

THE PARADOX OF INDONESIA'S FREE AND ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY IN THE TRANSITIONAL FORUM OF THE PALESTINIAN BOARD OF PEACE: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF FIQH SIYASAH AND ISLAMIC LIBERATION THEOLOGY

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Abstract

Indonesia's involvement in the UN-mandated transitional framework of the Palestinian Board of Peace (BoP), established in Davos in early 2026, has sparked multidimensional controversy. This study analyzes the dynamics and paradoxical anatomy of Indonesia's free and active foreign policy concerning the BoP through the lens of Islamic constitutional law (fiqh siyasah) and Islamic theology. Methodologically, this qualitative research employs a descriptive-critical approach based on a narrative review. Primary data were gathered from state documents, civil society archives, and philanthropic reports, which were then examined using interactive content analysis and critical interpretation. The findings reveal that Indonesia exercises dual-track diplomacy: asserting transformative demands at the D-8 Summit while pragmatically participating in the Davos BoP. This pragmatic involvement creates a paradox, as the BoP's "New Gaza" reconstruction draft textually undermines Palestinian sovereignty, which subsequently triggered massive non-state paradiplomacy through philanthropic funding to ensure human security on the ground. Theoretically, this study contributes to the discourse of Islamic international relations by demonstrating that a peace agreement (al-shulh) is legally null and morally flawed under siyasah dauliyah and liberation theology if it merely legitimizes hegemonic, security-first architectures. For policy implications, the Indonesian government must recalibrate its diplomatic strategy to distance itself from pseudo-pacification, utilizing its geopolitical influence to unequivocally support the restoration of usurped rights (istirdād al-ḥuqūq al-maslūbah) for full Palestinian independence.

Keywords: Board of Peace, active free politics, Siyasah Dauliyah, liberation theology, Palestine.

INTRODUCTION

The free and active foreign policy has historically positioned Indonesia as a non-aligned actor dedicated to global peace and anti-colonial justice

(Bütün et al., 2024; Susilawati et al., 2024). In the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, this constitutional mandate—coupled with Indonesia's identity as the world's most populous Muslim-majority country—has translated into steadfast diplomatic and humanitarian support for Palestinian sovereignty (Andriansyah, 2024; Candra & Mubarok, 2024; Gati & Hafid, 2024). However, amidst the escalating Gaza crisis, Indonesia's recent participation in the UN-mandated transitional framework of the Palestinian Board of Peace (BoP) in Davos has generated a profound diplomatic paradox. While the government justifies its involvement as a pragmatic, peace-mediating implementation of its free and active policy, civil society criticizes the move as overly compromising, fearing that the BoP's agenda prioritizes geopolitical stability over substantive justice for the Palestinians (Mudzakir, 2025; Prihantoro et al., 2025).

In the broader global academic discourse, the tension between pragmatic conflict resolution and normative-theological values is a well-documented phenomenon. International comparative studies frequently highlight the pitfalls of external peace interventions; for instance, Call and Cousens (2008) and Rohner (2024) have critically debated how international peacebuilding architectures often prioritize elite-driven security at the expense of local sovereignty (Call & Cousens, 2008; Rohner, 2024). Furthermore, scholars such as Schvarcz and Billig (2022) have explored the complex intersection of Judeo-Islamic theology and political pragmatism in peace campaigns (Schvarcz & Billig, 2022). Within this global context, Indonesia's maneuver in the BoP is not an isolated geopolitical event, but rather a prominent case study of how a leading Global South nation navigates the clash between hegemonic international peace frameworks and domestic religious imperatives.

Despite previous studies analyzing state diplomacy through conventional international relations lenses, a significant theoretical gap persists. No prior research has critically evaluated Indonesia's involvement in contemporary transitional platforms (specifically the newly established Palestinian Board of Peace) using the critical analytical instruments of Islamic

constitutional law (fiqh siyasah) and liberation theology. Therefore, the primary contribution of this article lies in its deconstruction of Indonesia's free and active foreign policy within the BoP, elevating the analysis from standard diplomatic evaluation to a rigorous moral and theological critique. This research proves whether the diplomatic paradox within the BoP can be justified by the principle of the common good (*al-maslahah al-ammah*) or if it inherently contradicts the ethical imperatives of Islamic theology.

Based on this background, this study focuses on the paradox analysis of Indonesia's active free politics in the *Palestinian Board of Peace* through the perspective of fiqh siyasah and Islamic theology. Thus, this study also aims to describe the empirical implementation and dynamics of Indonesia's free and active foreign policy regarding the Palestinian Board of Peace (**RQ1**), to interpret how this involvement generates a diplomatic paradox between state pragmatism and non-state moral paradiplomacy (**RQ2**), and to provide a rigorous normative evaluation of this paradox using the perspectives of *siyasah dauliyah* and Islamic theology (**RQ3**).

Research Methods

This study employs a qualitative descriptive design utilizing a library research method and a narrative review approach (Creswell, 2014; Fitzgerald & Field, 2021). This design was chosen to operationally investigate socio-political phenomena by critically interpreting primary state documents and non-state responses through the theoretical lenses of fiqh siyasah and Islamic theology.

Data were divided into primary and secondary sources. Primary data were purposively selected based on direct relevance to the diplomatic events between 2024 and 2026, explicitly including: (1) The transcript of President Prabowo Subianto's Speech at the D-8 Summit; (2) The Board of Peace (BoP) Charter for Gaza; (3) The YLBHI Press Release; and (4) Official distribution reports from BAZNAS RI and Dompot Dhuafa. Secondary data were gathered from academic databases (Google Scholar, Garuda) using keywords such as "Indonesian and Palestinian diplomacy," and "fiqh siyasah dauliyah." The inclusion criteria required sources to be peer-reviewed articles or books,

published within a recent timeframe, and explicitly utilizing Islamic political frameworks.

The data were analyzed using an interactive qualitative model comprising three stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Miles & A. Michael Hubberman, 1994). First, qualitative content analysis was applied to extract relevant narratives from primary documents. Second, the extracted data were structured into a critical-analytical narrative juxtaposing state pragmatism with non-state paradiplomacy. Finally, conclusions were drawn by interpreting these actions against normative Islamic concepts such as justice (*al-'adl*) and the defense of the oppressed (*nasr al-mazlum*). To ensure research validity and mitigate subjective bias, this study employed data source triangulation (Nassaji, 2015). This was operationalized by cross-referencing official state claims against alternative perspectives from civil society archives and empirical field evidence from philanthropic reports.

DISCUSSION

Empirical Findings: State Diplomacy and Non-State Moral Paradiplomacy

The implementation of Indonesia's free and active foreign policy regarding Palestine currently manifests through a dual-track approach: formal state diplomacy and non-state moral paradiplomacy. Empirically, the state's transformative diplomacy was asserted by President Prabowo Subianto during the Special Session of the D-8 Summit in Cairo on December 19, 2024. The President explicitly stated, *“How can we help the Palestinians if we quarrel among ourselves? Let us be honest, I call for unity, I call for cooperation, I call for let us, the Muslim countries, realize what is happening. We are not being respected, they do not care about our voice”* (Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 2024). This statement empirically demonstrates Indonesia's effort to act as a normative Bridge Builder within the Global South to mobilize Islamic solidarity.

Conversely, the second track (non-state moral paradiplomacy) emerged rapidly in response to the humanitarian crisis on the ground. Islamic

philanthropic organizations have instrumentalized Zakat, Infaq, and Sadaqah (ZIS) funds to directly sustain human security. Concrete data shows that by May 2026, BAZNAS RI allocated a specific fund of Rp 270 billion for Palestine, which included the direct distribution of 1,314 iftar packages to Gaza during the peak of the Ramadan crisis in February 2026 (JPNN, 2026). Simultaneously, Dompot Dhuafa mobilized large-scale funding to procure clean water access in critical zones such as Al Thawarah Street and the Al Sheikh Radwan Area (Dompot Dhuafa, 2025). These precise figures and interventions prove that non-state actors play a crucial role in compensating for the limitations of formal state diplomacy, providing direct, measurable impacts on the basic human security of the Palestinian people.

The Diplomatic Paradox of the Board of Peace

While Indonesia's rhetoric at the D-8 Summit was transformative, its subsequent pragmatic participation in the UN-mandated Palestinian Board of Peace (BoP) in Davos on January 22, 2026, presents a sharp paradox (Natamiharja et al., 2026). The government claimed this participation represented a historic opportunity to safeguard the two-state solution within a Dar at-ta'awun (cooperation area) framework (Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 2026). However, an interpretation of the BoP's official structural draft reveals severe contradictions.

The paradox centers on the BoP's reconstruction plan, specifically the terminology and architecture of "The New Gaza." According to the YLBHI press release on January 29, 2026, this transitional framework facilitates a security-first, capital-driven agenda orchestrated by Western hegemonic powers. YLBHI critically exposed that the mandate to carry out 'supervision' and 'development' under the guise of "The New Gaza" textually reduces the existence of a sovereign Palestinian state (Y. L. B. H. Indonesia, 2026). Recent scholarship on peacebuilding, territorial governance, and settler-colonial urbanism indicates that frameworks associated with conflict resolution in protracted disputes are increasingly subject to critical contestation in contexts marked by asymmetrical power relations. Rather than functioning solely as neutral instruments of equitable conflict resolution, such

frameworks are often interpreted by domestic civil society actors as embedded within broader regimes of demographic engineering, spatial control, and coercive population management (Mishirqi-Assad & Kedar, 2025; Pelliconi, 2025). In this reading, policies framed under the language of stabilization and diplomatic engagement are perceived as facilitating processes of forced displacement and the reconfiguration of demographic landscapes through legal, administrative, and security mechanisms (Alsemeiri & al., 2025; Althehe & Huss, 2025).

Within the Israeli–Palestinian context, empirical studies have documented how settlement expansion, legal restructuring, and territorial fragmentation contribute to what has been described as “displaceability” and incremental population removal, thereby reinforcing dynamics associated with settler-colonial governance (Joronen, 2025). Consequently, the state’s pursuit of diplomatic neutrality and regional stability may inadvertently risk reproducing and legitimizing historically entrenched asymmetries of power, while simultaneously obscuring its historically contested and politically situated role within the conflict architecture (Muhammad Isah & Hamza, 2026). Critical perspectives further argue that such peacebuilding and governance frameworks may function to normalize structural conditions of domination under the veneer of neutrality, thereby complicating claims of impartial mediation in a deeply politicized and historically asymmetric conflict environment (UN human rights reporting, 2024).

Normative Evaluation: *Siyasah Dauliyah* and Islamic Liberation Theology

The empirical findings of state paradiplomacy and the paradoxical interpretation of the Board of Peace (BoP) necessitate a rigorous, in-depth normative evaluation through the epistemological lenses of *siyasah dauliyah* (Islamic international constitutional law) and Islamic liberation theology. In the foundational principles of *fiqh siyasah*, international relations and conflict mitigation are governed by the overarching maxim of leadership: *Tasharruf al-Imam 'ala al-ra'iyah manuthun bi al-maslahah* (the policy of a leader toward their people must be strictly bound by the public interest) (Iswandi, 2023). Initially, diplomatic efforts to cease armed conflict possess a legitimate

normative foundation through the concept of *Dar at-ta'awun* (area of cooperation), wherein multilateral interventions are mobilized to halt the destruction of a *Dar al-Harb* (war zone) (Iqromah & Ahmad, 2024). This aligns with the principle of *Dar'ul Mafasid* (preventing greater harm) to protect civilian lives. However, *fiqh siyasah* establishes a strict normative threshold: *masalah* cannot be validated if it fundamentally contradicts the core tenets of sovereignty and justice.

When critically evaluating the "New Gaza" architecture proposed at Davos, *siyasah dauliyah* renders any resulting peace agreement (*al-shulh*) structurally flawed and legally null and void if it operates under a security-first or capital-driven hegemony (Shahreza, 2026). The BoP's transitional framework risks facilitating demographic engineering and forced displacement, which directly violates the primary objectives of Islamic law (*maqashid al-shariah*), specifically *Hifz al-Din* (the protection of religion) and *Hifz al-Irdh* (the protection of honor and dignity) (Iswandi, 2023). Under Islamic constitutional law, the Palestinian people possess an absolute, inalienable right to conduct defensive *jihad* and national defense against foreign occupation. Consequently, Indonesia's diplomatic involvement is deemed morally compromised if its neutrality inadvertently normalizes the Zionist occupation or silences the legitimate constitutional right of the Palestinians to resist structural erasure.

Beyond the legalistic boundaries of *fiqh siyasah*, Islamic political theology offers a profound ontological deconstruction of the BoP's definition of "peace." The hegemonic international system frequently reduces the concept of peace to a mere pacification process—defined strictly as the absence of armed warfare to secure global market stability and foreign investment (Haviz, 2026). Islamic theology adamantly rejects this superficial reduction. From a theological standpoint, genuine peace cannot coexist with structural oppression; it must be built upon the radical foundation of restorative justice and the absolute liberation of the *mustad'afin* (the oppressed) (Harahap et al., 2025). This ethical awareness resonates deeply with the contemporary movement of Palestinian Liberation Theology, which

asserts that dismantling the systemic shackles of Zionist settler colonialism is not merely a political struggle, but a sacred, interfaith call to faith (Purwanto, 2024).

Ultimately, as a nation that historically anchored the Global South's anti-colonial resistance during the 1955 Asian-African Conference, Indonesia bears an immense historical and theological burden (Malaya et al., 2019). The active free foreign policy cannot be used as an alibi for pragmatic evasion. The teleological goal of Indonesia's diplomacy must transcend the illusion of transitional stability at Davos. Both *siyasah dauliyah* and Islamic theology conclude that Indonesia's involvement in the BoP will only achieve moral and theological legitimacy if the state utilizes its geopolitical bargaining power to explicitly reject imperialist pacification and unequivocally champion the principle of *Istirdād al-ḥuqūq al-maslūbah* (the absolute restoration of usurped rights) for the full, uncompromising independence of the Palestinian nation (Heriamsal & Mada, 2025; Shahreza, 2026).

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the implementation of Indonesia's free and active foreign policy regarding the Palestinian Board of Peace (BoP) operates on a paradoxical dual-track. Empirically, while the state pragmatically participates in the BoP's transitional framework in Davos, this involvement risks legitimizing a security-first "New Gaza" architecture that undermines Palestinian sovereignty. To compensate for this diplomatic compromise, domestic non-state actors have mobilized massive philanthropic paradplomacy to sustain human security on the ground. Theoretically, this research enriches the discourse of Islamic international relations by establishing that, under *siyasah dauliyah* and Islamic liberation theology, any peace agreement (*al-shulh*) is legally null and morally flawed if it facilitates demographic engineering or silences the right to defensive resistance.

For policy implications, the Indonesian government must recalibrate its diplomatic strategy. Rather than acquiescing to hegemonic pseudo-pacification, the state must utilize its Global South leadership to unequivocally demand the absolute restoration of usurped rights (*istirdād al-*

ḥuqūq al-maslūbah) for full Palestinian independence. However, this study acknowledges certain limitations; it primarily relies on a qualitative narrative review of state documents and institutional reports, which may not capture the hidden dynamics of behind-the-scenes diplomatic negotiations or the precise quantitative impact of philanthropic aid. Therefore, future research should incorporate empirical field studies (such as in-depth interviews with diplomatic actors and non-state stakeholders) or conduct comparative analyses of foreign policies among other Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) member states responding to the BoP framework.

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