

Sukarno's Ideas in Indonesian Foreign Policy: The Form of Indonesian Support to the Palestinian Independence Struggle 1955-1963

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Abstract: This article aims to analyze Sukarno's ideas which influenced Indonesia's foreign policy in 1955-1963. The focus of the discussion was on the form of Indonesian support in the process of the struggle for Palestinian independence. This study uses historical methods consisting of heuristics or data collection from contemporary state documents; books relating to research topics; and published international documents. In the results of the study, it was found that the relationship between Indonesia and Palestine had been established since Indonesia was not yet independent. In recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty, the Palestinian people also contributed to supporting Indonesia's independence. During the Sukarno era, support for the struggle for Palestinian independence was carried out in various forms, one of which was in the form of resistance to colonialism and imperialism. Through the idea of anti-colonialism and imperialism, Sukarno aims to unite all parties through a middle way.

Keywords:

Sukarno's ideas, struggle for independence, form of support, Palestine

Introduction

Sukarno was known by the Indonesian people as an authoritative and decisive leader, and often his ideas influenced many changes in Indonesian society from the colonial era to independence. The idea that he created would also still be relevant in mediating the conflict of ideas in the modern world today. The ideas he gave birth to were the result of his thoughts on some hostile ideas. His thinking of Nationalism, Religion and Communism was one of the phenomenal things he had ever produced. Combining conflicting ideas and then finding the same purpose thereof is an advantage and privilege of the fruit of Sukarno's figure of thought. Of course this can not be separated from his past as a young man, who was educated and raised by the nation's teacher H. S. Tjokroaminoto.

Young Sukarno was much influenced by Tjokroaminoto's ideas which were revolutionary and tended to fight the flow of tradition. Tjokroaminoto as a prominent figure from the Sarekat Islam (SI) initiated many ideas about socialism and combined them with Islamic principles. For him Islam and socialism are not contradictory because in purpose they are the same which is fixing society. On this basis the young Sukarno began to view the ideology of one another as being able to be unified. In his collection of writings, named *Under the Flag of the Revolution*, Sukarno combined a lot of nationalism, communism, and Islam in producing a meaningful idea. Raising power as much as possible by excluding differences is the essence of Sukarno's ideas.

Sukarno as a Muslim did not leave Islam behind ideology and other ideas. He sees Islam as a form of progress that is conceptualized in the method of *ijtihad*, which is relevant to the times and with any conditions (Sukarno, 1963: 370). Islam for Sukarno was progress and anti-orthodoxy, in this case he reflected on the history of the early days of Islam which attracted many Arab youths to embrace it, clearly for Sukarno Islam was a form of progress itself. Reflecting on three major Islamic civilizations centered in three cities; Cairo in Egypt, Ankara in Turkey and Jerusalem in Palestine, it means Islam in several forms. (Sukarno, 1963: 381). Modernity, orthodoxy, and the combination of the two forms of Islam according to Sukarno. Modernity is seen in terms of fighting tradition and forming a new innovation to interpret Islam. The orthodoxy on the other hand for him is very firm in holding the tradition without any slight changes. Sukarno also saw the orthodoxy based on the existence of a label "chastity" that was pinned on a place, so that the place was very holding tradition and did not change one bit. In this

case, Sukarno saw the concern for Palestine with his conservative Jerusalem, for which this matter was not much different from the conditions of the Indonesian people

Jerusalem by Sukarno was affixed as a picture of an orthodoxy where with the existence of the Al Aqsa Mosque, the people there were reluctant to think of Islam and interpret it further. But Sukarno himself saw there were things that were far more important behind the orthodoxy. The kekolotan closes and fosters a great struggle in the hearts of every young man there. With the intention of resisting the oppression of the invaders, the youth carried out resistance innovations in various forms, by Sukarno this was a very important concern for realizing Indonesian independence (Sukarno, 1963: 383).

In the course of achieving Indonesian independence, Sukarno often interacted with the Arab League and people from Palestine to support the realization of Indonesian independence through his colleagues and official delegates (M. Zein, 1980: 155). Palestine itself, although it has not yet emerged as a "whole" country, greatly contributes to the spread of Indonesian independence throughout the Arab countries and the Islamic world. Recognition of the sovereignty of Indonesia given by the Palestinian people together with Egypt and Syria for the first time, became a turning point for Indonesia's struggle in realizing and maintaining Indonesia's independence as a whole. Because of his solidarity with independence and the recognition of Indonesian nationals, Sukarno also placed Palestine in a special place in the 1945 constitution through its manifestation, namely occupation over the world must be abolished.

Writing about Sukarno's ideas, as well as the relationship between Indonesia and Palestine has actually been carried out several times. Previous writing has discussed a lot about Sukarno's ideas that influenced the direction of Indonesian policy, as well as straightforward relations between Indonesia and Palestine. Of the several existing writings, most of them are less specific in discussing Sukarno's ideas that have an influence on Indonesian policy in looking at relations between Indonesia and Palestine, and this discussion mainly contains relations between Indonesia and Palestine after the beginning of the new order to the present. One example is an article entitled "Indonesian Government Engagement in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Peace Process" written by I Gde Sumertha, Ahwan Iswandi, and Hilaria Ananda Wibowo from Defense University. It only discusses Indonesia's involvement in the Palestinian conflict throughout the 1980s until now without relating it to Sukarno's ideas. The article made by the author will later

add an explanation of the influence of Indonesia's initial relations with Palestine and Sukarno's ideas on the form of Indonesian actions in supporting the struggle for Palestinian independence in the period 1955-1963.

Writing this article is a complement to the previous research mentioned above and other articles. In writing this article, article writing uses sources that refer to contemporary state documents, to daily records and biographies of the perpetrators. The purpose of writing this article is to reflect on the basis of Indonesia in supporting the struggle for Palestinian independence which was centered on events in 1955 to 1963. In conducting this research, the author uses a historical method consisting of four stages. The first stage is heuristics, the second stage is criticism, the third stage is interpretation, and the fourth stage is historical writing. At the heuristic stage, the author collects written sources in the University of Indonesia's Central Library, National Library, and documents published by international bodies and articles from the internet. At the stage of criticism, the source that has been obtained through the heuristic stage is then selected to then be used as a source of writing. At the stage of interpretation, the author makes a judgment and interpretation of the sources that have been obtained, until the final stage is written in the form of historiography based on the sources that have been obtained.

Sukarno's Idea in Indonesian Foreign Policy 1945-1966

On August 17, 1945, Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta proclaimed Indonesian independence. On the appointment of the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) session on August 18, 1945, the President and Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia were appointed, namely Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta

On August 19, just one day after the appointment of the leader of the country, the PPKI session resulted in a decision about the formation of 13 ministries which would support the President in running his government. One of them is the foreign ministry which is in charge of handling foreign relations and problems. For the RI statesmen to carry out foreign affairs is something new because in the past this problem was only handled by the Dutch as the ruler of the Dutch East Indies (Department of Foreign Affairs, 1971: 8). Recognition from other countries can be divided into two acknowledgments namely *de facto* and *de jure*. *De facto* recognition is recognition of the fact that a nation should have sovereignty over its own territory, even though in its actions it tends to be illegal through forms of violence or armed force. It is often found that

de facto recognition comes first rather than de jure's acknowledgment, namely recognition in full legal status (Rodec, 1983: 458).

Countries in the World, except from the Arab League member countries, still refrain from giving recognition until the area formerly known as the Dutch East Indies was recognized by its former colonizers, namely the Dutch themselves (Roem: 1989: 3). This is understandable because of the assumption that this problem was only an internal problem between the colonizers and their colonies. While from its independence, the existence of the Republic of Indonesia has been challenged by the Dutch who refuse to recognize the sovereignty of the new government in their former colonies and continue to insist on continuing their rule. On the other hand, the end of colonialism and the commencement of independence, led to open conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands. With this conflict, the Indonesian revolution began.

During the Indonesian revolution, Indonesia carried out two different ways of implementing foreign policy. The way of diplomacy is a tool used to guarantee sovereignty. Whereas the second method is confrontation struggle to prevent the Dutch from compromising. Among these two methods, the proven method of diplomacy played an important role in preventing the Dutch from implementing military action. Meanwhile, there are three main objectives to be achieved by the Indonesian foreign policy during the revolution in the period of 1945-1949, namely: (1) to gain international recognition for Indonesia's independence on August 17, 1945; (2) to maintain independence and prevent Dutch businesses who want to re-colonize Indonesia; and (3) to find a solution to the conflict with the Netherlands through a third party as a mediator (Agung, 1973: 29).

In subsequent developments, after failing in several negotiations and facing two military aggressions, Indonesian foreign policy succeeded in achieving its objectives with official recognition of Indonesian sovereignty by the Dutch on December 27, 1949. Thus Indonesia has been de jure recognized by the international community (Agung , 1973: 67).

Then, in the early years of its independence, Indonesian foreign policy was directed more towards efforts to seek world trust and sympathy for its struggle for full independence which had previously been proclaimed on August 17, 1945. Along with the struggle, the newly established Republic of Indonesia also must form the basis for a political foundation in dealing with other sovereign states (Agung, 1973: 29).

At the end of World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union had emerged as two great powers on the stage of world politics. They are allies at first, but the tension between them is not receding. In subsequent developments, these two ideologically contradictory forces faced each other, and their opposition found its form in the form of the Cold War which began in late 1947. The Cold War divided the world into two blocks, namely the American-led Western Bloc with its capitalism, and Blok east of the Soviet Union with its Communism (Becker, 1977: 515).

In the early 1948 the atmosphere of the Cold War reached Indonesia. Domestically, the Government faced pressure from the PKI faction which urged to side with the Soviet Union in the Cold War. According to the PKI this was the right time to confront the west, by siding with the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist Soviet Union. There is no place for an anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist Indonesia besides standing with the Soviet Union (Abdulgani, 1990: 20).

In order to determine his attitude towards the insistence, Prime Minister Mohammad Hatta delivered the first Indonesian foreign policy statement before the KNIP on September 2, 1948. In his statement he stressed that the position that must be taken must be neutral, and derived from the attitude of self-independence (Hatta, 1976: 18). The statement was later approved by the KNIP and was determined to be an outline of Indonesian foreign policy. The determination is based on the suitability of meaning with the basic principles of what is known as the principle of non-aligned movements (Holsti, 1987: 137), or in Indonesian political principles known as the principle of free and active politics (Ubani, 1973: 74). This free active politics contains two meanings: free, meaning determining one's own way, not affected by any party; and active, which means participating in efforts to create world peace, lasting peace and social justice.

In line with the KNIP's determination and Hatta's opinion, Sukarno held that opinion. If in supporting a party using the basis of ideology, it can trigger more quarrels. In the idea of NASAKOM (Nationalists, religions, and Communists) there are three main pillars which are all equally treated, but if there is only one bias towards one of the pillars, the balance will be broken. So, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism were later used by Sukarno as a neutral basis for foreign policy applied by Indonesia.

In the 1950s, Indonesia was full of parliamentary forms of democracy where state power was in the hands of the Prime Minister. The parliamentary cabinet is organized based on the party coalition. The cabinets in the period of parliamentary democracy continue to repeat and affirm

the principle of free and active Indonesian foreign policy, and practice it in dealing with other parties. Under the Sukiman Cabinet (April 27, 1951-3 April 1952) it was the first time that the term free active was used in the cabinet program. This is indicated by the sound of the fifth program in the cabinet which reads: "run a free and active foreign policy towards peace" (Leifer, 1989: 49).

The need for Indonesia to be free from the influence of hostile parties in the Cold War was a necessity for Indonesia in carrying out its foreign policy. Errors in realizing a formal goal of foreign policies will give rise to sensitive responses from the general public, and can threaten the collapse of the cabinet. Besides that, there are other problems similar to the Cold War where the opposition to the political direction experienced a power struggle, namely regarding the meaning of Islam as the core of the foundation of the Republic of Indonesia.

The period between 1957-1959 was a period of transition where Indonesian political life was undergoing a transition from a parliamentary system to a presidential system. The transition period culminated in the issuance of a presidential decree by Sukarno on July 5, 1959. The aim was the re-enactment of the 1945 Constitution. This was due to conclusions arising from Sukarno's perspective on the constitutional arrangement which he considered threatened the national unity and country. The chaos was not without reason, the failure of the Constituent Assembly in drafting and stipulating the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the emergence of upheavals in the regions, and the rise and fall of the parliamentary cabinet were thought to be the origin of the decree.

On August 17, 1959, Sukarno made a speech entitled "Rediscovery of Our Revolution". The speech explained and as his responsibility for the Decree of July 5, 1959 which he issued, as well as a policy line for the design of the Guided Democracy system (Poesponegoro, 1984: 313).

In the DPA session in September 1959, in a proposal to the Government, the DPA set a speech by the President entitled "Rediscovery of Our Revolution" as an outline of the country's direction. The outlines are then named as the Political Manifesto (Manipol) of the Republic of Indonesia. Which was then received well by Sukarno (Poesponegoro, 1984: 313). In the first session of the stairway on November 19, 1960, the MPRS decided in decree No. I / MPRS / 1960 which contains the Political Manifesto is the Outlines of State Policy (GBHN). It was also decided on August 17, 1960, that Sukarno's speech on "The Way of the Revolution" became a guideline

for the implementation of the domestic Political manifesto, and the Speech on September 30, 1960 before the UN General Assembly entitled "Building the World Back" became a guideline for the Foreign Political Manifesto (Ministry Information of the Republic of Indonesia, 1961: 85).

In the period of Guided Democracy (1959-1966), Sukarno appeared as a fixer of Indonesian foreign policy. He has been a maker of Indonesian foreign policy provisions since the Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959. In his speech "Building the World Again", he stated that the struggle against imperialism and colonialism was the goal of Indonesian foreign policy (Ministry of Information, 1961: 85). He affirmed his big ambition about building a new world. According to him, this goal can be achieved by building the strength of newly independent countries in order to form a new world, but basically this does not conflict with the principle of non-bloc and the maintenance of peace (Agung, 1973: 319).

In general, the foreign policy objectives launched by Sukarno were as a challenge to the power of the Dutch colonial successes which he called the "nekolim" power, namely an abbreviation for neocolonialism, colonialism, and imperialism which was previously triggered by the Army Commander Ahmad Yani (Leifer, 1989: 83).

Sukarno had the opportunity to introduce the "nekolim" insight in the First Conference of Non-aligned Countries in Belgrade, in September 1961. In the conference he made his blasphemy against colonialism. He warned of the real danger of new style colonialism. This form of colonialism includes the tactics launched by Western powers to defend their economic interests, and also concerns political and military interests in the former colony. Even so, Sukarno did not deny the threat of damage to world peace due to the tensions that occurred. The allegation stated by Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, regarding the main reason for world tension was the ideological conflict of the great powers, which he refused. By Sukarno this led to the tension of the old forces which had advanced with new and powerful forces, this was later called the terms Nefos and oldefos. In the Cold War tension, according to him, confrontation cannot be resolved through co-existence. According to him there could be no co-existence between independence and justice on the one hand with the imperialist-colonialists (Bunnell, 1964: viii).

Relations between Indonesia and Palestine: Problems with the Caliphate until the Recognition of Indonesian Independence

The failure of the Cairo Khilafah Congress in 1926 led to a decline in efforts to arouse the Caliphate. Namu does not mean making Muslims away from the problems of the Islamic world, but is diverted to the problem of colonialism. On December 7, 1931, a large Islamic Congress in Jerusalem was held which invited 145 delegates from 22 Islamic countries. The congress initiated by Haj Amin Al-Husseini aimed at gathering support for Palestinian resistance to British colonialism and Jews. The congress was attended by at least 200 delegates from various countries, such as Western Europe, the Dutch East Indies, India, Bosnia, Yugoslavia, and various other countries. From the Dutch East Indies delegation who attended was Abdul-Qahar Muzzakar at the congress (Pappe, 2010: 155-156).

The presence of delegations from the Dutch East Indies showed that Muslims should not necessarily turn a blind eye to the struggle in the solidarity of Muslims. Starting from the congress, the Dutch East Indies Muslims began to show their determination to support the struggle of the Palestinian people. Even so the support was still faintly given. The Arab revolution took place at the Palestinian Mandate against Britain in 1936, which aimed to liberate the Arabs and stop the policy of Jewish immigration, as well as the purchase of land for the purpose of establishing a Jewish state (Kelly, 2017:2) , appearing to give rise to the response of Muslims in the Indies.

Through the coverage of nationalists and Islam which was published in the International rubric, the news spread to Muslims. Very strong response came directly from the Islamic modernist movement such as the Sarekat Islam, Muhammadiyah, Al-Irshad, and Persatuan Isla, which in 1935 had established the Islamic Assembly of A'la Indonesia (MAI). The response given was to form a special committee as a sign of deep concern for the Palestinian issue. This committee is chaired by Wondoamiseno of the Sarekat Islam, the committee was later named the Palestinian Committee (Bachtiar, 2018 175).

The inauguration of the Palestinian Committee was held at an event at the Muslim Grand Meeting in Al-Irsyad Building Surabaya on July 5, 1937. Present at the event were approximately 2,000 participants. There were 33 delegates from the association and 13 journalists from various newspapers. In the event featured important figures of the Islamic movement. As chairman of the Committee, Wondoamiseno appeared to open the event by conveying the importance of brotherhood among fellow Muslims worldwide and the importance of rejecting the plan to divide

Palestinian territories by Britain. K.H. Mas Mansur, general chairman of Muhammadiyah stated the importance of the position of Baitul-Maqdis and Al-Aqsa Mosque for the Muslims. The oration was then given by Umar Hubeis, chairman of Al-Irshad who conveyed the Arab and Indonesian kinship. Concluding remarks and advice were given by K.H Abdul Qahhar Muzzakkir from PSII (Bachtiar, 2018 176).

At the end of the event the chairman of the Palestinian Committee read a motion containing a rejection of the UK plan which divided Palestine into three parts. This petition had been sent directly to the secretariat of the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, to the Palestinian Mufti, and the telegram secretariat of the Islamic Congress in Damascus. The effort then made the closeness between the Arabs and Indonesia tighter. The outbreak of World War II, and followed by the independence struggle made the efforts to support the Palestinians not work, and were cut off. Later this relationship will re-awaken after Indonesia won its independence.

Relations with Indonesia have been established since 1944, during the struggle for independence from Japan. Recognition of Indonesia itself by some Palestinians has been given since Japan gave promises of independence to Indonesia. Then by Pan-Arab members it was interpreted as an acknowledgment of Indonesia's independence by Japan. This made it even more convincing for Pan-Arab members since the broadcast of Radio Berlin on September 6, 1944 to broadcast congratulations from the Great Palestinian mufti Amin Al-Husaini on Islamic Nature, which coincided with the Japanese promise to Indonesia (M Zein, 1980: 40) . This incident also has a very wide effect among Arab countries. The Dutch embassy still operating in Egypt later denied this through the newspaper "Le Journal d 'Egypte," saying it was only a "promise" from Japan, but the daily "Al-Ahram" denied this by convincing Egyptian and Eastern communities Middle of the question of Dutch hostility towards Islam.

Spreading the news among the Arab community also seemed to coincide with the first Pan-Arab congress, which later became the Arab League. In a congress held in Alexandria, Egypt, members of the Arab League agreed to support Indonesian independence. This, of course, was sent after Ismail banda and Zein Hassan contacted the participants consisting of the Prime Ministers and the Foreign Ministers of the Arab countries who submitted a memorandum of demand which contained:

1. Recognition of Indonesian independence,

2. Guarantee of Indonesian unity as before the foreign occupation by not being divided, and
3. Include pro-independence Indonesian representatives in determining peace issues after the war

By the Prime Minister of Iraq this is in line with Atlantic Charter, where things done by the Dutch are wrong and Indonesia must be independent. (M Zein, 1980: 41). The Iraqi prime minister hopes that if allied countries will help the Indonesian people realize their aspirations. And for Arab countries it is mandatory to support Indonesia to achieve its independence.

Although it seems simple what Indonesia has asked for from the Arab League, these three things have not become a major impact on the international stage until it was brought by members of the Arab League at the Conference in San Francisco in April 1945. The conference then produced the UN international body. The conference also attended the Netherlands with the name of Indonesia as part of it, and to convince the world that Indonesia was still a part of it. In addition, the Netherlands also stated that Indonesia still could not live independently without assistance (M Zein, 1980: 43). Seeing this, Egypt did not remain silent and respond to this. Based on discussions between Egyptian representatives and Indonesian envoys in Cairo, they (representatives from Egypt) will respond to all forms of objections to the issue of Indonesian independence in international forums.

The success of Indonesia proclaiming itself as an independent nation on August 17, 1945, surprised the Arab countries and waited for the news to be released, but the news had been blocked by censors from allies who helped the Netherlands. Only at the meeting on October 16, 1945 at the Islamic Youth Association building, Egypt, was the truth clarified by Ismail Banda (M Zein, 1980: 64). In the meeting it was conveyed about the threat of the allies who helped the Dutch to re-establish their government in Indonesia. During the meeting there were important figures who were sympathetic to the Indonesian struggle and took part in supporting Indonesia such as General Saleh Harb Pasha, former Egyptian Defense Minister, Abdulrahman Azzam Pasha, Arab League Secretary General, and Muhammad Ali Taher, Chair of the Palestinian Committee. In the meeting it was agreed to establish an "Indonesian Defense Committee" chaired by Saleh general Harb Pasha, and consisted of other attendees.

The contribution of the Indonesian Defense Committee in addition to being a supporter

for conveying support for Indonesia on the international stage, is also a contributor to the sustainability of the Indonesian government. Among them is assistance from Muhammad Ali Taher from Palestine. The assistance in the form of a lot of funding support and also his direct meeting with Sukarno in Yogyakarta in 1947 led to the emergence of its own closeness between Sukarno and Palestine and also Arabia. So that when Indonesia succeeded in gaining recognition of sovereignty, while maintaining its sovereignty from the Netherlands, Sukarno then began to carry out solidarity actions for countries that had previously helped Indonesia get out of trouble. Arabic and Palestine is one of the problems that Sukarno himself received special attention. Until the time after the physical struggle, Sukarno began designing ideas to realize his solidarity with Arab and Palestinian actions.

The Process of Realizing Support for the Palestinian Independence Struggle

The commencement of the Cold War since 1948 made Indonesia not escape the tensions of two major ideologies, capitalism and communism. Meanwhile, the debate over the basic interpretation of the Indonesian state also colored the political tension of the period. Therefore, the government applies free and active politics that do not favor any side. Influenced by the 1948 PKI movement to fight imperialism and colonialism, caused Sukarno to be triggered to end all forms of colonialism over the world. As a manifestation of the adoption of the constitution, Sukarno then made plans to gather countries throughout the world that experienced acts of colonialism. However, to gather these countries is not easy, seeing foreign conditions that are filled with tensions and domestic conditions that are still in the drafting stage, making Sukarno look for other bases besides the Nasakom as unifying these countries.

Reflecting on the ideas he wrote in the article "Indonesianism and Pan-asiatism" which he wrote in 1928, about the importance of awareness and solidarity among the Asian nations which at that time were simultaneously fighting for independence and justice. Such events as Japan's victory over Russia in 1905, he made it as a benchmark for imperialists and colonialists not always superior (Abdulgani, 1980: 8). It was also influenced by the idea of Lothrop Stoddard in the book "The Rising Tide of Colors", which suggested that movements across the Asian continent were interrelated. Based on this, Sukarno was convinced that Pan-Asiatism could be the basis for realizing a plan to gather countries in the world. But apparently, Pan-Asiatism itself was only

limited to countries in the Asian continent, on the proposal of Bung Hatta, it was suggested to use the idea of "Asian-African solidarity", which was initiated at the league congress against imperialism and national independence in Brussels, February 1927. (Abdulgani, 1980: 10).

In April 1954, the idea of Asian-African solidarity was reappointed as a basis. In talks between Sukarno and Ali Sastroamidjojo as Prime Minister, Sukarno expressed his aspirations about the importance of Asian-African solidarity to fight colonialism. Coinciding with the delivery of these aspirations, a conference was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka regarding tensions in Indochina, the outbreak of communism in Asia, and anxiety about the emergence of nuclear weapons (Abdulgani, 1980: 12). In the conference, one of the invited countries was Indonesia. Ali Sastroamidjojo, as the invited representative, was reminded by Sukarno to convey these ideas and aspirations at the conference in Colombo.

Since the conference began in early April 1954, the ideas and aspirations brought by Ali Sastroamidjojo have not been approved in discussions between the Prime Ministers. Only at the 6th session on April 30, 1954, Ali Sastroamidjojo had the opportunity to speak on the idea of "Asian-African solidarity" in front of the representatives. In his talks, he conveyed the importance of holding a larger conference from the Colombo conference, which covers not only Asian countries, but also includes African countries. The statement was responded to skeptically by Prime Minister U Nu, and Prime Minister Moh. Ali, so that Ali Sastroamidjojo responded by stating: If they are hesitant to hold the conference, then give Indonesia the opportunity to strive for and realize the Asia-Africa Conference. For the response, the representatives of these countries then agreed to the idea and fully supported the conference (Abdulgani, 1980: 14). Thus, starting from the end of the Colombo conference, in May 1954 preparations and safeguards began for the Asian-African Conference.

The condition of world politics in the period of 1954-1955 was a great upheaval. In Indochina, there was resistance of the people of Vietnam against French colonialism, which the United States considered to be part of the Cold War so that the United States intervened in helping France to create bigger problems. This French situation in Indochina accelerated the Geneva negotiations on April 26, 1954, which aimed to find global and regional solutions for achieving peace (Abdulgani, 1980: 17). Meanwhile in Africa and the Middle East, they experienced national independence struggles in Algeria, Morocco, Central Africa, Palestine, and countries within the

Soviet Union.

Domestic conditions are similar to international conditions. The chaos of the opposition that opposes the government more towards ideological problems, causes the system of government to falter and causes the cabinet to collapse. The leaning Masyumi political line was in favor of the West, while the PSI relied on a combination of Southeast Asian powers to mediate in the Cold War causing unstable conditions and mutual suspicion. The Ali Sastroamidjojo Cabinet itself prioritizes Asian-African solidarity (including the Arab and Islamic world) in the balance of the Cold War. The issue of West Irian did not end after the recognition of sovereignty in 1949, so that the cabinet of Ali Sastroamidjojo was also preoccupied with the matter. (Abdulgani, 1980: 18).

Seeing this situation, a meeting was held between Ali Sastroamidjojo and the Indian Prime Minister to discuss matters related to the implementation of the Asia-Africa Conference. In a meeting held on September 25, 1954, in New Delhi, it was decided that the Asia-Africa Conference should be held as soon as possible. In a meeting on September 28, 1954, it was decided that Jakarta would be the venue for the conference.

The meeting that was held was held on 28-29 December 1954 in Jakarta, but Sukarno was transferred to the Bogor Palace, so the meeting was called the Bogor Conference. In the meeting, the results of the assessment of the Asian-African Conference from 14 countries were reported, and 12 of them responded positively and fully supported the holding of the conference (Abdulgani, 1980: 21). Ali Sastroamidjojo then added about the inclusion of the PRC (People's Republic of China) at the conference, but Liberia and Iraq suggested that they also invite Taiwan together. Thus another proposal suggested inviting Nepal, Tunisia and the Arab League. Strong opposition was raised against the possibility of the state of Israel, and the possibility of presenting representatives from Palestine, but Egypt was deemed unnecessary by reason of the aspirations of the Palestinian people they had brought.

In the end of the conference on December 29, 1954, several concrete formulations were contained (Kahin, 1956: 3):

1. promote goodwill and cooperation between the peoples of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their interests, both alternately and jointly and to establish and promote friendship and relationships as good neighbors.

2. Consider the problems and relationships in the social, economic and cultural fields of each representative country.
3. consider special problems than nations in Asia and Africa, for example the problem of national sovereignty and the problem of rationalism and colonialism.
4. reviewing the position of Asia and Africa, as well as their society in the world today, and their contribution to the progress of peace and world cooperation.

At the end of the conference there were also countries which would be able to attend the Asian-African Conference consisting of 5 sponsoring countries, 14 Asian countries, 8 Arab countries, and 4 African countries. Regarding the status of Palestine whose presence had been doubted, Egypt, which initially agreed to this matter, then surrendered the matter to other Arab countries which could better convey the aspirations of the Palestinian people (Kahin, 1956: 16).

The period from January to March 1955 was a period that could be said to be very busy. This can be based on the decision to hold a conference based on the formulation of the Bogor Conference, which was in the last week of April 1955, in which the period was entered into the month of Ramadan. In the opinion of Ali Sastroamidjojo, entering the month of Ramadan, the representatives of the Middle East will have difficulty coming. So Sukarno proposed to hold the conference to be advanced on April 18, 1955, at which time the American revolution was being celebrated by Sukarno as the day of the rise of the Asian-African Revolution. So after it was agreed upon by the sponsoring country, the time of confirmation was set on April 18, 1955 at Gedung Merdeka, Bandung (Abdulgani, 1980: 46).

1955 Asia Africa Conference Evidence of Indonesian Support for Palestine

Since the struggle for the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty, Palestine has contributed to the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia as a whole. The Asia-Africa Conference in 1955 was a proof of Indonesia's solidarity with the struggle for Palestinian independence they had once done with Indonesia. Indonesia, as the host of the conference, has an opinion that is not much different from the opinion expressed by several Arab country delegates.

About Zionism, delivered by Dr. Mohammad Fadhel Jamali from Iraq who stated that Zionism is a part of ancient style colonialism. At the same time, Zionism is another form of imperialism which basically divides, oppresses and integrates morally from the region and the

people it governs. With the existence of Israel as a state, it even worsened the situation. War and the expulsion of innocent people by force caused the fall of many innocent lives. In the 1955 Asia-Africa Conference, in addition to Zionism, colonialism and communism were targeted to be abolished, but Zionism for Arab and Islamic countries, including Indonesia, strongly opposed this (Abdulgani, 1980: 101).

The end of the Asia-Africa conference also produced several resolutions which were grouped into 6 sections. Resolutions for resolving the Palestinian problem are listed in section E no.1 Asian-Africa Speaks documents from Bandung, which contain:

“In view of the existing tension in the Middle East, caused by the situation in Palestine and of the danger of that tension to world peace, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the Arab people of the Palestine and called for the implementation of the United nation Resolutions on Palestine and the achievement of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question”.

In the journey since the end of the Asian-African Conference in 1955, Indonesia continued to support the struggle for Palestinian independence, such as in the 1962 Asian Games and in 1963. Under Sukarno's government Indonesia took firm action against Israel, by banning Israel to come to Indonesia. Indonesia's diplomatic relations with Israel were suspended until the Palestinian state won its full independence.

Seeing its relevance to the present, the resolution produced at the 1955 Asia-Africa Conference, is still held firmly by Indonesia, which is also in line with Indonesia's free and active foreign policy that participates in maintaining peace. In the OIC (Islamic Cooperation Organization) Summit in 2016, there was still an intention from Indonesia to continue to carry out the resolution made in 1955 at the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung. (Muhammadiyah News, March 6, 2016). By bringing the issue of fighting for Palestinian independence in each forum, the soul of the Asia-Africa Conference remains alive, until Palestine becomes fully independent and sovereign over its land.

Conclusion

In each step of Indonesian Foreign Policy, Sukarno's period reflected the ideas made by Sukarno. The idea of the Nasakom which prioritizes the group is rejected on the grounds that if one group is praised then the other two will be noisy, so that other foreign policy policies are used to base the direction of RI policy. The idea of anti-imperialism and neo-colonialism is one of the ideas used in carrying out Indonesia's free and active foreign policy.

In addressing the Palestinian problem, in determining the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy, Sukarno did not necessarily guarantee the religious basis for Indonesia's foreign policy foundation in supporting the struggle for Palestinian independence. Which if it is made the basis, only a few countries will participate. The raging of the Cold War did not immediately dampen Sukarno's steps to make Indonesia a calculated force. With the holding of the Asia-Africa Conference and several other attitudes related to Palestine, Indonesia is respected by the international community. The drive to fight for Palestinian independence should be based on a sense of solidarity that is very strong as an old friend who used to experience colonialism, and then support each other to achieve independence. Until now, Indonesia still supports Palestinian independence in any way, one of which is the holding of the OIC Summit in 2016, which aims to make future resolutions for the problems in Palestine which until now have not been completed.

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