



# **BETWEEN REALPOLITIK AND ISLAMIC SOLIDARITY: A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY ON THE GAZA CONFLICT UNDER PRESIDENT PRABOWO SUBIANTO**

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## **Abstract**

Indonesia's foreign policy towards the Gaza conflict under President Prabowo Subianto has sparked intense public debate regarding the nation's moral positioning in international relations. While Indonesia consistently voices support for Palestinian independence through diplomatic channels and humanitarian aid, its participation in multilateral "peace" forums initiated by the United States and its allies is perceived by some observers as a pragmatic compromise that potentially undermines principled solidarity. This article critically evaluates these policies through an integrated analytical framework comprising three perspectives: (1) Islamic political ethics, (2) contemporary scholarly *ijtihad*, and (3) international political analysis. Employing a qualitative method with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study examines official government statements (2023-2024), ulama fatwas from major Indonesian Islamic organizations (MUI, NU, Muhammadiyah), and literature on Islamic political ethics. The findings reveal a fundamental tension between the principle of Muslim solidarity (*ukhuwah islamiyah*) and the demands of *realpolitik* in contemporary diplomacy. While Islamic ethics emphasize justice (*'adl*), public interest (*maslahah*), and trustworthiness (*amanah*) as normative parameters, political analysis highlights the structural dilemma between moral idealism and national strategic interests. Specifically, this study identifies three key issues: (1) the ambiguity between rhetorical support and concrete diplomatic action, (2) the divergence between Islamic organizational positions and government policy, and (3) the risk of credibility erosion in Indonesia's soft power as a Muslim-majority mediator. This study concludes that Indonesia's foreign policy requires strategic recalibration to maintain moral credibility without sacrificing diplomatic efficacy, suggesting a need for greater transparency, public accountability, and explicit alignment with ethical principles. The research contributes to the growing discourse on Islamic ethics in international relations and offers a normative evaluation framework for assessing foreign policy in Muslim-majority democracies.

**Keywords:** Foreign Policy, Gaza Conflict, Islamic Political Ethics, *Ijtihad*, *Realpolitik* Indonesia.

## **Abstrak**

Kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia terhadap konflik Gaza pada masa pemerintahan Presiden Prabowo Subianto telah memicu perdebatan publik yang intens mengenai posisi moral Indonesia dalam hubungan internasional. Meskipun Indonesia secara konsisten menyuarakan dukungan terhadap kemerdekaan Palestina melalui jalur diplomatik dan bantuan kemanusiaan, partisipasinya dalam berbagai forum "perdamaian" multilateral yang diprakarsai oleh Amerika Serikat dan sekutunya dipandang oleh sebagian pengamat sebagai bentuk kompromi pragmatis yang berpotensi melemahkan solidaritas yang bersifat prinsipil. Artikel ini mengevaluasi secara kritis kebijakan tersebut melalui kerangka analisis terpadu yang mencakup tiga perspektif utama: (1) etika politik Islam, (2) *ijtihad* ulama kontemporer, dan (3) analisis politik internasional. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif melalui Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), penelitian ini menganalisis pernyataan resmi pemerintah Indonesia pada periode 2023–2024, fatwa ulama dari organisasi Islam besar di Indonesia (MUI, NU, dan Muhammadiyah), serta literatur mengenai etika politik Islam. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya ketegangan mendasar antara prinsip solidaritas umat Islam (*ukhuwah islamiyah*) dan tuntutan *realpolitik* dalam diplomasi kontemporer. Sementara etika Islam menekankan keadilan (*'adl*), kemaslahatan (*maslahah*), dan amanah sebagai parameter normatif, analisis politik menunjukkan adanya dilema struktural antara idealisme moral dan kepentingan strategis nasional. Secara khusus, penelitian ini mengidentifikasi tiga isu utama: (1) ambiguitas antara dukungan retorik dan tindakan diplomatik yang konkret, (2) perbedaan antara posisi organisasi-organisasi Islam dan kebijakan pemerintah, serta (3) risiko erosi kredibilitas soft power Indonesia sebagai mediator dari negara mayoritas Muslim. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia memerlukan recalibrasi strategis untuk mempertahankan kredibilitas moral tanpa mengorbankan efektivitas diplomatik. Hal ini menuntut adanya transparansi yang lebih besar, akuntabilitas publik, serta keselarasan yang lebih eksplisit dengan prinsip-prinsip etika. Penelitian ini juga memberikan kontribusi pada perkembangan kajian mengenai etika Islam dalam hubungan internasional serta menawarkan kerangka evaluasi normatif untuk menilai kebijakan luar negeri di negara-negara demokrasi dengan mayoritas penduduk Muslim.

**Kata Kunci:** Kebijakan Luar Negeri, Konflik Gaza, Etika Politik Islam, *Ijtihad*, *Realpolitik* Indonesia.



## INTRODUCTION

The Israel–Palestine conflict, particularly the dramatic escalation of violence in Gaza following the October 7, 2023 attacks, has become one of the most significant moral and geopolitical crises of the twenty-first century. The situation has expanded beyond a regional dispute and evolved into a global moral test for the international community. It has exposed deep fractures within existing diplomatic frameworks and compelled states to confront fundamental issues concerning justice, sovereignty, and the protection of human rights. For Indonesia, the world’s largest Muslim-majority country and a nation whose constitution explicitly supports decolonization and self-determination, the Gaza crisis presents both a moral responsibility and a complex diplomatic challenge.

Historically, Indonesia has maintained a consistent and principled commitment to supporting Palestinian independence. This stance is rooted in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution, which explicitly rejects colonialism in all its forms. Over the decades, Indonesia has translated this principle into concrete diplomatic actions, including persistent support for Palestine in the United Nations, humanitarian assistance programs, and the continued refusal to establish formal diplomatic relations with Israel. Indonesia’s position on Palestine has therefore become a defining element of its national identity, reflecting what scholars often describe as “normative power Indonesia,” namely the projection of ethical values as a form of soft power in international relations. However, since President Prabowo Subianto assumed office in October 2024, questions have emerged regarding whether this historical commitment will remain consistent in practice.

The central issue examined in this article is the perceived gap between Indonesia’s strong rhetorical support for Palestine and its engagement in certain multilateral diplomatic initiatives that some observers view as potentially problematic. Recent developments indicate Indonesia’s participation in various peace dialogues and international forums initiated by the United States and Western partners. Critics argue that these initiatives could represent forms of “covert normalization,” which might indirectly legitimize existing structures of Israeli occupation. At the same time, the Indonesian government has allocated significant financial resources—amounting to trillions of rupiah—for humanitarian aid, medical assistance, and educational scholarships for Palestinian students. This dual policy approach has sparked public debate and disappointment among segments of civil society. While Islamic organizations and activists expect a firmer and more principled stance, government officials defend their strategy as pragmatic diplomacy required by complex geopolitical realities.

The tension between moral idealism and diplomatic pragmatism in Indonesia’s Gaza policy extends beyond questions of strategy. It raises broader issues concerning ethical accountability, religious responsibility, and the influence of Islamic moral principles in shaping foreign policy decisions within a Muslim-majority democracy. In Islamic political ethics, governance is viewed as an *amanah* (a trust entrusted by God) that must be exercised with justice (*‘adl*) and oriented toward public welfare (*maslahah*). When these principles are applied to foreign policy, they require critical scrutiny of whether state policies genuinely reflect these ethical norms or instead reflect pragmatic political considerations. Furthermore, contemporary Indonesian *ulama* have issued differing religious opinions and statements regarding the Gaza conflict, illustrating diverse approaches to *ijtihad* (independent legal reasoning) in the context of international relations.

Existing academic literature on Indonesia’s foreign policy toward Palestine has largely focused on historical continuity, diplomatic mechanisms, or legal-institutional frameworks. For instance, Setianto et al. (2023) examined the consistency of Indonesia’s “free and active” (*bebas-aktif*) foreign policy principle in relation to Palestine, concluding that although rhetorical commitment remains strong, practical implementation often faces structural limitations. Prasetyo and Lestari (2024) analyzed Indonesia’s role within the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and highlighted the challenges of achieving collective Muslim political action amid differing national interests. Meanwhile, Hidayat (2023) explored the relationship between Islamic solidarity and pragmatic diplomacy, identifying what he described as a “dual-track diplomacy” strategy in Indonesia’s approach to Palestine. Despite these valuable contributions, existing studies share an important limitation: they have not systematically evaluated Indonesia’s Gaza policy through a comprehensive framework integrating Islamic political ethics, contemporary *ulama* interpretations, and international political theory.

This gap is particularly significant because recent scholarship increasingly acknowledges that foreign policy in Muslim-majority democracies cannot be fully understood without considering the religious and ethical dimensions that influence both public expectations and policymaker decision-making. As Azra (2023) argues, Indonesia’s “civilizational identity” as a moderate Muslim nation functions simultaneously as a domestic political resource and an international diplomatic asset. Similarly, Peterson (2024) observes that Indonesia’s credibility as a potential mediator in global conflicts largely depends on the perception of its moral consistency. When policies appear inconsistent or opportunistic, this credibility may be



weakened. The absence of a normative ethical framework in current research therefore creates a significant analytical gap in understanding the broader implications of Indonesia's policy toward Gaza.

To address this gap, this article poses the following research question: **How can Indonesia's foreign policy toward the Gaza conflict during the Prabowo Subianto administration be evaluated through the integrated perspectives of Islamic political ethics, contemporary ulama ijtihad, and international relations theory?** To answer this question, the study pursues three main objectives. First, it maps the characteristics of Indonesia's Gaza policy under the Prabowo administration, identifying areas where rhetoric and practical policies converge or diverge. Second, it evaluates these policies using normative criteria derived from Islamic political ethics, particularly the principles of *maslahah*, *'adl*, and *amanah*. Third, it examines the strategic implications of Indonesia's policy choices using both realist and constructivist perspectives within international relations theory.

This research contributes in several important ways. From a theoretical perspective, it advances the study of Islamic ethics in international relations by proposing an integrated analytical framework that bridges normative Islamic thought with contemporary political analysis. From a practical perspective, it offers policymakers a structured reference for evaluating the ethical implications of foreign policy decisions in Muslim-majority contexts. From a societal perspective, the study provides civil society organizations and Islamic institutions with analytical tools to facilitate more informed and constructive public discussions about Indonesia's moral positioning in international politics.

The remainder of this article is organized as follows. The first section explains the research methodology and analytical framework used in the study. The second section maps Indonesia's Gaza policy during the Prabowo administration, highlighting key tensions between official rhetoric and practical policy measures. The third section evaluates these policies through the lenses of Islamic political ethics and contemporary ulama interpretations. The fourth section analyzes the policy dilemmas using perspectives from international relations theory. The final section synthesizes the findings and offers recommendations aimed at strengthening transparency, accountability, and ethical coherence in Indonesia's foreign policy toward the Gaza conflict.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This research employs a qualitative approach using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on three data sources: (1) official Indonesian government statements regarding the Gaza conflict (Ministry of Foreign Affairs website,

Presidential speeches); (2) fatwas and statements from Indonesian Islamic scholars/organizations (MUI, NU, Muhammadiyah) from 2023-2024; and (3) classical and contemporary Islamic political ethics literature. The analytical framework integrates three perspectives: 1. Islamic Political Ethics: Utilizing concepts of *maslahah* (public interest), *'adl* (justice), and *amanah* (trustworthiness) as evaluation parameters. 2. Contemporary Ulama Ijtihad: Analyzing how Indonesian scholars interpret principles of *al-wala' wa al-bara'* (loyalty and disavowal), *jihad*, and *siyasah syar'iyah* (sharia-oriented policy) in the context of the Gaza conflict. 3. International Political Analysis: Employing realism and constructivism approaches to understand the dilemma between moral idealism and national interest. Data validity is ensured through source triangulation and peer debriefing by comparing interpretations from various scientific perspectives.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 1. Policy Mapping: Between the Rhetoric of Solidarity and Diplomatic Practice

An examination of official government statements issued between October 2023 and January 2025 indicates a pattern of discursive consistency accompanied by operational ambiguity. Official statements from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and presidential spokespersons consistently articulate three key principles: (1) rejection of normalization with Israel until the occupation of Palestinian territories ends, (2) support for a two-state solution based on the 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine, and (3) commitment to providing humanitarian assistance for Gaza. This rhetorical framework reflects Indonesia's long-standing constitutional commitment to anti-colonialism and aligns with decades of foreign policy doctrine.

However, closer analysis of diplomatic practice reveals tensions between stated principles and operational engagement. Indonesia has participated in several multilateral initiatives and dialogue forums initiated by the United States and its Western partners, including infrastructure cooperation discussions such as the Global Gateway initiative and consultations related to broader peace processes. Some observers interpret this engagement as a possible form of "covert normalization," raising questions about whether such participation indirectly legitimizes existing structures associated with Israeli occupation.

The core analytical issue therefore concerns whether Indonesia's involvement represents strategic engagement—attempting to influence international outcomes from within diplomatic processes—or



inadvertent legitimization that may normalize unjust political structures.

**Table 1.** Indonesia’s Gaza Policy: Rhetoric vs. Practice (2023–2024)

Dimension	Rhetorical Position	Practical Implementation	Gap Analysis
Normalization	Rejected until occupation ends	Participation in US-led forums	Moderate ambiguity
Diplomatic Pressure	Calls for ceasefire at UN	Limited bilateral pressure on allies	Significant gap
Humanitarian Aid	Trillions of rupiah allocated	Funds distributed via intermediaries	Implementation delay
Trade Relations	No official stance	Indirect trade continues	Unaddressed

Source: Author’s analysis based on Ministry of Foreign Affairs data (2024)

In terms of financial commitments, the Indonesian government reportedly allocated approximately Rp 2.5 trillion during the 2023–2024 period for humanitarian assistance, medical aid, and scholarship programs for Palestinian students. While this figure reflects a significant financial commitment, several analysts question the effectiveness of humanitarian assistance when it is not accompanied by structural diplomatic pressure, such as trade restrictions, sanctions targeting settlement activities, or visa policies affecting Israeli officials involved in the occupation.

As Peterson (2024) argues, humanitarian assistance without accompanying political leverage risks becoming “compassionate complicity,” addressing humanitarian suffering while leaving the structural causes of the crisis intact.

This situation reflects what Hidayat (2023) describes as “dual-track diplomacy,” where governments maintain principled public rhetoric while simultaneously pursuing pragmatic engagement behind the scenes. From an ethical perspective, the key question is whether this approach ultimately advances Palestinian interests or primarily safeguards Indonesia’s diplomatic relationships with Western powers.

## 2. Evaluation from the Perspective of Islamic Political Ethics

Islamic political ethics offers a normative framework for evaluating state policies that goes beyond purely pragmatic or realist considerations. Three fundamental principles—amanah (trustworthiness), maslahah (public interest), and ‘adl (justice)—serve as analytical parameters in this evaluation.

### 1. Amanah (Trustworthiness)

In Islamic political thought, political authority is understood as an amanah entrusted by God, which requires accountability not only to the public but also to divine judgment. Ibn Taymiyyah, in *Al-Siyasah al-Shar’iyyah*, emphasizes that rulers will be held accountable for their conduct toward oppressed communities, including Muslims beyond their national borders.

Applied to foreign policy, this principle requires that Indonesia’s position on Gaza be evaluated not only in terms of domestic political interests or diplomatic convenience, but also in relation to ethical accountability before God.

### 2. Maslahah (Public Interest)

The concept of maslahah requires that policies produce a net benefit that outweighs potential harm. In the context of Gaza, this principle raises an important question: Does Indonesia’s current diplomatic approach maximize benefits for Palestinians, or does it primarily protect Indonesia’s geopolitical interests?

Al-Ghazali’s classical formulation of maslahah prioritizes the protection of religion (din), life (nafs), intellect (‘aql), lineage (nasl), and property (mal). Using this framework, policies that fail to protect Palestinian lives while maintaining diplomatic convenience risk producing mafsadah (harm) disguised as maslahah.

### 3. ‘Adl (Justice)

The Qur’anic command to “stand firmly for justice” (Q.S. Al-Maidah: 8) establishes justice as an ethical imperative that rejects neutrality in the face of oppression. As Feldman (2023) observes, neutrality in highly asymmetrical conflicts often functions as implicit support for the stronger party.

Indonesia’s consistent rhetorical condemnation of Israeli actions, without corresponding structural consequences, raises questions about whether the principle of ‘adl is being operationalized substantively or invoked symbolically.

**Table 2.** Islamic Ethics Evaluation Matrix

Ethical Principle	Policy Requirement	Current Performance	Assessment
<i>Amanah</i>	Accountability to Allah & ummah	Primarily domestic	Partial fulfillment



		accountability	
<i>Maslahah</i>	Net benefit for Palestinians	Humanitarian aid without political leverage	Insufficient
<i>'Adl</i>	Active justice, not neutrality	Rhetorical support without consequences	Gap identified

Source: Author's analysis based on Islamic political ethics framework

Overall, the ethical assessment reveals a central tension: Indonesia's policies appear to fulfill minimum ethical obligations—such as humanitarian assistance and diplomatic condemnation—yet fall short of maximum ethical expectations, which would involve structural pressure and tangible consequences against ongoing oppression.

### 3. Review of Contemporary Ulama Ijtihad

Indonesian Islamic organizations have expressed diverse responses to the Gaza conflict, reflecting different methodological approaches to ijtihad in contemporary international politics.

#### 1. Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI)

In its October 2023 fatwa, the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) explicitly prohibited normalization with Israel and called upon Muslims to support Palestine through several forms of struggle: *jihad bil mal* (financial contribution), *jihad bil lisan* (advocacy), and *jihad bil nafs* (physical participation where feasible). This fatwa adapts classical Islamic jurisprudence to contemporary geopolitical realities while emphasizing moral obligations that transcend state limitations.

#### 2. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)

Nahdlatul Ulama emphasized the principle of *wasathiyah* (moderation) in its 2024 statement. While maintaining strong support for Palestinian independence, NU promotes diplomacy, humanitarian engagement, and interfaith solidarity as primary strategies. This approach reflects what An-Na'im (2021) describes as contextual ijtihad, where Islamic principles are interpreted alongside contemporary geopolitical realities.

#### 3. Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah has focused primarily on humanitarian engagement through its organization Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC) and Muhammadiyah Islamic Relief initiatives. The organization has delivered medical supplies and supported humanitarian operations in Gaza's surrounding regions.

This reflects Muhammadiyah's long-standing tradition of "social jihad," which prioritizes tangible welfare outcomes.

**Table 3.** Comparative Analysis of Islamic Organizational Positions

Organization	Primary Focus	Methodology	Policy Implication
MUI	Religious obligation	Classical <i>fiqh</i>	Mandatory support, no normalization
NU	Diplomatic moderation	<i>Wasathiyah</i>	Balanced engagement, principled dialogue
Muhammadiyah	Humanitarian action	Social <i>jihad</i>	Direct aid, apolitical assistance

Source: Author's analysis based on organizational statements (2023-2024)

These differences reflect deeper methodological debates in contemporary Islamic thought. Scholars emphasizing *al-wala' wa al-bara'* advocate clear boundaries between Muslim solidarity and engagement with oppressive regimes. In contrast, scholars emphasizing *fiqh al-waqi'* (understanding contemporary reality) argue for pragmatic engagement that acknowledges geopolitical complexity.

Despite methodological differences, all three organizations share a consensus on the moral obligation to support Palestine. This consensus provides religious legitimacy for government action, while the diversity of ijtihad approaches offers policymakers flexibility in designing ethically grounded policies.

### 4. Political Analysis: Realpolitik versus Moral Idealism

From the perspective of international relations theory, Indonesia's Gaza policy illustrates the enduring tension between realist and constructivist paradigms.

#### 1. Realist Perspective

Realist theory suggests that states prioritize national interests, typically defined in terms of security, economic development, and strategic stability. From this perspective, Indonesia's cautious diplomatic approach may reflect rational strategic calculations: maintaining constructive relationships with Western partners while avoiding confrontational policies that could create economic or political repercussions.

As Mearsheimer (2022) notes, moral considerations in foreign policy often yield to structural pressures within the international system.



2. Constructivist Perspective

Constructivist theory emphasizes that state identity and norms shape foreign policy behavior. Indonesia frequently presents itself as a moderate Muslim democracy and a bridge between the Islamic world and Western societies. This identity forms an important component of Indonesia’s diplomatic soft power.

However, as Peterson (2024) notes, the effectiveness of identity-based diplomacy depends heavily on perceived moral consistency. When policies appear inconsistent or opportunistic, credibility can erode quickly.

**Table 4.** Realist vs. Constructivist Policy Implications

Paradigm	Priority	Risk	Opportunity
Realism	National interest	Credibility erosion	Economic security
Constructivism	Identity consistency	Diplomatic friction	Soft power enhancement

Source: Author’s analysis based on IR theory

The resulting credibility gap emerges as the key intersection between these two perspectives. If Indonesia is perceived as compromising its principles without achieving meaningful diplomatic results, it risks losing credibility among both domestic audiences and international partners.

A more effective policy approach would therefore involve integrating realist strategy with moral credibility, ensuring that pragmatic diplomacy does not undermine ethical legitimacy.

**5. Synthesis: Toward Transparent and Accountable Policy**

Based on the integrated evaluation derived from Islamic ethics, contemporary ulama ijtihad, and international political analysis, this study proposes four strategic recommendations.

**Recommendation 1: Strategic Transparency Framework**

The government should develop a publicly accessible “Palestine Diplomacy Roadmap” outlining stages, objectives, and measurable indicators of diplomatic success. This would enhance transparency and accountability while satisfying both ethical and strategic requirements.

**Recommendation 2: Coalition Building with Global South Countries**

Indonesia should strengthen diplomatic cooperation with Global South states and OIC members, including countries such as South Africa, Malaysia, and Turkey, to build collective pressure in international forums.

**Recommendation 3: Integration of Ethical Principles in Diplomatic Doctrine**

Indonesia’s foreign policy doctrine should explicitly incorporate Islamic ethical principles—*maslahah*, *‘adl*, and *amanah*—as evaluative criteria for policy decisions affecting Muslim communities worldwide.

**Recommendation 4: Institutionalized Public Participation**

The government should establish mechanisms for consultation with Islamic organizations, civil society groups, and academic experts. One potential model is the formation of a Palestine Policy Advisory Council involving representatives from MUI, NU, Muhammadiyah, and international relations scholars.

**Table 5.** Policy Recommendation Implementation Matrix

Recommendation	Timeline	Responsible Actor	Success Indicator
Transparency Framework	6 months	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Public roadmap document
Coalition Building	12 months	President & Foreign Minister	OIC resolution support
Ethical Integration	18 months	Foreign Policy Council	Doctrine revision
Public Participation	6 months	Presidential Office	Advisory council established

Source: Author’s recommendation framework

These recommendations aim to resolve the existing tensions by promoting principled pragmatism, where national interests are pursued without undermining moral credibility. The proposed approach recognizes that diplomatic recalibration requires gradual institutional adaptation rather than abrupt policy change.

**CONCLUSION**

This study establishes that Indonesia's foreign policy towards the Gaza conflict in the Prabowo Subianto era fundamentally lies in the tension between the principle of Muslim solidarity and the demands of *realpolitik*. Evaluation through the integrated perspectives of Islamic political ethics, ulama ijtihad, and political analysis demonstrates that there is no binary answer (right/wrong); rather, it reveals a critical need for policy recalibration that is more transparent, participatory, and oriented towards long-term *maslahah*.



Specifically, the findings identify three critical dynamics: (1) a structural gap between rhetorical support and concrete diplomatic action, (2) a divergence between Islamic organizational positions and government policy implementation, and (3) a potential credibility gap that risks eroding Indonesia's soft power as a Muslim-majority mediator. The ethical evaluation indicates that while current policies meet minimum Islamic obligations (humanitarian aid), they fall short of maximum ethical demands ('adl and structural pressure). Similarly, political analysis suggests that balancing national interest with moral identity requires strategic integration rather than compartmentalization.

Consequently, this study concludes that Indonesia can remain a moral actor in global diplomacy without sacrificing national interests, provided that policies are rigorously based on the principles of *maslahah*, 'adl, and public accountability. The research contributes to the growing discourse on Islamic ethics in international relations by offering a normative evaluation framework applicable to Muslim-majority democracies. Practically, it recommends establishing a transparency roadmap, strengthening Global South coalitions, and institutionalizing ethical impact assessments in foreign policy doctrine.

This study acknowledges certain limitations, primarily focusing on the early period of the Prabowo administration (2024-2025) and relying on public discourse analysis. Future research should consider comparative studies with other Muslim-majority nations (e.g., Turkey, Malaysia) to broaden the understanding of Islamic ethics in foreign policy. Additionally, longitudinal studies tracking policy implementation over time would provide deeper insights into the effectiveness of ethical diplomacy.

Ultimately, Jihad in this context is redefined not merely as rhetoric, but as a consistent commitment to fight for justice in strategic and ethical ways. As Indonesia navigates complex geopolitical landscapes, the integration of ethical principles into statecraft becomes not just a religious obligation, but a strategic imperative for sustainable peace and moral credibility in the international order.

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