitarian aid and peace diplomacy towards Syrian conflict.

Related to the relationship between Syria and Indonesia since 1949, the relations between two countries became one of the important points in recognition of Indonesia independence. Lot of services provided by Syria to Indonesia. For example, when Syria joined Egypt in the United Arab Republic (RPA), Syria was one of the first countries to recognize Indonesia independence. When the issue of Timor-Leste arises, the support from Syria to the Republic of Indonesia has never diminished.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Six Country Try to Close their Embassy in Syria*, retrieved from <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/timur-tengah/12/03/16/m0yc9i-enam-negara-arab-tutup-kedutaan-di-suriyah> accessed on April 23, 2018.

<sup>5</sup> *Six Arab Countries Close their Embassies in Syria, Ask to international community to act*, retrieved from <https://m.detik.com/news/international/1868842/6-negara-arab-tutup-kedubes-di-suriyah-minta-internasional-bertindak> accessed on April 23, 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Nasrullah Nasih, *Ambassador Indonesia's Response to Syria*, retrieved from <http://>

Based on those historical foundation, Indonesia does not passively respond the conflict in Syria. In addition to political issues, the track record of Indonesia-Syria's relations is also being proved in the field of economy and education partnership. For example, in the end of 2016 alone, Indonesia committed to provide education scholarships for Syrian refugees in strata education (S1) phase, with a good synergy between Ministry of Foreign affairs, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, and UNHCR.<sup>7</sup> As a country that has an important role in Asian region, especially Indonesia, Syria also has a better bilateral relationship than that has been done since the 1990s with Indonesia, as well as with countries in the Middle East region.<sup>8</sup>

The role of the government of the Republic of Indonesia is promoting true peace and independence based on the constitution of 1945. In the application of this principle free and active, the national interest will always be the main objective until the impact of foreign policy can be perceived directly by the Indonesian people. In line with the national interest, Indonesia will continue to be a reference in the achievement and peace establishmen regionally and internationally. In addition, Indonesia also continues to maintain and strengthen international cooperation that has been established on issues such as terrorism, sustainable development, peacekeeping operations and other international issues.<sup>9</sup>

For example, the free and active foreign policy can be seen by Indonesia's contribution to create global peace environment, in order to

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internasional.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/timur-tengah/16/03/21/o4cg87320-dubes-ri-untuk-suriyah-angkat-bicara-soal-assad-dan- suriyah, accessed on Monday, September 11, 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Dedy Priatmojo, *Indonesia prepares 100 scholarships for Syrian Refugees*, retrieved from this website <http://www.viva.co.id/berita/dunia/819576-indonesia-siapkan-100-beasiswa-untukpengungsi-suriyah>, on Monday, 11 September 2017.

<sup>8</sup> *The Syrian Country Profile and Bilateral Cooperation*, accessed from <http://www.kemlu.go.id/damascus/id/Pages/PROFIL-SURIAH.aspx>, accessed on Monday, September 11, 2017.

<sup>9</sup> *Ministry of Foreign Affairs Explain the Essency of Free and Active as Indonesian Foreign Policy*, retrieved from <https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/berita/Pages/bebas-aktif.aspx> accessed on May 15, 2018.

support the Syria peace resolution. On December 9<sup>th</sup>, 2016, the Indonesia delegated through the Indonesia Ambassador to the United Nations, Dian Triansyah Djani, in the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). In UNGA, Indonesia gave a real vote and alignment to Syria by fully supported the first resolution of the assembly No. A/71/ 39 on the cessation of war and opened a humanitarian corridor for Syria. In fact, Indonesia also participated in formulating a resolution and voted in favor of this UN General Assembly resolution.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, defending representative office position of Indonesia in Damascus and Aleppo was also one way for Indonesia way to continue in providing humanitarian assistance in Syria.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, Indonesia's efforts being a supportive country to peace and being democratic country of Syria. Indonesia often use *soft power instruments*, even in the field of cultural development. Indonesia also actively promote the culture and excellent products through cultural activities in the Syrian country.<sup>12</sup>

From the above explanation, it be understood that the relationship between Indonesia and Syria has a great relations, not only because of Indonesia's interest of Syria in bilateral cooperation, but also as historical factors. This matter absolutely encourages author interested in discussing Indonesia implementation of foreign policy of Indonesia towards Syria. Not only in term of peace, but also in conflict conditions, Indonesia is still playing great and good attention to Syria as a close neighbor country.

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<sup>10</sup> Victor Maulana, *Not abstain, RI support Syrian Resolution in the UN General Assembly*, retrieved from <https://international.sindonews.com/read/1163854/42/tidak-abstain-ri-support-resolution-soal-suriah-di-sidang-umum-pbb-1482050971>, accessed on December 24, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Victor Maulana, *Republic of Indonesia is the only country still open representative in Aleppo*, accessed from <https://international.sindonews.com/read/1119163/43/ri-satu-satu-country-when-when-represented-representative-at-allepo-1466669519>, accessed on Tuesday, September 12, 2017.

<sup>12</sup> *Indonesia was awarded the 59<sup>th</sup> Damascus International Fair in Syria*, accessed from <http://www.kemlu.go.id/damascus/id/berita-agenda/berita-presentation/Pages/Damaskus-International-Fair-ke-59-has-ended,-Indonesia-get-Awards.aspx> accessed on Tuesday, September 12, 2017.

## 1.2. Question Research

In order to facilitate this research, the research problem is formulated as *“How does Indonesia implement its Free and Active Foreign Policy towards Syrian Conflict from 2011-2016?”*

## 1.3. Literature Review

The writing about Syrian conflict is not something new. After the author read some theses title, researches and books, the author awared that the special discussion on the free and active as foreign policy system of the Republic of Indonesia, has been implemented in Syrian conflict. Unfortunately, the results of research and special studies related to the implementation of Foreign Policy of Indonesia in the Syrian conflict research ranged from 2011 to 2016 has not been found.

While the researches by previous researchers ere limited in the discussion on relations that just discussed about Indonesia foreign policy, without any further clarification of the role of Indonesia’s impact on the Middle East. Therefore, what will be written in this research has not been discussed or examined before. However, there are other researches and journals that discusses on Foreign Policy of Indonesia issue:

1. A. Muchaddam Fahham and A.M Kartaatmaja, in Central for Assesment and Database Proceession on Secretariat General of House of Government Republic of Indonesia, under Division of Cooperation between Parliament in House of Representative, by the chapter, *“Akar Konflik Syria dan Akibatnya”*. In this journal, the author explained about the process and efforts to understand causes of root conflicts issues in Syria, whose the key actors that involved in conflict, and what were the impact of conflict to Syria and international world. Some sources about Syrian conflict were gathered from books, journals, and web as well as conclude in the journal. This several sources had been categorized and analyzed according to the purpose of this journal. In addition, this thesis concluded that the source of the problem or cause of Syrian conflict

was not religious causes, but related to the differences of political and economical interests from opposition that was against Assad leadership and countries that supported the opposition. Mentioned, there were three actors who played a role and get involved in the conflict, President Bashar al-Assad and his supporters, the opposition of Syria and a group of Jihadists.<sup>13</sup>

2. Masni Handayani Kinsal, Law Student at University of Sam Ratulangi, Manado, (2014), by Chapter “*Menyelesaikan Konflik Syria di bawah Hukum Internasional*”. In this thesis, Masni just explained about Syrian Conflict and the role of the United Nations that had passed several challenges in peace establishment during conflict happen in Syria. Masni also described about armed conflict and ways to solve it, start from blockade, embargo, until United Nations envoy, Kofi Annan brought up a peace petition and armed contract and resolution for humanity aid.<sup>14</sup>
3. Ganewati Wuryandari, et all, Pustaka Pelajar (2011), “*Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia di Tengah Perubahan Politik Internasional*”. In this book, Ganewati and her friend explained about Indonesia foreign policy, in the middle of international political changes, after the world war and cold war occurred in past. The author also described about foreign policy dynamism of Indonesia that happened in few last decades. By contemporary point of view, Indonesia clearly defined as a country that has a big challenges and competitiveness, considered Indonesia as a new emerging power in region and global system. Suddenly, the book also described the

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<sup>13</sup> Muchaddam M, & Kartaatmaja AM, (2014). *Akar Konflik Suriah dan Akibatnya*. Data Processing Center (P3DI) General Secretariat of the House of Representatives and Parliamentary Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Bodies, retrieved from <https://jurnal.dpr.go.id/index.php/politica/article/view/332/266>, accessed on September 23, 2017.

<sup>14</sup> Kinsal, Masni H, *The End of Syrian Internal Conflict under International Law*. Accessed from the Journal of Lex et Societatis, retrieved from <https://ejournal.unsrat.ac.id/index.php/lexetsocietatis/article/viewFile/4662/4190> Vol. II No. April 3, 2014, accessed on August 28, 2017.

positive and significant contribution to foreign policy of Indonesia, as a reference for the evaluation and improvement of foreign policy of Indonesia in the future. However, the direction of the free and active role of the Foreign Policy of Indonesia and its role in the Middle East region had not been fully explained in the book. Finally, according to the author, the main things that can be maximized was the deep integration and correlation between the book and the author's ideas in order to show Foreign Policy of Indonesia and its roles in Middle East region.

On the other hand, the explanation of Syrian conflict had not been explained in the Ganewati's book, but there waws only a brief explanation about the role of Foreign Policy of Indonesia in middle east conflict. One of the disadvantages in that book was the unable constructive solution in some conflict resolution in the Middle East and an ellaboration need to seek a good idea towards it. The role of the Republic of Indonesia is still urgently needed in the future in order to promote peace and prevent all forms of colonialism.<sup>15</sup>

About the differences between this thesis and the researches above, the author has compared this thesis and the previous explanation. This thesis discusses about free and active foreign policy of Indonesia, and its role to Syrian conflict 2011-2016. The previous research just talked about free and active system without the role of Indonesia in middle east dynamism. Ganewati as an Indonesian researcher just discussed about the impact of globalization and free and active implementation in foreign policy. As a student of international relations, Masni Handayani also has explained the finishing of civil war in Syria under international law and as member of House of Representative of Indonesia. Muchaddam Fahham tried to analyze Syrian conflict by its roots and impacts to Indonesia as Syria's friend in past and the future. Finally, this research tries toimportantly generate and conclude Syrian conflict and free-active policy as Indonesian foreign policy system.

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<sup>15</sup> Ganewati Wuryandari et al, *Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia di Tengah Perubahan Politik Internasional* ( Jakarta: P2P-LIPI, 2008)

#### 1.4. Theoretical Framework

To explain the role of the Republic of Indonesia towards Syrian conflict from 2011-2016, the author used the study of foreign policy, as the basic way of this thesis. Discussing more about foreign policy, it is important for the international relations academician to understand about foreign policy to achieve certain interests in other country. Generally, foreign policy is a set of formulas, values, attitudes, directions and targets to defend, secure, and advance national interests in international political area. In international relations, foreign policy involves not only internal aspects, but also external aspects. According to Rosenau, the concept of foreign policy is an effort of a country through good attitude and activities to overcome and gain advantages of its external environment.<sup>16</sup> Thus, there is a strong relation between foreign politics and national interests as important things of both Indonesia and Syria relations.

Foreign policy is commonly used by international relations scientists in viewing cases in the global politics, includes international cooperation in order to achieve the interests to other country. If we look at Indonesia's relations, it has a relation in not only political contexts, but also in moral responsibility and humanity. In addition, Indonesia always promotes peace and rejects colonialism such as that in mandate of the 1945 Constitution. It can be actualized more effectively for the five basic social values that we expect to be become state surveillance: security, freedom, good order, justice and prosperity can be raised for Syria's future development.

At the international level, Indonesia supports Syrian conflict by having important positions. Indonesia initiated diplomacy agenda in its foreign policy and solved global problem by organizing diplomacy in international forums. This form of diplomacy is the result of hard work to answer foreign policy challenges, which puts the right position of Indonesia

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<sup>16</sup> Anak Agung and Yanyan M. Yani, *Introduction to International Relations*, (Bandung: Rosdakarya Remaja, 2010)

on global issues by utilizing Indonesia strategic position for national interest and create a global pace and justice.<sup>17</sup>

By the principle of free and active, Indonesia is still able to oversee and gives a positive recommendation to the whole conflict in the world, particularly in Syria. Although it did not fully resolve the conflict in Syria, there were difficult things to find the effective solutions and create win-win solutions. However, Indonesia always provides the encouragement and great effort to consolidate world leaders in order to solve the Syrian conflict.<sup>18</sup>

In line with the mandate of the constitution to provide services and protection for Indonesia citizens and legal broad, the issue of citizen protection is still a high priority of the Government of Indonesia in term of foreign policy and diplomacy. In fact, the number of Indonesian citizens abroad increases year by year. At the end of 2011, there were around 3 millions of Indonesian people that were spread all over the world and increased to 4 millions in 2014. It is estimated that the real number of Indonesia citizens abroad reaches two to three times that lift, of which about 60% are Indonesian labor that dominated by domestic worker sector. In the face of the high number and complexity of Indonesian citizens abroad, it is also faced with high public expectations in the country to provide maximum protection for all citizens, includes Indonesian citizen in Syria.<sup>19</sup>

Therefore, it is the writer's duty to attempt to role of Foreign Policy of Indonesia in Syrian conflict escalation. As the one of initiator of ASEAN establishment as well as the pioneer of the Non-Aligned Movement

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<sup>17</sup> Rizkiyan Adhiyudha, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs discussed about The Indonesian Strategy in Diplomacy*, retrieved from <http://internasional.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/asia/18/02/12/p413bk377-kemenlu-bahas-strategi-diplomasi-indonesia> accessed on May 15, 2018.

<sup>18</sup> Ella Syaputri, *Indonesia urges all parties in Syria to end violence*, retrieved from <http://www.antaraneews.com/en/news/80134/indonesia-urges-all-parties-in-syria-to-end-violence> accessed on August 28, 2017.

<sup>19</sup> *Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia 2014-2019*, (Jakarta: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014)

establishment, Indonesia has a big ability and possible to demonstrate the constructive policy in addressing the Syrian conflict. As part of the country that reject the colonialism and enslavement, Indonesia with its free and active foreign policy eventually became a positive role in producing positive foreign relations for the better and win-win relations.

## **1.5 Hypothesis**

In order to answer the problem before related to Syrian conflict and Indonesia free and active foreign policy, the author proposed the following hypothesis: *“Indonesia still has a national interest in Syria. Indonesia with its free and active foreign policy implementation continues to seek and secure its national interests in the complexity of Syrian Conflicts.”*

## **1.6 Objectives and Benefits**

### **1.6.1 Research Objectives**

The objectives of research are as follows:

1. To analyze the role of Foreign Policy of Indonesia towards status of Syrian conflict situations that occurred in Syria in 2011-2016.
2. To explain the public about how the achievement of national interests Government of the Republic of Indonesia towards Syrian conflict, especially in the conflict situation that occurred in the country since 2011-2016.

### **1.6.2 Benefits of Research**

From the aims of the study, this research is expected to have the following benefits:

1. Academic benefits

This research is expected to broaden international relations studies, especially in the development of international relations in future with explanation and actualization of foreign policy of Indonesia.

## 2. Practical benefits

This thesis is expected to a solution and recommendation for Indonesia Government and several parties in parliament and government about foreign policy of Indonesia. Moreover, it can be reviewed for the better of Indonesia in the future, as well as to pursue the national interest and promote the model of foreign policy of Indonesia.

### **1.7 Research Methodology**

#### **1.7.1 Research Method**

This thesis used the qualitative descriptive methods to fix it. By using this method, it is described first about Foreign Policy of Indonesia and its role since independence and reformation era, and its role for Syria State due to conflict happen at that country. Exactly, to answer the research question, the author was done the observation, finding, collecting, compiling, and interpreting data or information about this topic to answer the question research.

#### **1.7.2 Technique of Collecting Data**

There are two kinds of data, secondary and primary data. In this research, the primary data were documentation and interview at Secretary General in Middle East Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia. While secondary data were accessed from some source such as books, journals, thesis, articles, and other offline and online publications.

#### **1.7.3 Technique of Analyzing Data**

After collecting data, the data were proceed it by using qualitative approach. The technique of analyzing data was combining several data that were taken from ministry, journals, books, and several sources of media online and website. All the data was constructed to make a specific thesis related to foreign policy of Indonesia and its role in global politics.

## 1.8 Writing System

**Chapter One:** It consist of a brief presentation on the background, the question of the problem, hypothesis, aims and benefits of thesis, research methodology and systematic writing.

**The second chapter:** it is an explanation of foreign policy according to some scientists in international relations studies followed by of Foreign Policy of Indonesia that is explained from independence era to contemporary era. Moreover, there is concrete example aand efforts that have been implemented by Indonesia until now.

**The third chapter:** It consist of a root source description of Syrian conflict Syrian. Furthermore, there is a brief explanation of the relationship between Indonesia and Syria in the global political situation, accompanied by clear and concrete appendices.

**The fourth chapter:** there is an explanation of diplomatic process and the achievement of foreign policy of Indonesia in global politics, particularly in order to contribute by humanitarian diplomacy as Indonesia's role in the process of democratization and maintaining peace among conflicting groups in Syria.

**The fifth chapter:** it is a closing includes the contents of the whole thesis, accompanied by the recommendation to the reader and the government generally, to promote more about foreign policy of Indonesia that is brought to whole society and global community.