

The Role of the Provincial Government DKI Jakarta in Improving Bilateral Relat between Indonesia and Palestine throu Paradiplomacy: Sister City Cooperatio between Jakarta and Jerusalem

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The Role of the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta in Improving Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and Palestine through Paradiplomacy: Sister City Cooperation between Jakarta and Jerusalem

Ida Susilowati, Wildi Adila

Introduction

Globalization brings changes in various fields of human life in the world. Globalization could mean an improvement in people's lives as a result of the development of science and technology. Meanwhile, in the socio-cultural domain, globalization is likely to be influential in degrading people's lifestyles to be more consumptive, individualistic and thus, lead to sharpening social disparities. Globalization brings demands and challenges for world countries in various fields. Interdependence in the political economy among countries is increasing in line with the rise of modernization of technology in the global era.

Eko Digdoyo defines globalization as an advancement filled with competition in various aspects of life due to the development of science and technology, and thus, it impacts on the socio-cultural changes of society gradually but significantly. In identifying and interpreting globalization, Eko Digdoyo emphasized more on the existence of social and cultural changes due to the development of science and technology in globalization. At the same time, Andreas Wenger and Doron Zimmermann put more emphasis on changes in the political and security fields of the world marked by the events of 11 September 2001 ago. Andreas and Doron argued that world security was threatened by acts of terrorism that gave rise to the unrest and sensitivity of the world community due to the news in the mass media. This situation has an impact on changes in world political patterns towards state interdependence in international politics, including international institutions in formulating global political policy.

The global political map requires each country to be able to interact in a more competitive pattern of global interdependence. Co-existence among countries has been increasing in international relations, including Indonesia. The subject of international law has also been changing, meaning that the country is no longer as a primary subject which is static, but it becomes dynamic. Sub-state actors play a role in strengthening cooperation among countries through *paradiplomacy*, one of which is by developing a sister city between two local regions of two countries. In this case, local governments are required to be well prepared to face various possibilities that occur in the dynamics of global politics, in terms of the economic, political, socio-cultural, and religious fields.

As one of the largest Muslim population, the establishment of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with other Muslim countries could be one of Indonesia's primary consideration. For this reason, the Indonesian government has always tried to build cooperation with Islamic countries, one of which is Palestine. Bilateral relation

between Indonesia and Palestine is significant in paradiplomacy, considering that Palestine has a special place in the hearts of the majority Muslim population in Indonesia. The bilateral cooperation between Indonesia and Palestine has been established from the beginning of the independence of Indonesia. Such partnership was done when the Indonesian people sought the recognition of sovereignty over Indonesian independence. The development of global politics requires both countries to be able to adjust existing developments to intensify bilateral relations between the two; one of them is through the concept of sister city paradiplomacy. To limit the scope of the research, the authors chose the Jakarta Provincial Government, which is a 'special area of the capital', as a subject in increasing sister-city cooperation between Indonesia and Palestine, especially Jerusalem or often called al-Quds.

The current research is based on a case study of the provincial government of DKI Jakarta in strengthening bilateral relations with the Palestinian government through enhancing sister city, especially in the area of economic improvement of both parties. Previously, the two cities have conducted several collaborative enhancements in the field of disaster control and crisis, education and training, and social and culture. This study utilised a descriptive-qualitative research method, in which the technique of collecting data is through literature study from books, journals, local government documents, and relevant supporting websites. The sister city is employed as the basic concept of the current research. The initial hypothesis of this study concludes that the concept of paradiplomacy through sister cities between the government of Jakarta and Palestine through its ambassador to Indonesia is relatively maintained and able to strengthen bilateral relations between the two countries.

Paradiplomacy as the Basic Concept of Sister City in the Globalization Era

Paradiplomacy is the involvement of local government as a sub-actor in international relations because it is considered to have an essential role in multi-track diplomacy as an effort to attain one of the national goals of the Indonesian state. Paradiplomacy is seen as necessary for every country in the era of globalisation. Based on the scope of the diplomacy area, paradiplomacy can be categorised into 3 types. (1) Transholder Paradiplomacy, which means the institutional relationship between two regional governments of two countries with direct geographical borders. (2) Transregional Paradiplomacy, which refers to paradiplomacy between the regional government of the state which does not border geographically but is still within one local region. (3) Global Paradiplomacy, in which the scope of the regional government between countries are more global outside the regional area. Sister city is a regional government program to develop its governmental area based on the concept of paradiplomacy.

In the globalisation era, the interdependence between regions and countries cannot be underestimated. The development of political maps in the era of globalisation improves the domain of the subject of international relations. In the past, cooperation was regularly established between the two countries. However, in the current situation, any partnerships could be done between regions or even individuals. The concept of paradiplomacy in sister city is increasingly supported by the Indonesian government with the existence of a regional autonomy policy and the enactment of Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, particularly in Article 367 concerning regional cooperation with institutions or regional governments abroad, after the approval of the central government. Such policy indeed becomes an opportunity and a challenge for each region within the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, one of which is the special capital region of (DKI) Jakarta.

Heni Nurul Nilawati, quoted from Farazmand, explained that sister city or twin city is a long-term relationship between two cities (two regional governments) from two partnership-based countries based on an agreement between the two cities after the approval from each national government. Sister city could be in the form of cultural exchange, education, or any actions capable of solving typical problems in both regions, such as green city, student exchange, expo between two regions. The program aims to build close partnerships between the two parties. Meanwhile, Inggang described sister city as a concept of micro-cooperation through diplomacy as an attempt to actualise the development in various fields based on the similarity of socio-cultural characteristics, geography, and public problems. Both scholars above similarly suggested the establishment of cooperation between sub-state actors to improve relations between the two countries in various fields in line with the abilities of each region.

To optimise cooperation between countries, the government of the Republic of Indonesia has formulated a policy on foreign relations of the Indonesian government in Law number 37 of 1999 and policy on international agreements in Law number 24 of 2000. Meanwhile, a policy on sister city in Indonesia was regulated in the Regulation of Ministry of Foreign Affairs number: 09 / A / KP / XII / 2006/01 28 December 2006, with respect to General Guidelines of Procedures of Foreign Relation and Cooperation by the Regional Government. These policies become a challenge for each Indonesian region to expand foreign cooperation with cities of other countries. All these efforts aim at improving local governance in various fields.

Palestinian Conflict in the Eyes of the International World

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is inseparable from the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917, regarding the support of the

establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. A few years before the Balfour Declaration, Jewish Zionists had gained religious legitimacy mentioning that Mount Zion in the Sham region became the centre of Jewish worship replacing Uganda and Argentina, precisely at the Zionist Congress in Bazel, Switzerland in 1897. On May 14, 1948, after Britain handed over the mandate of Palestine to the United Nations, the Jewish People's Council declared Israel as a Tel Aviv-based state that was recognised directly by the United States in term of de jure and followed by the Soviet Union three days later. Since then, the Palestinian people have been struggling in defending their sovereignty over the Israeli military aggression that has tried to occupy the Palestinian territories, especially al-Quds (Jerusalem) area until now.

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict can be categorised as a “never-ending conflict,” in line with the statement of UlyaFuhaidah arguing that peace between Palestine and Israel is likely to be utopian. This is based on the fact that many attempts to reconcile the two countries always fail. Ulya believed that Palestinian sovereignty as a state can only be actualised through three things, namely: (1) if two major political forces in Palestine (Hamas and Fatah) unite, (2) if Israel recognises the authority of the Palestinian people in Jerusalem, and (3) to return the Jewish community to Europe. The first factor has been realised after Donald Trump's declaration of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, but the second and third factors are unlikely to happen since Israel's main goal to control the Palestinian territories is to make such territories their home country.

Several UN resolutions on the Palestinian conflict with Israel were already undertaken, but they still have not shown significant results for the Palestinian people. The last UN resolution on December 21, 2017, was the transfer of the Israeli capital from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The resolution faced problems because the United States as a veto power holder in the UN Security Council supported the Israeli government policy. This seems reasonable

due to America's close relations with Israel since the Bush administration to generate a global Zionist through the "Zionist Master Plan" or also known as the "Wolfowitz Doctrine" which aims to prevent other superpowers from appearing, carrying out military attacks before being attacked, and to prepare the invasion of Iraq. However, the results of the UN resolution on the transfer of the Israeli capital in Jerusalem showed that most of the world countries condemned the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem and considered to violate the principles of world peace. This shows a bright spot for Palestinian sovereignty in the viewpoint of the international world.

The Urgency of Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and Palestine

Relations between Indonesia and Palestine had established since the beginning of Indonesian independence when Indonesia requested international support to recognise Indonesian independence. In return, Indonesia has always supported Palestine against Israeli colonialism over Palestine until now. The role of Palestine in Indonesia's independence became the primary basis for the strong bilateral relations between the two countries. The fact that Indonesia, as a Muslim majority country becomes another consideration to enhance cooperation with the Palestinians. Furthermore, Indonesia's national interests to resist colonialism in the world and create world peace could be a reliable reason to strengthen bilateral relations between the two countries.

Bilateral relations between Indonesia and Palestine have always been maintained since the independence of Indonesia, where its first president, Soekarno, has the same principle to resist colonial imperialism to create world peace. From the era of first President Sukarno to current President Jokowi, the Indonesian government has continued to enhance bilateral cooperation with the Palestinians, not only in the form of moral, but also material

support for Palestine. Non-governmental organisations also participate in supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people in achieving Palestinian independence over Israeli imperialism, such as the ACT, KNRP, and other social organisations. The Indonesian Solidarity Movement was also formed to support and assist the Palestinian people to free Al-Aqsa from Israeli Zionist occupation, one of which is KISPA (Indonesian Committee for Solidarity of the Palestinian People). 20 Islamic organisations support KISPA under the supervision of the MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council), which focuses on the scope of education (establishing Islamic educational institutions), and health (organising hospitals).

The urgency of the Palestinian state in term of Indonesian politics can also be seen from the people's response to issues concerning Palestine, especially regarding Al-Quds (Jerusalem). As in the reign of Abdurrahman Wahid (well-known as Gus Dur), Gus Dur's intention to establish diplomacy with Israel drew protests and blasphemies from some of the Indonesian people, even though the purpose of diplomacy was to learn Israel's strategy to influence America and the world. Gus Dur saw Jews as a significant force that deserves consideration. This shows that the Indonesian government's policies on the Palestinian conflict need to be considered when conducting diplomacy with Israel.

Indonesia became one of the first countries to recognise Palestinian independence and thus, opened the Indonesian embassy in Palestine (1988). Indonesia through the United Nations, the OIC, and the NAM consistently voiced support for Palestinian sovereignty until finally Palestine became the 195th member of UNESCO (31/10/2011) and gained status as a country in the decision of the UN General Assembly Session (29/11/2012). In the economic field, cooperation between the two is often constrained by Israeli government policies that limit the movement of goods from and to the Palestinian territories. Moreover, in the socio-cultural domain, the Palestinian Indonesian Friendship Association (PIFA) has been formed. In the scope of education,

both are collaborating on education and training in diplomatic relations and student exchange. Meanwhile, in the tourism sector, there are exhibitions, conferences, workshops and seminars as attempts to encourage tourism visits in both countries. Although bilateral cooperation between the two countries has not been able to be established optimally due to the Palestinian limitations on the conflict with Israel, the partnership between the two continues has been gradually enhanced, one of which is by holding an Indonesian honorary consul in Ramallah.

Jakarta-Palestinian Sister City Policy

The era of globalization has created global governance in international relations, where the dynamics of relations between countries are no longer static but dynamic. Muhadi Sugiono said that contemporary global governance organizations had changed the dominance of the actor. In the past, the state was the main actor in making partnerships. However, nowadays, those who become actors could be from various levels, such as local, regional, national and international levels. Such development has opened opportunities for local and regional governments to enhance their territories through sister cities, including Aceh, Surabaya, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Ambon, Medan, and Jakarta as the Special Capital Region in Indonesia.

Hendra Maujana Saragih, in the journal of FOKUS (journal of Islamic and social studies) entitled "Indonesian Foreign Policy in Supporting Palestine as an Independent State during Joko Widodo's Reign," explained the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Palestine during the Joko Widodo administration. The study focused on analysing bilateral relations between the two countries, especially in the conflict between Palestine and Israel, highlighting the case of Jerusalem's occupation of Al-Quds which was firmly rejected by President Joko Widodo. Meanwhile, this study focused on a more specific bilateral discussion between

the two countries, namely paradiplomacy between two big cities through sister cities. Hendra's study focused on the efforts of the central government in fighting for Palestinian sovereignty as an independent state. In contrast, this study investigates the efforts of the provincial government of DKI Jakarta to improve bilateral relations with the Jerusalem government through sister city as one of the indicators assessing the efforts of the regional government in strengthening relations between the two big cities.

While Atika Dian Anggraini in her article entitled "The Performance of the DKI Jakarta Government in Sister City Cooperation with Seoul in the Field of Trade" reported in the *INSIGNIA Journal* discussed sister city cooperation between he DKI Jakarta regional government and Seoul in the domain of trade. In line with this research, both of them discussed bilateral relations through paradiplomacy of sister city but were differentiated by the object of the study area. The area of Atika's study is between Jakarta and Seoul, while the current study emphasises the cooperation between Jakarta and Palestine. Besides, Atika applied a critical study in her research, while this study applies a case study in analysing problems or issues.

The Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta actively participates in optimizing paradiplomacy through sister cities to enhance cooperation with cities from other countries in various fields. From 1979 to February 2019, 21 cities from all over the world (Jeddah, Seoul, Islamabad, Rotterdam, Tokyo, Los Angeles, Casablanca, Beijing, Arkansas, Berlin, New South Wales, Paris, Bangkok, Hanoi, Istanbul, Maputo, Kyiv, Moscow, Al-Quds, Pyongyang, and Budapest) have established sister city cooperation with Jakarta, and one of them is Al-Quds, Jerusalem. This was stated by Muhammad Mawardi, Head of the Jakarta Regional Bureau (KDH) and Foreign Cooperation (KLN) in the Jakarta News .

2 Along with the development of the globalization era and global politics, 2 bilateral cooperation between Palestine and Indonesia is not only carried out by the central government but also established by the two regional governments through sister city cooperation between Jakarta and Al-Quds, Jerusalem. As quoted on the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that the sister city MoU between Jakarta and Jerusalem covers the areas of disaster and crisis control, education and training, as well as social and cultural which was signed on October 22, 2007, by the two regional governments (Indonesian and Yemenese). One of the implementations of the sister city partnership between Jakarta and Jerusalem was through the Palestinian Film Festival to show similarities in socio-cultural diversity, harmony in pluralism, and the principle of making world peace and rejecting any forms of imperialism. In 2015, an expo or exhibition was held again themed "Jerusalem: History and Civilization" to introduce the socio-cultural of the two countries.

Jakarta-Jerusalem Sister City Improvement as Efforts to Strengthen Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and Palestine

Like any other established partnerships with Seoul, Beijing, Paris, Istanbul and other big cities, the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta also tried to increase interaction with the city of Jerusalem through sister city. While the sister city between Jakarta and Seoul in the field of trade is based on the similarity of both cities' status as the capital city of the country resulting in rapid economic growth in the two regional governments compared to other cities, the sister city between Jakarta-Jerusalem in the field of trade is built upon the similarity between the two cities as a country.

Starting from the signing of the sister city MoU in 2007, the sister city between Jakarta and Jerusalem has been running for 12

years. Over the past 12 years, several programs have been carried out by both regions through visits between the two regional officials, student visits, and cultural exhibitions. This paradiplomacy was re-developed in 2019, especially in several fields including arts and culture, fire-fighting techniques, humanitarian movements, involving city search and rescue. The Indonesian government itself that has always firmly supported the Palestinian people, has its effect on Indonesia's foreign policy.

On July 23, 2019, the Palestinian Ambassador to the Republic of Indonesia - Muhair Al-Shun - met with the Jakarta Governor, Anis Baswedan. This opportunity was utilised by both parties to enhance bilateral cooperation, especially in the field of trade. The Governor of Jakarta, Anis Baswedan chose to develop business-to-business cooperation, because according to him, the people-to-people and government diplomatic relations had been implemented and thus, it needed to develop into the scope of trade. Anies also invited Palestinian business delegates to promote Palestinian superior products in September 2019 at the People's Bazaar, which was held in commemoration of the month of Muharram. The decision was taken by Anis considering that Palestine has potential in the economic field, especially in terms of products such as dates, olive oil, and baklava (Alinea, 7/23/2019).

Conclusion

The dynamics of international politics in the era of globalization provide new patterns in international relations. Demands on the complexity of state politics problems shift the form of partnership from the inter-connectivity between countries (state actors) to the inter-connectivity between local governments (sub-state actors) through paradiplomacy of sister city. Jakarta, as a big city in Indonesia, as well as the capital of the country, should be ready to take advantages from global paradiplomacy through sister city like other major cities in the world. Sister city of

Jakarta-Jerusalem has not been implemented optimally yet, given the political situation and conditions in Palestine. However, these obstacles did not discourage both parties to continue developing bilateral relations between the two cities since the signing of the sister city MoU (2007). Efforts to develop cooperation in the field of disaster and crisis control, education and training, and social and culture continue to be carried out through several events such as student visits, humanitarian movements, and cultural exhibitions. In 2019, the Governor of DKI Jakarta, AniesBaswedan, revived paradiplomacy with Palestine through the Palestinian Ambassador to Indonesia (Zuhair Al-Shun). During the meeting, the two parties sought to increase cooperation, especially in the field of economics and trade. The policy was based on the interests of developing bilateral relations between the two countries because people-to-people and socio-cultural relations have been previously implemented. It is then plausible when both parties want to take such cooperation to another level and thus, develop the field of trade economics through people's bazaars. Based on the diplomatic actions conducted by Anies Baswedan, it shows that there is an increase in the scope of paradiplomacy between Jakarta and Palestine, which aim at fulfilling the needs and interests of both parties.

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