

Analysis of The Role Of Indonesia's Parliamentary Diplomacy in Supporting Palestinian Independence in 2023-2024

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Abstract

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This study aims to analyze the role of Indonesian parliamentary diplomacy through the Indonesian House of Representatives' Special Committee on Foreign Affairs (BKSAP) in advocating for the Palestinian issue during the 2023-2024 period, especially after the escalation of violence in Gaza following October 7, 2023. Using qualitative methods with a document study approach, interviews, and analysis of BKSAP activities in multilateral and bilateral forums, this study examines Indonesia's strategies in the IPU, APA, and PUIC, as well as bilateral coordination through the Indonesia-Palestine GKSB. The results show that BKSAP played a strategic role by pushing for an emergency item at the IPU, forming the APA Committee on Palestine, and leading strong advocacy at the PUIC until it was elected as the 19th President of the PUIC. At the bilateral level, BKSAP strengthened communication with the PLO/PNC and developed humanitarian cooperation. These findings confirm that Indonesian parliamentary diplomacy has evolved from a symbolic role to become a substantive, flexible, and influential advocacy actor in international humanitarian issues.

Keywords: Parliamentary Diplomacy, Indonesia-Palestine GKSB, Gaza Conflict, Humanitarian Advocacy, Indonesian Foreign Policy

1. INTRODUCTION

Diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Palestine are not merely the result of foreign policy preferences but are deeply rooted in strong historical ties and ideological foundations. This relationship was established long before Indonesia proclaimed its independence on 17 August 1945. An often-overlooked historical fact is that Palestine recognized Indonesia's sovereignty in 1944, at a time when Indonesia was still under colonial rule. This early recognition, mobilized by Palestinian leaders, represented an extraordinary act of solidarity and laid the foundation for what is often described as Indonesia's "moral debt" toward the Palestinian struggle.

This early support was later reinforced by Indonesia's founding leaders. The first President of the Republic of Indonesia, Sukarno, firmly positioned the Palestinian cause as an integral

part of Indonesia's foreign policy orientation. His strong anti-imperialist stance was clearly reflected in his refusal to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. This principle was manifested in several concrete actions, including Sukarno's rejection of Israel's congratulatory message following Indonesia's independence and his refusal to invite Israel to participate in the Asian-African Conference (AAC) in Bandung. One of the most symbolic sacrifices made in support of Palestine was Indonesia's decision to forgo the opportunity to qualify for the 1958 FIFA World Cup in Sweden by refusing to compete against Israel. These actions demonstrate that Indonesia's support for Palestine has never been mere political rhetoric, but rather a principled commitment that at times required sacrificing national interests for the sake of moral conviction.

This historical solidarity and anti-colonial belief were later institutionalized in Indonesia's highest legal document. The Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia explicitly states that "colonialism must be abolished in this world because it is not in accordance with humanity and justice." This constitutional doctrine transforms the Palestinian issue from a matter of foreign policy preference into a constitutional mandate binding on all state institutions, both executive and legislative. Consequently, Indonesia's support for Palestinian independence is not only politically consistent but also legally grounded, making it a firm and enduring pillar of Indonesian foreign policy regardless of leadership changes or domestic political dynamics.

In conducting its foreign policy, Indonesia adopts an institutional framework that involves parallel roles between the executive and legislative branches. While primary authority in foreign relations rests with the President and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) plays a crucial supporting role as mandated by the Constitution and national legislation. Article 219 of DPR RI Regulation No. 1 of 2014 explicitly regulates the international role of parliament, which is exercised through its legislative, budgetary, and oversight functions in pursuit of national interests (DPR RI, 2019). Parliamentary involvement in foreign affairs is further strengthened by Article 69 paragraph (2) of Law No. 17 of 2014, which affirms the legislature's role in supporting executive authority in international engagement.

To operationalize its international role, DPR RI established the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Body (BKSAP), a specialized institution serving as the focal point of Indonesia's parliamentary diplomacy. As regulated under Article 116 of Law No. 17 of 2014, BKSAP is mandated to participate in international parliamentary forums and develop cooperation with foreign parliaments. Acting on behalf of DPR RI, BKSAP supports executive diplomacy through a multi-track diplomacy approach, reinforcing Indonesia's national interests in line with Law No. 37 of 1999 on Foreign Relations, which emphasizes the protection of national interests, public welfare, and the promotion of world peace.

As part of the House's auxiliary bodies, BKSAP was established to strengthen and maintain bilateral and multilateral parliamentary relations and to represent Indonesia in international parliamentary organizations. In carrying out its mandate, BKSAP has consistently played an active role in regional and multilateral forums, striving to secure strategic positions within international parliamentary institutions. Through parliamentary diplomacy, BKSAP functions as the spearhead of DPR RI in exercising its legislative and oversight roles at the international level.

Parliamentary diplomacy represents a distinct form of international engagement that differs from traditional state-to-state diplomacy. It operates primarily through inter-parliamentary forums such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), the Parliamentary Union of the OIC Member States (PUIC), and the Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA). These platforms allow legislators to engage in dialogue, build consensus, and formulate joint resolutions. This dual-channel strategy enables Indonesia to pursue its foreign policy objectives not only through executive diplomacy but also through direct interaction among

elected representatives, who often possess greater flexibility and lobbying capacity. BKSAP's strategic objective is to position Indonesia as an international agenda influencer, reflecting the evolving role of DPR RI from a supporting institution to an influential actor in global politics.

The long-standing humanitarian crisis in Palestine escalated significantly following the events of 7 October 2023. Subsequent military operations in Gaza resulted in massive civilian casualties, including women and children, widespread destruction of critical infrastructure, and severe shortages of food, electricity, and medical supplies due to tightened blockades. This humanitarian catastrophe triggered widespread international protests and intensified global attention. Global responses to the escalation were deeply polarized. While many countries in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East expressed strong support for Palestine, several Western and Latin American countries tended to support Israel. International media coverage also became a subject of criticism, with accusations of bias and imbalance. Within this polarized context, Indonesia's constitutional commitment to opposing colonialism placed it in a morally significant position.

The escalation of the conflict increased domestic pressure on both the Indonesian government and parliament to take more proactive measures. Members of DPR RI urged the government to intensify diplomatic efforts to halt Israeli aggression and advance Palestinian independence. This momentum encouraged DPR RI to actively employ parliamentary diplomacy as an instrument to channel public aspirations and translate constitutional mandates into concrete international action.

In response, DPR RI undertook a series of symbolic and substantive diplomatic actions. On 31 October 2023, during the Opening Plenary Session of the Second Session Period of the 2023-2024 Parliamentary Year, members of DPR RI collectively wore Palestinian scarves as a symbol of solidarity. This gesture conveyed a strong and unified political message to both domestic and international audiences, demonstrating that the Palestinian issue transcends factional divisions.

Beyond symbolic actions, DPR RI pursued substantive diplomacy in international forums. At the 147th IPU General Assembly in Luanda, Angola, on 24 October 2023, the Indonesian delegation proposed an emergency resolution entitled *Stopping the War and Violations of Human Rights in Gaza*. The draft resolution called for an immediate ceasefire, humanitarian access to Gaza, greater international objectivity, and a long-term solution to the conflict. Although supported by 58 percent of the world's parliaments, the resolution failed to pass due to the two-thirds voting requirement. This outcome illustrates the geopolitical polarization within global parliamentary diplomacy and highlights the structural limitations faced by Indonesia despite broad support from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

Indonesia's parliamentary activism was also evident within the Parliamentary Union of OIC Member States (PUIC). At the PUIC Executive Committee Meeting in Abidjan in July 2023, the Indonesian delegation emphasized the urgency of protecting Palestinian civilians and urged OIC parliaments to support Palestine's full membership in the United Nations. Indonesia further advanced concrete proposals during the 5th PUIC Emergency Session and the Special Committee on Palestine in Tehran, including support for South Africa's genocide case against Israel at the International Court of Justice, rejection of normalization with Israel, and endorsement of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement. Indonesia also called for Israel's suspension from IPU membership. These initiatives received broad support from PUIC member parliaments, reinforcing Indonesia's position as a leading driver of Islamic parliamentary solidarity. Indonesia's activism strengthened its image as one of the most consistent defenders of Palestinian rights in international parliamentary forums and demonstrated the effectiveness of parliamentary diplomacy in shaping global opinion.

At the Asian level, BKSAP actively participated in the Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA), where Indonesia emerged as one of the most vocal advocates for humanitarian issues, regional stability, economic cooperation, and human rights. In this forum, Indonesia frequently

assumed the role of a *bridge builder*, seeking to reconcile differing perspectives among member states to achieve consensus on resolutions, including those related to Palestine.

Coordination between DPR RI and the executive branch was also evident through official meetings, such as the working session between Commission I of DPR RI and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 27 November 2023, which focused on developments in Gaza and Indonesia's diplomatic strategy. The Chair of BKSAP reiterated DPR RI's readiness to serve as a hub for mobilizing support from government institutions, parliaments, and civil society in line with the constitutional mandate of the 1945 Constitution.

Parliamentary support for Palestine is not limited to Indonesia. Parliaments in Europe, including those of Ireland, Norway, and Spain, actively promoted official recognition of Palestine during 2023-2024. In Latin America, countries such as Bolivia, Cuba, and Nicaragua demonstrated parliamentary support that legitimized decisive foreign policy actions, including Bolivia's severance of diplomatic relations with Israel. In the Middle East, parliaments in Turkey, Qatar, and Egypt played key roles in condemning Israeli actions and advancing humanitarian initiatives. In Africa, the South African Parliament strongly supported its government's legal action against Israel at the ICJ. These developments illustrate that parliamentary diplomacy in support of Palestine constitutes a global, cross-regional movement that enhances the legitimacy of Palestinian self-determination in international politics.

2. ANALITICAL FRAMEWORK

This research aims to analyze Indonesia's parliamentary diplomacy strategy in responding to the Palestine-Israel conflict during the period 2023-2024. To achieve this objective, the study employs an analytical framework that combines the concepts of parliamentary diplomacy, multi-track diplomacy, and role theory. These perspectives are used to examine how the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI), particularly through the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Body (BKSAP), contributes to Indonesia's foreign policy beyond executive-led diplomacy.

2.1. Parliamentary Diplomacy

Parliamentary diplomacy has emerged as an important dimension of contemporary international relations alongside traditional executive diplomacy. In the context of globalization and democratic governance, parliaments are no longer confined to domestic legislative functions but increasingly participate in international affairs through inter-parliamentary cooperation, bilateral and multilateral forums, and engagement with international parliamentary organizations (Sanur, 2015). According to Stavridis and Jancic (2017), parliamentary diplomacy refers to the involvement of members of parliament in international dialogue and cooperation aimed at building mutual understanding and influencing global decision-making.

In Indonesia's democratic system, parliamentary diplomacy reflects the principle of checks and balances, where the legislature complements executive foreign policy. Through institutions such as the House of Representatives (DPR RI), parliament performs not only legislative and oversight functions but also represents national interests in international forums. The unique characteristics of parliamentary diplomacy such as access to foreign decision-makers, public legitimacy, and flexibility enable parliaments to support conflict resolution and humanitarian advocacy (Robertson, 2007). In this research, parliamentary diplomacy is used to analyze Indonesia's parliamentary engagement in international efforts related to the Palestine-Israel conflict during 2023-2024.

2.2. Multi Track Diplomacy

Multi-track diplomacy, developed by Louise Diamond and John McDonald, conceptualizes diplomacy as a comprehensive system involving multiple actors beyond the state, including

civil society, business actors, religious institutions, and the media (McDonald, 2012). This approach emphasizes that sustainable peace can only be achieved through the interaction and synergy of various diplomatic tracks operating simultaneously.

Within this framework, government institutions remain central as Track One actors responsible for formal diplomacy and policy direction. In the Indonesian context, the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Body (BKSAP) of DPR RI is categorized as a Track One actor, as it operates within the formal state structure and supports official foreign policy objectives. BKSAP plays a strategic role in strengthening Indonesia's diplomatic stance on Palestinian independence by linking parliamentary diplomacy with humanitarian initiatives, inter-parliamentary networks, and international public opinion.

2.3. Role Theory

Role theory, as proposed by K.J. Holsti, explains how states construct and perform roles in the international system based on internal perceptions and external expectations (Holsti, 1970). National role conception is shaped by historical experience, political identity, and interactions with other international actors. Roles such as human rights advocate or bridge builder are dynamic and may evolve in response to changing international conditions.

In this study, Indonesia is viewed additionally as adopting the role of a human rights advocate and supporter of Palestinian independence. This role is rooted in Indonesia's national identity as an anti-colonial state, as articulated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, and reinforced by international expectations of Indonesia as a democratic and active participant in global forums. Through parliamentary diplomacy conducted by DPR RI, particularly BKSAP, Indonesia articulates and reinforces this role by advocating humanitarian values and supporting international efforts for justice and self-determination.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a qualitative descriptive method, as it is considered the most appropriate approach to examine and explain in depth Indonesia's parliamentary diplomacy in supporting Palestinian independence during the period 2023-2024. Qualitative research emphasizes meaning, interpretation, and context rather than numerical measurement, allowing researchers to understand complex social and political phenomena more comprehensively (Moleong, 2017).

Qualitative methods focus on data in the form of words, narratives, and documents, enabling the researcher to analyze and describe the substance, processes, and dynamics of a phenomenon that cannot be adequately captured through quantitative indicators alone (Saryono, 2010). In this regard, parliamentary diplomacy, which involves political communication, advocacy, symbolic actions, and international engagement, is better understood through interpretative analysis rather than statistical calculation.

According to Bogdan and Taylor (2016), qualitative research produces descriptive data derived from written and spoken words, as well as observable actions of individuals or groups. This approach allows the researcher to identify and characterize non-quantifiable attributes of social phenomena. Furthermore, qualitative research is conducted within a natural setting, where the researcher acts as the main instrument in collecting, interpreting, and analyzing data (Bogdan et al., 2011; Ningsih, 2015).

By prioritizing process, context, and meaning, the qualitative descriptive approach enables a nuanced understanding of Indonesia's parliamentary role in international diplomacy. Therefore, this method is highly relevant for analyzing the strategies, narratives, and

diplomatic practices employed by the Indonesian Parliament in advocating for Palestinian independence within regional and global parliamentary forums.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1. The Root Causes of the Palestine-Israel Conflict

The Palestine-Israel conflict is one of the most complex and protracted conflicts in modern international political history. Its persistence cannot be explained solely through territorial disputes or religious differences, but must be understood through a broader structural lens that encompasses colonial legacies, global geopolitical engineering, and the persistent failure of the international legal system to uphold justice in a consistent and non-selective manner. The conflict reflects a deeply unequal encounter between an indigenous population subjected to structural colonization and a modern settler-nationalist project that, from its inception, received extensive political, military, and diplomatic support from Western colonial powers.

In the contemporary context of 2023-2024, Israel's large-scale military aggression against Palestine—particularly in the Gaza Strip—represents the culmination of a conflict built upon enduring power asymmetries and systematic denial of Palestinian rights. The scale of destruction and humanitarian suffering witnessed during this period highlights that the conflict is not merely episodic violence, but rather the manifestation of unresolved structural injustices that have accumulated over more than a century.

The modern roots of the Palestine-Israel conflict can be traced back to the late nineteenth century with the emergence of the Zionist movement in Europe. Zionism developed as a response to widespread antisemitism and persecution experienced by Jewish communities, particularly in Eastern and Central Europe. However, instead of addressing discrimination within European societies, Zionism promoted the establishment of a Jewish homeland outside Europe, ultimately identifying Palestine as the target territory.

At the time, Palestine was under Ottoman rule and characterized by a relatively stable multicommunal social structure, where Muslim, Christian, and Jewish communities coexisted. The transformation of Palestine into a settler-colonial project began when Zionist aspirations gained international political legitimacy through the Balfour Declaration of 1917. Issued by the British government, the declaration expressed support for the establishment of a “national home for the Jewish people” in Palestine, without consulting or obtaining consent from the indigenous Palestinian population. This marked a fundamental shift in the political status of Palestine—from a society with an existing population to an object of colonial geopolitical arrangement.

During the British Mandate period (1920-1948), structural inequalities between Jewish settlers and the Palestinian population were systematically entrenched. British colonial authorities facilitated large-scale Jewish migration, supported the establishment of Zionist political, economic, and security institutions, and enabled land acquisition by Jewish organizations. In contrast, Palestinian political mobilization and resistance were met with repression through military force, emergency regulations, and collective punishment. The dual political structure imposed by the British created a deeply asymmetrical system: one community was empowered with state-like institutions, while the other was denied political self-determination. This imbalance reached its climax in 1947-1948, when the United Nations adopted Resolution 181 on the partition of Palestine. The resolution failed to reflect demographic realities or patterns of land ownership, allocating a disproportionate share of territory to the Jewish population, which at the time constituted a demographic minority.

The implementation of the partition plan led to the declaration of the State of Israel in 1948 and the Nakba (catastrophe) for the Palestinian people. More than 700,000 Palestinians were forcibly displaced, hundreds of villages were destroyed, and an enduring refugee crisis was

created. The Nakba was not merely a humanitarian tragedy, but a foundational moment of structural injustice that continues to shape Palestinian collective memory and political struggle.

Following 1948, the conflict evolved into a prolonged struggle characterized by unresolved displacement and denial of Palestinian rights. The right of return for Palestinian refugees, guaranteed under UN Resolution 194, has never been implemented, rendering exile a permanent and intergenerational condition. The situation further deteriorated after the 1967 Six-Day War, when Israel occupied the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. International humanitarian law defines occupation as a temporary condition; however, Israel's occupation has become permanent in nature. Through the expansion of illegal settlements, land confiscation, restrictions on movement, and control over natural resources, Israel has constructed a system of domination over Palestinians in the occupied territories. Numerous international human rights organizations have characterized this system as a form of modern apartheid, marked by legal dualism, spatial segregation, and institutionalized discrimination.

Despite repeated violations of international law, mechanisms of accountability have remained largely ineffective. The international legal order has proven unable—or unwilling—to enforce its own norms when confronted with geopolitical interests, particularly the strategic alliance between Israel and major Western powers.

From the 2010s through 2023, the conflict was further intensified by shifting domestic, regional, and global dynamics. In Israel, the rise of ultra-nationalist and far-right governments accelerated de facto annexation policies and openly rejected the two-state solution. Within Palestine, prolonged political fragmentation weakened internal governance and diminished diplomatic leverage on the international stage.

At the regional level, the normalization of relations between Israel and several Arab states through the Abraham Accords altered Middle Eastern geopolitics and contributed to the marginalization of the Palestinian issue in regional diplomacy. This constellation of factors formed the structural backdrop for Israel's large-scale military assault on Gaza beginning in October 2023. The 2023-2024 assault on Gaza marked one of the most devastating phases of the conflict. Israeli military operations systematically targeted civilian infrastructure, including hospitals, schools, refugee camps, and places of worship. A total blockade cut off access to water, food, electricity, and medical supplies, producing a catastrophic humanitarian crisis. International humanitarian organizations and legal experts identified patterns of collective punishment, war crimes, and indications of genocidal acts.

Beyond physical destruction, the escalation also highlighted the role of narrative warfare in shaping global perceptions of the conflict. Restrictions on journalistic access to Gaza, the high number of journalists killed, and the dominance of pro-Israel narratives in Western mainstream media demonstrated how information itself has become a contested battlefield. Conversely, media from the Global South and digital platforms played a critical role in challenging dominant narratives and amplifying Palestinian voices. At the level of the international system, the conflict once again exposed the limitations of executive diplomacy. Diplomatic efforts conducted through foreign ministries and formal state channels have been constrained by strategic alliances and veto power, particularly within the United Nations Security Council. This has resulted in a structural deadlock, where violations of international law are not followed by effective accountability.

Overall, the Palestine-Israel conflict in the 2023-2024 period reaffirms that its fundamental causes remain unchanged: colonial legacies, prolonged occupation, legal inequality, and the failure of the international community to uphold justice consistently. As long as these structural injustices remain unaddressed, the conflict will continue to reproduce cycles of violence. Understanding these root causes is essential for evaluating alternative diplomatic approaches, including parliamentary diplomacy, as complementary mechanisms to address the enduring limitations of traditional state-centered diplomacy.

4.2. Analysis of Indonesia's Parliamentary Diplomacy on the Palestinian Issue (2023-2024)

The analysis of Indonesia's parliamentary diplomacy on the Palestinian issue during the 2023-2024 period demonstrates that the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Body (BKSAP) of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) has evolved beyond its traditional role as a mere supporting instrument of executive diplomacy. Instead, BKSAP has emerged as a relatively autonomous strategic actor within the practice of international relations. The application of two analytical frameworks—National Role Conceptions (NRC) and Multi-Track Diplomacy (MTD)—provides a solid theoretical foundation for understanding this transformation, while also allowing for a critical assessment of its effectiveness amid structural constraints and global geopolitical realities.

From the perspective of National Role Conceptions, the roles performed by BKSAP reflect a consistent projection of Indonesia's foreign policy identity, rooted in anti-colonialism, humanitarian solidarity, and the principle of a free and active foreign policy. Roles such as *bridge builder*, *advocate of human rights*, and *regional leader* do not emerge in an ad hoc manner, but rather represent the internalized perceptions of parliamentary elites regarding Indonesia's "appropriate role" within the international system. In this sense, parliamentary diplomacy toward Palestine is not merely a reactive response to the Gaza crisis, but part of the reproduction of Indonesia's long-standing post-colonial foreign policy identity.

However, a critical reading reveals that these roles are predominantly manifested in the normative and symbolic domains rather than in coercive or material terms. BKSAP has been highly effective in constructing moral narratives, framing the Palestinian issue as a global humanitarian crisis, and consolidating solidarity among Global South countries and the Islamic world. Nevertheless, its influence on altering the behavior of key actors—particularly Western states that strongly support Israel—remains limited. This highlights the objective limitation of NRC: while identity and values can motivate action and shape discourse, they do not necessarily possess the capacity to overcome deeply entrenched power asymmetries within the international system.

Within the framework of Multi-Track Diplomacy, BKSAP operates as a central node that orchestrates multiple diplomatic tracks. The distinctiveness of Indonesia's parliamentary diplomacy lies in its ability to utilize the legitimacy of Track One diplomacy while simultaneously opening space for other tracks, including civil society organizations, humanitarian institutions, academics, and media actors. This configuration illustrates the shift from hierarchical diplomacy toward a networked model of diplomacy, in which parliaments can function as strategic connectors among diverse actors without forfeiting state legitimacy.

At the same time, this multitrack synergy presents its own challenges. While the involvement of multiple actors enhances moral legitimacy and political pressure, it also increases coordination complexity and strategic fragmentation. Empirical findings indicate that many diplomatic outputs—such as resolutions adopted in PUIC or special committees within the Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA)—have not fully translated into concrete policy outcomes at the global level. This reveals an implementation gap between norm production and policy realization, underscoring the limits of parliamentary diplomacy in converting moral consensus into enforceable international action.

BKSAP's engagement across different parliamentary forums demonstrates a differentiated and adaptive diplomatic strategy. Within the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), BKSAP attempted to penetrate a relatively neutral but geopolitically contested arena by utilizing procedural mechanisms such as emergency items and structural positioning within executive committees. In the APA, Indonesia assumed the role of a regional consensus builder, despite facing significant political fragmentation among Asian states. Meanwhile, in the PUIC, BKSAP capitalized on ideological and religious solidarity within the Islamic world to

promote more assertive positions on Palestine. This strategic differentiation reflects Indonesia's ability to tailor its parliamentary diplomacy to the institutional characteristics of each forum.

Nevertheless, critical analysis reveals that successes within the PUIC often generate high moral visibility but low global leverage. Strongly worded resolutions are rarely accompanied by measurable enforcement mechanisms or sustained follow-up. Conversely, forums with greater global legitimacy and influence, such as the IPU, tend to constrain political maneuverability through consensus-based decision-making and pressure from major powers. In effect, the more globally authoritative a forum is, the narrower the space becomes for firm political positions on Palestine.

Structural constraints further expose the limitations of parliamentary diplomacy as a Track One actor. Although endowed with state legitimacy, parliaments lack executive authority over foreign policy implementation. Dependence on alignment with executive diplomacy has, in some cases, slowed BKSAP initiatives in comparison to the rapid escalation of violence on the ground. At this juncture, the flexibility that constitutes the primary advantage of parliamentary diplomacy encounters the institutional reality of modern states, where executive bodies retain ultimate control over foreign policy decisions.

Overall, the findings indicate that Indonesia's parliamentary diplomacy has transcended purely symbolic functions and developed into a significant normative actor in advocating for the Palestinian cause. Its influence, however, remains stronger in shaping agendas, narratives, and moral consensus than in producing structural change within the conflict itself. The combined application of NRC and MTD successfully explains both why Indonesia acts and how parliamentary diplomacy is conducted, while simultaneously revealing the inherent limits of value-based diplomacy within an international system still dominated by material power and strategic interests of major states.

5. CONCLUSION

Drawing on Indonesia's engagement in the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), the Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA), and the Parliamentary Union of the OIC Member States (PUIC), this study demonstrates that Indonesia's parliamentary diplomacy has transformed into a normative force capable of shaping international agendas, fostering cross-regional solidarity, and exerting political pressure on the international community to address the humanitarian tragedy in Palestine. This transformation marks a significant shift in the role of parliament from a supplementary actor to an integral component of Indonesia's foreign policy strategy.

Within the IPU, the findings indicate that BKSAP successfully elevated the Palestinian issue to the global parliamentary agenda despite strong resistance from several Western states. Indonesia's initiatives to propose emergency items at the 147th and 148th IPU Assemblies, although falling short of the formal adoption threshold, garnered support from more than half of the member parliaments. These efforts compelled the global parliamentary community to take explicit positions on Gaza. Through coalition-building among Asian, African, and Latin American states, intensive lobbying, and strategic textual compromise, BKSAP demonstrated its capacity to lead complex multilateral negotiations. Indonesia's election to the IPU Executive Committee for the Asia-Pacific region further strengthened its strategic position to consistently advance the Palestinian issue at the global level.

At the regional level, particularly within the APA, BKSAP achieved an institutional breakthrough by initiating the establishment of the APA Committee on Palestine. This initiative shifted the APA's approach from largely symbolic resolutions toward a more structured and sustainable institutional mechanism. Through parliamentary forums held in Baghdad, Antalya, Tehran, and Baku, Indonesia successfully consolidated Asian parliamentary solidarity and

strengthened collective recommendations emphasizing independent investigations, humanitarian access, and the enforcement of international humanitarian law. These findings illustrate that Indonesia's parliamentary diplomacy is not merely reactive to crises, but proactive in shaping new institutional architectures to sustain attention to the Palestinian issue in the Asian region.

Meanwhile, within the PUIC, Indonesia emerged as a key policy architect driving collective action within the Islamic world. At the 18th PUIC Conference in Abidjan, the majority of Indonesia's proposals—including calls for UN Security Council reform, support for a final ruling by the International Court of Justice, expansion of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement, and the establishment of a Global Parliamentary Humanitarian Campaign for Gaza—were incorporated into the final communiqué. This outcome underscores Indonesia's ability to move beyond rhetorical solidarity and translate parliamentary diplomacy into coordinated collective initiatives.

Overall, Indonesia's parliamentary diplomacy through BKSAP during the 2023-2024 period confirms that parliament is no longer merely an adjunct to foreign policy, but a strategic actor capable of generating political pressure, shaping international opinion, and expanding global solidarity for Palestine. When executive diplomacy is constrained by geopolitical interests and great-power vetoes, parliamentary channels offer greater flexibility, normative clarity, and responsiveness to humanitarian crises. Looking forward, sustaining and strengthening BKSAP's capacity will be crucial to ensuring that this role evolves beyond a temporary momentum into an institutionalized instrument of foreign policy. Enhanced cross-regional networks, improved lobbying capacity, and the strategic utilization of Indonesia's positions within global parliamentary forums are essential for transforming parliamentary diplomacy from a moral voice into a normative force capable of contributing to tangible change in a more just and humane international order.

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