PROCEEDING ARTICLE TEMPLATES 3RD ICTESS (THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION ORGANIZATIONS (OIC) IN HANDLING THE PALESTINE-ISRAEL CONFLICT IN 2016-2019)

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Abstract

This research discusses the effectiveness of Islamic cooperation organizations (OKI) in dealing with the 2016 Palestinian-Israeli conflict -2019. Palestine and Israel are two countries in the Middle East which are still in conflict until now. This conflict occurs because of three things, namely, the establishment of the independent state of Israel in 1948 in the Palestinian territories, until now Israel continues to annex the Palestinian territories and Israel does not comply with UN resolution No. 181 dated 29 November 1947 concerning the division of Palestinian and Israeli territories, and the third is regarding the transfer of the Israeli capital from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem which was previously the capital of Palestine. Responding to this, the Islamic Cooperation Organization (OIC), which has members from Islamic countries and the majority of the Muslim population, issued various resolutions. This study was analyzed using the theory of international regime effectiveness with a knowledge approach or the Kantian model. The research method used in this study is a qualitative research method with primary and secondary data collection sources. The research was conducted through document collection with descriptive elaboration. This research concludes that the OIC's involvement in dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has not brought effective results or is not in accordance with what is stated in the OIC Charter (OIC Charter).

Keywords: Effectiveness, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Palestinian Israeli Conflict, Resolution

1. Introduction

Middle East is a region located on the Asian continent and has a strategic position, both in terms of geopolitics and geostrategy (Lenczowski, 1962, pp. Xxiii – xxv). The countries in this region also border several seas and straits, which are considered important trade routes, especially oil (Hamli, 2013, p. Vii). Because of this strategic location, it does not mean the possibility of conflict. Palestine and Israel are two countries in the Middle East region (Nurjannah & Fakhruddin, 2019). Palestine and Israel which are

part of this territory have been in conflict for a long time. The conflict that occurred between Palestine and Israel was a conflict over land in the Palestinian territories (Nurjannah & Fakhruddin, 2019, p. 16). The conflict that occurred between Palestine and Israel was caused by theological claims and political claims of each party (Suswanta, 2012, p. 70). This conflict is caused by the Jews who want to establish their *National Home*on Palestinian land, in this case, Israel has claimed the Palestinian territories as the land promised by God to them and they came to Palestine just to fulfill God's promise (Wahyudhi, 2011, p. 22). In addition, the Palestinian territories, especially Jerusalem, are a holy place that is the link between the three religions, namely the Samawi religion consisting of Islam, Judaism and Christianity (Thontowi, 2001, p. 139).

The Palestinian Israeli conflict has captured the attention of the international community (Nurjannah & Fakhruddin, 2019, p. 16). Therefore, on September 1969 the 22-25, leaders of a number of Islamic countries held a conference in Rabat, Morocco, and agreed on the Rabat Declaration which affirms belief in the religion of Islam, respect for the UN Charter and human rights (KEMLU, 2014). The Islamic Cooperation Organization (OIC) is an international organization consisting of 57 Islamic countries and countries with Muslim populations around the world (KEMLU, 2014). The background of the establishment of the OIC cannot be separated from the conflict that occurred between Palestine-Israel, especially regarding the issue of Jerusalem and the Al-'Agsa Mosque (KOMPAS, 2020). The incident began when the radical Jewish community burned part of the Al-'Agsa Mosque on August 21, 1969, so that it made the awareness of Muslims re-established (Azhar, 2002). The aim of the establishment of this organization is to support international peace and security, protect Islamic holy places, assist the struggle for the establishment of an independent and sovereign Palestinian state (OIC, 2020a).

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is considered a never-ending conflict, therefore the author needs to examine the OIC's involvement in this conflict, especially in 2016 to 2019, whether it has been running according to the original principles and objectives of the OIC's establishment or has not had a significant impact. Referring back to some of the OIC's own principles and goals is clear, but in practice it can be considered slow and just running in place. By becoming a third party or actor who can intervene in the conflict, it is hoped that in this study the OIC has carried out its role well. Recalling that the settlement of the Palestinian conflict is a priority scale goal for the OIC.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Effectiveness of International Regimes

Keohane & Nye (1984, p. 728) define a regime as a collection of governmental arrangements consisting of various rules, norms, and procedures that control each behavior and its impact (Keohane & Nye, 1984, p. 728). Meanwhile, Krasner (1983, p. 2) defines an international regime as a series of principles, norms, rules and decision making that are carried out explicitly or implicitly with the aim that actors in international relations can interact coherently (Nye, 2014, p. 1). According to Stokke (2006, pp. 4-6) in general, a regime is said to be effective if it can resolve problems that are the background of the regime's formation. Underdal et al. (2001, p. 4) added that the effectiveness of a regime can also be measured using the formula Er = f(Sr.Cr) + Br, Sr is the Stringency (strength of the rule), Cr is the compliance (compliance of regime members to the rules) and Br is a side effect, produced by the regime. So it is necessary to check thebeforehand output, outcome and impact of a resolution to determine the effectiveness of the regime (Underdal et al., 2001, p. 6). Output (Sr) is the output that arises from the formation process, Outcome (Cr) is related to changes in the behavior of regime members, *Impact (Br)* is related to the creation of certain situations desired by the regime (Underdal et al., 2001, p. 6).

Furthermore, to examine issues in international relations, there are three approaches that will be used, namely the Hobbesian model derived from the views and philosophical assumptions of Thomas Hobbes, a realist approach on the basis of strength. The Grotian view based on interests originates from the philosophical assumptions of Hugo de Groot's thought, and the Kantian view on the basis of knowledge comes from the philosopher Immanuel Kant (Tarzi, 1998, pp. 71–74).

2.2. Conflict Resolution Theory

Conflict is something that is closely related to human life, even in international relations conflict becomes one of the forming patterns of interaction between actors in the international system (Himes, 2008, p. 7). In order to survive in an international system, countries will tend to increase their self-capabilities as a form of prevention and protection from attacks (Herz, 1950, p. 180). This has an impact on other countries who will see this as a threat so that they will also do the same (Herz, 1950, p. 180). As a consequence, countries will continue to be in a condition known as a *security dilemma* (Mitzen, 2006, p. 342).

There are three approaches to analyzing conflict resolution, these

approaches include a conflict dynamics approach, a needs-based approach, and a strategic calculation approach (Wallensteen, 2018, p. 38).

In this research, the theory of conflict resolution is used by researchers to see the efforts that the OIC has made in dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The effort that the OIC can make to handle the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is to hold conflict resolution which can be in the form of negotiations and other stages of conflict resolution. By using this theory, it can also be seen what strategies or methods and how are used by the Islamic Cooperation Organization in handling the conflict, in which the OIC acts as a third party.

3. Research Methods

In this study the authors used a qualitative research type, with themes related to case studies. Case studies, or case studies, are part of a qualitative method that intends to explore a particular case in greater depth by involving the collection of various sources of information (Semiawan, 2010, p. 49). In this study, the researcher raised the theme of the 2016-2019 Palestinian Israeli Conflict case study.

Data sources are divided into two categories, namely primary data and secondary data (Hardani et al., 2020, p. 247). In this study, researchers used primary data from official sources such as the OKI website and documents from the OKI. Researchers also use secondary data that comes from books, journals, documents, magazines, and materials from the internet. This information is used by researchers to analyze and process the problems raised as the research theme.

4. Result and discussion

4.1. Mapping and Analysis of the Palestinian-Israeli The Palestinian Israeli conflict

Conflictbegan in 1917. That is, when the issue of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, Arthur James Balfour, issued a decree, hereinafter referred to as the Balfour Declaration (Beinin & Hajjar, 2014, p. 2). This declaration contains British approval of the Zionist Jewish plan which wants the state of Israel to stand in the Palestinian territories (Al-Jaddid, 2014). Initially, there were many rejections to the declaration, the results of the cabinet votes were balanced between agreeing and disagreeing (Al-Jaddid, 2014). However, finally on November 2, 1917, the Declaration of Balfour was declared official (Nurjannah & Fakhruddin, 2019, p. 18).

Britain's inability to manage the Palestinian territories had an impact on the UN's decision to issue a resolution, namely resolution No. 181 dated 29 November 1947 (Nor, 2004, p. 146). This resolution was approved by 33 countries, was opposed by 13 countries, and 10 countries abstained (Al-Jaddid, 2014, p. 13). Israel Declares

Independence In 1948 with British support through the Balfour Declaration, on May 15, 1948 Israel officially became a state (Muchsin, 2015, p. 398). The establishment of the state of Israel was not only based on the Balfour Declaration. Israel stands as a state also on the basis of beliefs regarding the legacy of the old covenant of the Bible which according to the Jews, Palestine is the land promised by God for the Jewish nation (*Promise Land*) (Islamiyah & Trilaksana, 2016, p. 904). In addition, the recommendation of the UN general assembly through UN resolution No.181 dated 29 November 1947 regarding the division of Arab and Jewish support for the establishment of Israel into a state (Islamiyah & Trilaksana, 2016, p. 904). Until now, the conflict between the two countries is still happening, both in the form of territorial conflicts and violations of human rights (REPUBLIKA, 2019).

In December 2016 the United Nations again issued resolution 2334 in response to the 2015 armed conflict (ANTARA, 2020). During 2015, Israeli and other extremist settlers continued to attack Palestinians and their property, including destroying olive trees and other crops, as part of efforts to displace Palestinians off their land (IMEU, 2016). The UN Resolution 2334 contains the affirmation of Israel's obligation to comply with the law and its responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and to comply with advice efforts given by the International Court of Justice on 9 July 2004 (Nations, 2020). In accordance with the statement on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, the US unilaterally on December 6, 2017 has announced its decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and has been followed by the transfer of the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem on 14 May 2018 with occupies a building inside the US Consulate General complex in the Arnona area, West Jerusalem (KEMLU, 2019). This US action will in fact undermine the process of peace negotiations in the Middle East in general and the negotiations between Palestine-Israel in particular, considering that this recognition has taken sides for Israel in conducting future negotiations vis-a-vis Palestine (KEMLU, 2019).

4.2. Formation of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) The

Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is an international organization that brings together 57 Islamic countries with Muslim populations around the world (Arif, 2015, p. 47). Before the OIC was formed, several Islamic countries or those with a majority Muslim population had several times held international meetings (conferences) in order to discuss various problems that befall the Islamic world (Azhar, 2002, p. 75). The history of the formation of this organization cannot be separated from the problems regarding the 'Aqsa Mosque, namely when a 28-year-old Christian extremist with an Australian passport burned the part of Saladin's pulpit, the Al' Aqsa Mosque complex, Jerusalem (Tirto.id, 2020).

4.3. The OIC's Attitude towards the 2016-2019 Palestine-Israel Conflict

As with the initial goal of the establishment of the Islamic Cooperation Organization as stated in the *OIC Charter, it is* necessary to observe the efforts of this organization in addressing the conflict between the two countries. Secretary General of the OIC, Dr. Yousef A. Al-Othaimee, reiterated that this organization is the unity and core force of Islamic action with the OIC and the agreement of all member states that seek to end the Israeli occupation and help the Palestinian people realize their rights (OIC, 2020b). Furthermore, in dealing with the conflict between the two countries, especially in 2016 to 2019, the OIC, which is one of the platforms for the Palestinian state to realize its aspirations, has issued various resolutions.

The resolutions issued by OKI include, Resolution OIC / SUM-13/2016 / PAL-RES / FINAL, OIC / CFM-44/2017 / PAL / RES / FINAL, OIC / CFM-45/2018 / PAL / RES / FINAL ORIGINAL, OIC / CFM-46/2019 / PAL / RES / FINAL. The four resolutions at least contain demands for the sovereignty of the Palestinian territories, *Al-Quds Al-Sharif*. Condemnation of the various actions carried out by Israel which is clearly detrimental to the Palestinian side. Forcing Israel to comply with the advice given by the International Court of Justice and UN resolution 2334. The OIC also emphasized that in order to achieve the goal of Palestinian sovereignty, support from the international community, particularly OIC member states, needs to be supported.

Various resolutions have been issued by the OIC from 2016 to 2019, then it is necessary to see how the OIC member states have responded to these resolutions. The OIC itself has agreed not to normalize diplomatic relations with Israel if Israel does not immediately stop its occupation (Nabulsi, 2020). On the other hand, there are several OIC member states that recognize Israel and have diplomatic relations with Israel. Turkey was the first Islamic state to recognize Israel in 1949 (Safi, 2020). In 1950 Iran became the second Islamic country to establish diplomatic relations and close cooperation with Israel (Safi, 2020).

Egypt has also agreed on a peace with Israel during the Camp David Agreement in 1978 (Andriana, 2018, p. 52). In 1994 Jordan also agreed to a peace agreement with Israel (Gradner, 2020). In addition, there are OIC member countries that also have good cooperative relations with Israel, namely Khazakstan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan (Safi, 2020). In addition, a country that is also a member of the Arab League, namely the country of Oman also has a close cooperative relationship with Israel, especially in the trade sector (Katzman, 2011, p. 13). In fact, since last August and September, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain have normalized their

diplomatic relations with Israel (CNN, 2020).

4.4. The Effectiveness of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in Handling the Palestinian Conflict Israel

Krasner (1983, p. 2) defines the international regime as a series of principles, norms, rules and decision making that are carried out explicitly or implicitly with the aim that actors in international relations can interact coherently (Nye, 2014, p. 1). Since the start of the OIC, the *OIC Charter has* become an absolute rule for its member countries (OIC, 2020a). Thus, the OIC Charter becomes a regime within the organization. In the OIC charter, it is clearly stated in CHAPTER I regarding the goals and principles of Article 1 regarding the objectives of the Islamic Cooperation Organization paragraph 8, namely tosupport and give authority to the Palestinian people in exercising their right to self-determination and establishing their sovereign state with *Al-Quds. Al-Sharif* as the capital, as well as maintaining the historical and Islamic character of the holy places in it (OIC, 2020a).

According to Underdal et al. (2001, p. 4) the effectiveness of a regime can also be measured using the formula Er = f(Sr.Cr) + Br, Sr is *Stringency* (rule strength), Cr is *Compliance* (regime member obedience to the rules) and Br is a side effect generated regime. So it is necessary to check the output, outcome and impact of a resolution beforehand to determine the effectiveness of the regime (Underdal et al., 2001, p. 6).

For a case study on the effectiveness of the Organization for Islamic Cooperation in dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in 2016 to 2019, the analysis of its effectiveness is as follows:

Output (Sr) is the output that emerges from the formation process (Underdal et al., 2001, p. 6). In the case studies discussed by researchers, the output that emerged was the agreement of the heads of state of the OIC members which was stated in several resolutions.

Resolution *OIC / SUM-13/2016 / PAL-RES / FINAL* on the issue of Palestinian sovereignty over *Al-Quds Al-Sharif*, reaffirms the main responsibility of the UN for the Palestinian case so that a fair solution can be realized in all aspects and welcomes Palestinian accession to the convention and international agreements and call on OIC Member States to provide all forms of support that can help and protect Palestinians (OIC, 2016). Resolution *OIC / CFM-44/2017 / PAL / RES / FINAL* regarding the reaffirmation of the sovereignty of the Palestinian State over all Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including East *Al-Quds*, airspace, waters, and its borders with states neighbors (OIC, 2017).

affirmation of the United Nations responsibility for the Palestinian refugee problem and the continuing role of the United Nations Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA) (OIC, 2018). Resolution *OIC / CFM-46/2019 / PAL / RES / FINAL* regarding demands for sovereignty over the Palestinian territories (OIC, 2019).

Outcome (Cr) relates to changes in the behavior of regime members (Underdal et al., 2001, p. 6). The regime can be effective if it can change the behavior of OIC member states. Outcome from Resolution OIC / SUM-13/2016 / PAL-RES / FINAL, OIC / CFM-44/2017 / PAL / RES / FINAL, OIC / CFM-45/2018 / PAL / RES / FINAL, and OIC / CFM- 46/2019 / PAL / RES / FINAL is said to be ineffective because it cannot change the behavior of regime members. Various criticisms and demands for sovereignty over the Palestinian territories including the city of Jerusalem which is now made the capital by Israel and protection of Al-'Aqsa which was carried out by means of an economic, political, social and cultural boycott of the Israeli Zionist regime were apparently not carried out by all OIC member states. (MFA, 2016). As a result, only a small proportion of regime members have complied with the resolution, the rest have been defective.

Impact (Br) relates to the creation of certain situations desired by the regime (Underdal et al., 2001, p. 6). In this case, the OIC regime wants Palestine to have a sovereign territory, however until now Israel continues to annex the territory. This is evidenced by the transfer of Israel's capital from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, whereas previously Jerusalem was the capital of Palestine (BBC, 2017). The important goal of the 2016 to 2019 OIC Resolutions is regarding the sovereignty of the Palestinian territories. OIC member countries that should boycott Israel have done the opposite. As has been done by OIC countries that have opened diplomatic relations, normalized, and in renewal with Israel, are Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Turkey, United Arab Emirates and Bahrain (CNN, 2020). In fact, Saudi Arabia which has dominance /power in the OIC has also allowed the aircraft carrying Jared Khusner, the White House adviser to cross its territory (CNN, 2020).

Based on the measurements of the output (Sr), outcome (Cr) and impact (Br) above, the researchers concluded that the level of collaboration of the OIC regime in Resolution *OIC / SUM-13/2016 / PAL-RES / FINAL, OIC / CFM-44/2017 / PAL / RES / FINAL, OIC / CFM-45/2018 / PAL / RES / FINAL*, and *OIC / CFM-46/2019 / PAL / RES / FINAL* have a value of 0 (zero) on an ordinal scale. This means that the regime has low effectiveness, OIC regime members in Resolution *OIC / SUM-13/2016 / PAL-RES / FINAL, OIC / CFM-44/2017 / PAL / RES / FINAL, OIC / CFM-45 / 2018 / PAL / RES / FINAL*, and *OIC / CFM-46/2019 / PAL / RES / FINAL* did agree to the agreement, but they did not take any action to implement the existing

agreement (joint deliberation but no joint action). This can be seen when the OIC cannot impose sanctions on its members who have different attitudes.

5. Conclusions and Suggestions

Palestine and Israel are two countries in the Middle East region. The two countries which are located side by side are still in conflict until now. The

Palestinian-Israeli conflict is a conflict that never ends. The two-state solution is still being fought for by various parties, including the Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC), which is a forum for aspirations for the Palestinian people. In accordance with its objectives, since its inception this organization has agreed to help Palestine gain its sovereignty. This has been stated in the OIC Charter in CHAPTER I concerning the goals and principles of Article 1 regarding the objectives of the Islamic Cooperation Organization paragraph 8. Furthermore, to achieve these goals, especially in 2016 to 2019 the OIC together with its member countries issued various resolutions aimed at handle the Palestinian Israeli conflict.

Thus, the efforts that have been carried out by the OIC from 2016 to 2019 have not obtained maximum results. This is due to the inequality of attitudes held by OIC member countries. Several countries open diplomatic, economic, social and cultural relations. Thus, this indicates that the countries that are members of the OIC are more concerned with *national interests* their respective. OIC Resolutions from 2016 to 2019 have no significant impact on the resolution of the 2016-2019 Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

After drawing conclusions about the effectiveness of the Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in dealing with the Palestinian and Israeli conflicts, there is a suggestion that the researchers have, namely that this study focuses more on the effectiveness of the Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in dealing with the Palestinian and Israeli conflicts in 2016-2019. So, it is hoped that the next research can discuss the efficiency of the Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in dealing with the Palestinian and Israeli conflicts in the following year.

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