

Covid 19 Tragedy as a Momentum for Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah to Support Palestine : A Coxian Perspective

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to provide solutions recommendations so that Palestine can get out of the double tragedy. Palestine is said to be experiencing a double tragedy because Palestine is a victim of Israeli colonialism as well as experiencing the Covid 19 pandemic. This research used Robert Cox perspective, are concept of independence economic management through strategy of take advantage of foreign aid and concept of historical bloc which used by Palestinian people for free from Israeli colonialism. The organizations movements analysed in this study are Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. This research resulted in two solutions recommendations, namely, first, NU and Muhammadiyah should strengthen cooperation in providing assistance to the Palestinian people. This is done in order to create economic independence for the Palestinian people so that they can become a social force capable of fighting Israeli colonialism. Second, NU and Muhammadiyah should strengthen cooperation to support the historical bloc so that Palestine can be free from Israeli colonialism. Actually, both of organizations can become social power which have ability of counter hegemony Israeli power. This research is a correlative/predictive research, namely by explaining Robert Cox's concepts to find out possible solutions that can be taken to solve problems.

INTRODUCTION

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has received great attention from global citizens. The colonialism over Palestine against the humanitarian values which has been occurred for so long. Israel got support from United States as hegemony power. The following were evidences of support to Palestine. In 2012 Palestine has the opportunity to get a position in the UN forum. On November 29, 2012, Palestine received status as a non-member observer state at the United Nations (UN, 2023). This was a form of support and concern from the international community so that Palestine has access to take part in official forums at the world level as other UN countries. Even the UN General Assembly announced that 2014 as the year of international solidarity with the Palestinian people (UN, 2023). There have been many concrete supports by the UN as a form of UN concern for Palestine considering that the Palestinian issue has become an international problem. One of the concrete supports carried out by the UN was that the UN cooperates with Palestine to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals in Palestine (UN Palestine, 2023). On December 28, 2022, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution on the Right of the Palestinian People to Self-Determination, namely GA Resolution (A/RES/77/208) on the Palestinian Issue, Preserving Their Own Destiny, Related to Statehood A/RES/77/208 (UN, 2023).

United Nations as the international organization have given support to Palestine. As an anticolonial country, Indonesia, also actively support Palestine against Israeli colonialism. Indonesia's stance also supported by the two largest Islamic community organizations in Indonesia, named Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. NU's support of Palestine was initiated by the initiator, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) with a cultural and structural approach. In addition, NU also foreign assistance as a tactical step to make direct contributions in the field. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah as an Islamic organization choses to focus on using the approach of providing humanitarian assistance to Palestine.

The selection of case organization movement from NU and Muhammadiyah in effort to help the liberation of Palestine will be analysed Robert Cox's critical theory. This step provides an alternative discussion among academics in International Relations because it offers a critical perspective. Therefore, in order to find answers to critical and in-depth analysis, this paper discusses several sections. First, discussion about Israel colonialism and global Covid-19 pandemic. Second, discussion of NU and Muhammadiyah as Islamic social movement for liberation of Palestine. Third, discussion about expanding Intifadha and building alternative international historical bloc. Last but not least, conclusion.

THEORETICAL REVIEW

The Covid 19 pandemic has had a devastating impact on all fields. The outbreak of Covid-19 pandemic, had showed us that there was another threats other than military and economic. The onslaught of the Covid 19 outbreak in the world has weakened world economically. Covid 19 is increasing mortalities rate globally in very short time. When Covid 19 was announced as pandemic by

WHO (World Health Organization), all countries were asked to reduce and even lock down, for example by reducing the total number of visits from abroad. In the economic sector, with no tourism visits, no activities in the export-import until unspecified time, impacted on decreases foreign exchange drastically. Governments around the world were then looking for ways to keep the country's economy running in the midst of a lock down effect.

The Covid-19 pandemic considered as tragedy in the global battle. Many countries were taking uncompromising actions in response to Covid-19 pandemic, including closures and quarantines. Although these steps are often necessary to ensure infection control, they have significant negative effects on mental and physical health. The Covid-19 pandemic is a human tragedy that has changed everyone's lives. When restrictions on people's mobility are imposed by many countries to anticipate and control the increasing number of people infected with Covid-19, it turns out that these restrictions have far-reaching consequences not only on daily life and the economy, but also on biodiversity, climate change and human welfare (Braun, 2021). The Covid-19 pandemic was not a sudden disaster, but the result of a progressive degradation of health resilience, not only fuelled but fostered by the current development model. Analysts hope for a 'paradigm shift', but the phrase is beginning to sound purely rhetorical, and focus should be placed on the key lessons of the critical 'point of no return'. First, it needs evidence of collaboration between the state, private and non-profit sectors at all nodes. Second, the way of working has changed radically. Third, work is not only a matter of economic independence, but also of social existence. In order to protect people from both a health and social perspective, all countries must drastically rethink how health systems are structured. The green economy is the solution to the health crisis and the key to economic recovery, no one should be left behind. If you can take advantage of these three lessons, the Covid-19 tragedy will be in vain (Silvestri, 2021).

The Gaza Strip, which has been under restrictions and shortages since the beginning of the blockade a dozen years ago, must also face the threat of Covid-19. The virus started in Gaza when two infected men entered the country from Egypt after visiting Pakistan. The Hamas government closed restaurants, wedding halls and Friday prayers in the area. About 2000 Gazans have entered self-quarantine. Residents in the West Bank have long been accustomed to curfews and lockdowns, halted by the Fatah-led Palestinian Authority and the Israeli government since the first cases of Covid-19 were confirmed in Bethlehem. Neither Fatah nor Hamas could cope with the dire living conditions and healthcare systems that are almost non-existent in Gaza and the West Bank. Gaza's broken healthcare system has long crossed its limits. Five years after the start of the Israeli-Egyptian blockade in 2007, the United Nations issued a report predicting that Gaza would be deemed uninhabitable by 2020. The health care crisis has been further exacerbated by a shortage of doctors. Gaza will need 1,000 new doctors by 2020, a loss of 160 in the last three years as thousands flee the strip in search of better living conditions. This situation came about as a result of years of devastating attacks by Israeli imperialism which

lowered living standards in Gaza and created a disparity in living conditions between Palestinians and Israelis living on the other side of the border. On average, Israelis live ten years longer than Palestinians; coupled with COVID-19, this condition creates a very dangerous situation for the entire region (Farah & Zeineddine, 2020).

METHODOLOGY

This research used Robert Cox perspective, are concept of independence economic management through strategy of take advantage of foreign aid and concept of historical bloc which used by Palestinian people for free from Israeli colonialism. The organizations movements analysed in this study are Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. This research resulted in two solutions recommendations, namely, first, NU and Muhammadiyah should strengthen cooperation in providing assistance to the Palestinian people.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Palestine, which until now has not gained independence, has become very dependent on other countries in terms of strategies to control the death rate due to Covid 19, such as Uni Emirad Arab and other Islamic states, such as Indonesia. Palestine needs independence and world recognition to become an independent state, so that Palestine can overcome outbreaks, such as Covid 19. On the other hand, the threat to world peace is the lack of proper information about the handling of Covid 19. Too many media outlets have conveyed hoaxes in handling covid. So this will make the handling of Covid slower. In some countries that experience conflict, one of the advantages is the lack of tourist visits from abroad. However, the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic is also quite severe in conflicted area such as the Gaza Strip, Palestine. In addition, to having to stay under Israeli attacks, controlling the death rate due to Covid 19 also cannot be maximized by the government authorities in Palestine, due to the status of Palestine which has not yet become an independent state. Palestine is not only facing a world threat due to war, so the Covid 19 attack has further made things worse in Palestine.

As of 19 June 2020, The West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza Strip had 834 confirmed cases and deaths. Out of the 834 cases, 639 cases are registered with The PA's Ministry of Health (MoH) (567cases in the West Bank and 72 cases in the Gaza Strip), and the remaining 195 cases are Palestinians living in East Jerusalem neighbourhoods. Between 5 March and 19 June, 69,730 tests were conducted ,and the cumulative number of home quarantine cases totaled 97,078. This means that the rate of infection was 16.6 per 100,000, and the death rate 0.1 per 100,000. A closer look at the 639 cases registered with the PA's MoH reveals that an estimated 65% of the cases originated from Israel, 10% from Egypt, and 9% from Greece. Around 25% of the cases are Palestinians working in Israel and in the settlements, 40% are those who interacted with the workers, and 15% are Palestinians coming from abroad.

The first measures against COVID-19 in the West Bank were taken on 5 March, when the PA declared a state of emergency and imposed a lockdown on the site of the first infections, Bethlehem, banning all entry and exit as well as

enforcing a curfew. The PA also announced restrictions across the West Bank, including prohibitions on travel between governorates and the closing of public spaces and education facilities. On 22 March, Following a steady increase in cases, the PA Declared a curfew on Area A. In the Gaza Strip, by mid-March, Hamas authorities and UNRWA Began converting schools into quarantine centres and clinics, in preparation for a possible outbreak. On 21 March, Two Gazans returning from Pakistan Tested positive for the virus and were immediately hospitalised. People were identified to have come into contact with them and were quarantined. A similar Lock down was imposed by the Hamas Authorities in Gaza With public spaces and schools closing. Whilst the official date for reopening of restau rants, cafes and other public spaces was 7 June,2020. They unofficially began opening from the beginning of June. On 18 June, The MoH Reported the beginning of the second wave and re-introduced restrictions on gatherings and travel in between governorates. The Palestinian Authorities were initially praised for their quick and effective actions.

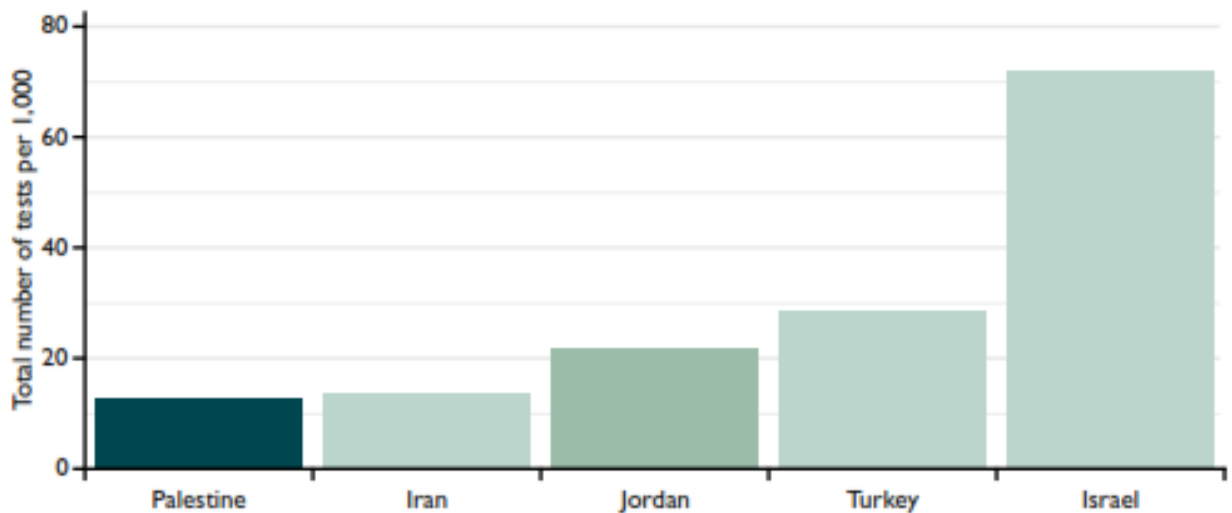


Figure 2: Total number of tests per 1,000 as of early June. Source: National government reports

Source: www.prio.org

The diagram shows that Palestine recorded as the lowest rate of Covid 19 victims.

Finally, the private sector-led Wakfet Izz Fund was launched to face the economic consequences of the pandemic. By mid-May, Wakfet Izz Fund had collected around USD 17 million. By mid-June, it started allocating the money as follows: 39% Allocated to 40,000 Workers who had lost their jobs (USD 200 Per worker); 25% Allocated to 30,000 Families (USD 150 Per family:75% In the West Bank, 25% In Gaza Strip); 3% To Jerusalem; 10% To refugee camps and charities; and the remaining 23% Allocated to the PA's Ministry Of Health To meet urgent medical needs, including for Jerusalem.

NU and Muhammadiyah as the Islamic Social Movement for the Liberation of Palestine

In Indonesia, there are two big Muslim organizations called NU and Muhammadiyah with religious-based that have a role in helping Palestine free from colonialism of Israel. The humanitarian assistance, of course based on several ideas, ideologies may form the basis of their thinking in behaving. Without a strong foundation of thinking, their humanitarian attitude will be easily broke down.

There were several basic reasons of helping Palestine as a Moslem-based countries which has been severe for colonialism for so long, NU helps Palestine because of several basic thoughts, first, referring to the NU Statutes chapter IV, article 8, paragraph 1, namely, "*Nadhlatul Ulama is an association/jam'iyahdiniyyahislamiyyahijtima'iyah (Islamic social religious association) to create the benefit of society, progress of the nation, and the height of human dignity*" (Nadhlatul Ulama Executive Board, 2022). The article shows that NU's perspective on life when running the organization. Thus, NU ways of life that seeks to realize the problems of society and uphold human dignity. Therefore, NU seeks to apply it in the form of helping Palestine from Israeli colonialism because this colonialism is an act that harms the Palestinian people as well as hurts the dignity of the Palestinian people.

Second, NU helps Palestine because of the influence of Gus Dur's big ideas as a big figure who is very influential in NU, namely the idea of cosmopolitan Islam. Cosmopolitan Islam is a product of Gus Dur's original thinking which comes from the values of Islamic universalism, Islamic indigenization, and Islamic boarding schools (Siswanto, 2022). These three ideas of values gave birth to a moderate understanding of Islam and thought of human values. Cosmopolitan Islam is a teaching that contains faith (monotheism), ethics (akhlaq), and religious law (fiqh). According to Abdurrahman Wahid's explanation as cited by Siswanto (2022), Islam provides five basic guarantees to individuals and community groups namely, first, *Hifzu Al Nafs*, namely guaranteeing the physical safety of society, second, *Hifzu Al-Din*, namely guaranteeing religious safety, third, *Hifzu Al-Nashl*, namely guaranteeing the safety of family and offspring, fourth, *Hifzu Al-Amal*, namely guaranteeing property and personal ownership, fifth, *Hifzu Al-Aqli*, namely guaranteeing professional safety. This cosmopolitan thought that puts forward Islamic universalism and human values for all people has become an idea that has influenced NU to help Palestine from Israeli colonialism. Gus Dur's thoughts inspired NU's movement to become an organization that benefits the world community.

Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah helps Palestine from Israeli colonialism, because, first, Muhammadiyah adheres to cosmopolitan Islam. Cosmopolitan Islam according to the Muhammadiyah version which has been explained through the Tanfidz Decree of the One Century Mukhtarof Muhammadiyah, is "*a universal sense of human solidarity and a universal sense of responsibility to fellow human beings regardless of differences and separation of distances that are primordial and conventional*" (Muhammadiyah Central Leader, 2010). This idea of thought has become the basis for Muhammadiyah to think about the

contribution of humanity to Palestine so that it can be safe and secure from Israeli colonialism. Not limited to thinking about the contribution of the domestic level. But also thinking about how Muhammadiyah is able to contribute to humanity at the international level as a form of implementing cosmopolitan Islam.

Second, Muhammadiyah helps Palestine because Muhammadiyah wants to implement the internationalization of the Muhammadiyah movement. According to Haedar Nashir, Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Center, one of Muhammadiyah's programs to implement Muhammadiyah internationalization is the health, education, humanitarian and disaster cooperation program (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2022). The form of this program is Muhammadiyah's real action in helping Palestine through LazisMU.

Third, Muhammadiyah helps Palestine because Muhammadiyah is a philanthropic social movement. Since the beginning of the founding of Muhammadiyah, Muhammadiyah has emphasized itself more as a philanthropic movement, even higher as a philanthropic movement par excellence (Thohari, 2021). This philanthropic movement is a form of implementing the Al-Maun letter as the basis for philanthropic struggle. The founder of Muhammadiyah, K.H Ahmad Dahlan, made the theology of Al-Ma'un (QS.AlMa'un) the basis for caring for humanity. This causes Muhammadiyah to become a philanthropic movement. Therefore, Muhammadiyah implements a philanthropic spirit by providing assistance to Palestine.

As a concrete evidence that NU has provided assistance to Palestine from Israeli colonialism, first, Gus Dur as a major NU figure has taken a cultural and diplomatic approach. The cultural approach is proven through Wahid interacting and having direct dialogue with Israel so that Gus Dur has good social relations with Israel. The Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzak Rabin, once invited Gus Dur and his friends to witness the signing of the peace agreement between Israel and Jordan in 1994 (Hamdani, 2013). Gus Dur even visited Israel to meet with Israelis, Jews, Muslim Arabs and Christian Arabs. Gus Dur listened to the sincere wishes of the Israeli people, namely the desire of the Israeli people to realize peace so that there would be no prolonged war. This made Gus Dur want to achieve Israeli-Palestinian peace by finding a win-win solution. In fact, Gus Dur had served as a member of a peace foundation founded by former Israeli president, Simon Peres, The Peres Center for Peace and Innovation (Aziz, 2018). What Gus Dur did was actually done for the sake of establishing emotional closeness so that Israeli-Palestinian peace could be realized more quickly. However, Gus Dur's efforts to establish emotional closeness as a close friend of Israel drew a lot of criticism.

Apart from using a cultural approach, Gus Dur also used a diplomatic approach. This diplomatic approach was taken when Gus Dur entered the structural ranks of the Indonesian government, namely as president. Gus Dur became the 4th president of the Republic of Indonesia in the period 20 October 1999-24 July 2001 (President Library-Perpusnas, 2022). When Gus Dur became president, Indonesia had established trade relations with Israel. Trade relations

between Indonesia and Israel could occur because Gus Dur made a policy of opening trade relations between Indonesia and Israel. The opening of trade relations between Indonesia and Israel was formalized through Meperindag Decree No. 23/MPP/01/2001 dated 10 January 2001 regarding the legalization of trade relations between Indonesia and Zionist Israel (Hidayatullah, 2017). Gus Dur's strategy was indeed controversial. Gus Dur made a close relationship with Israel even though on the other hand, Gus Dur also maintained a close relationship with Palestine. Gus Dur's strategic move was actually carried out so that Gus Dur could become a good friend of Israel and Palestine.

Not only providing assistance using a cultural and diplomatic approach. NU also participated in providing material assistance. NU has a Nahdlatul Ulama Cares for Palestine program which is managed by NU Care-LAZIZNU (NU, 2022). The program has a budget of funds collected by NU Care-LAZIZNU in 2021 with a budget of 66,000 Dollars (NU, 2022). The budget is used for the construction of a health clinic in Zarqa Camp, procurement of ambulances. Furthermore, the real evidence of Muhammadiyah in contributing to Palestine from Israeli colonialism. If NU has an influential figure in providing assistance to Palestine named Gus Dur, then Muhammadiyah has an influential figure in providing assistance to Palestine named Lukman Harun. Lukman Harun worked hard to provide aid to Palestine around the 1960-1970s (Muhammadiyah, 2021). Lukman Harun is vocal in discussing Palestinian issues in various international seminars. Even Lukman Harun acts as a Muhammadiyah activist as well as Secretary General of the Asian Conference on Religion and Peace (ACRP) (Muhammadiyah, 2021).

Wachid Ridwan, the coordinator of the Muhammadiyah Aid program, explained that aid was prioritized in the education sector. Aid that has been distributed to Palestine in 2021 is more than IDR 1.5 billion (Muhammadiyah, 2021). Wachid Ridwan as secretary of the PP Muhammadiyah Foreign Relations Institute explained that there was a design plan for the stages of providing assistance to Palestine (Muhammadiyah, 2021). The first stage, emergency response, is a stage of providing humanitarian assistance even though the emergency phase has been completed. The second stage, program of development, the program prioritizes educational development. Finally, the third stage, the peace building program, which is a program that contains efforts to discuss peace issues and efforts to raise political support for Palestine in the international world.

To facilitate understanding of the efforts of NU and Muhammadiyah in helping Palestine from Israeli colonialism, table 1.1 can be seen as follows:

Table 1.1 The Efforts of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah in Helping Palestine from Israeli Colonialism

	Nahdlatul Ulama	Muhammadiyah
Thinking Foundation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. NU's Articles of Association, Chapter VI, Article 8 paragraph 1 2. Gus Dur's big ideas about cosmopolitan Islam 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The idea of cosmopolitan Islam (Tanfidz Decree of the One Century Muhammadiyah Muktamar) 2. The idea of internationalization of the Muhammadiyah movement 3. The form of philanthropic social movements
Evidence of Assistance	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cultural approach (Conducted by Gus Dur) 2. Diplomatic approach (Conducted by Gus Dur) 3. Provision of material assistance 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Scientific approach (Conducted by Lukman Harun) 2. Giving priority to education 3. Making a strategic plan for the stages of providing assistance to Palestine. The stages of assistance consist of; emergency response stages, program development stages, and finally, peace building stages.

Indonesia is one of the countries that has helped Palestine a lot, both humanitarian aid and diplomatic assistance in the form of support for Palestinian independence. As an independent country, Indonesia represents the voice of Palestine at the international level. On the other hand, at the organizational level, Nahdhatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah are two Islamic organizations that help Palestine. This diplomatic step is interesting, namely with the movement of Islamic organizations in Indonesia able to have a positive impact on Palestine which also has a good impact on Indonesia. KH. Hasyim Muzadi (who was the 4th leader of NU 1999-2010) diplomatic steps between Indonesia and Palestine are important as the social character of the organization of Indonesia. NU has so far carried out many diplomatic activities representing Indonesia's interests at the international level. One of them is with the help of which is one of the teachings in Islam to always help his brother (*ukhuwwah islamiyyah*).

In the concept of *ukhuwwah wathaniyyah* (brotherhood of fellow Muslims), helping Palestine is one way of building harmonious relations between countries. In *ukhuwwah insaniyyah/basyariyyah* is the other side of help, where humans as human beings need other humans. It is clear that man's most perfect worth as a creature of God is to perfect his morals, that is, by helping other human beings and considering him a brother and sister. Palestine is one of the Islamic states that must be helped to gain independence.

On the other hand, the Islamic organization that vigorously supports Palestinian independence is Muhammadiyah. The organization expressed its commitment to support Palestinian independence. After distributing aid from LazisMu amounting to Rp. 23 billion in 2021, now Muhammadiyah through the Disaster Management Institute (LPB) PP Muhammadiyah has prepared Rp. 14 billion for humanitarian and development programs in Palestine. In fact, MuhammadiyahAID Coordinator, Wachid Ridwan admitted that he had long had contact persons and met with the Palestinian Ministry. "I myself met around the end of 2019 when the Palestinian deputy health minister visited the Muhammadiyah Jakarta PP office," he said. Initially, Wachid Ridwan did not know that dr. Ahmed Alkhodary was the Deputy Minister of Health of Palestine. Because Muhammadiyah's partner in Kuala Lumpur only said that if there are colleagues from Palestine who want to meet Muhammadiyah. Then, dr Corona contacted him who had also met at an international conference. Then Muhammadiyah can connect with the Palestinian Ministry in terms of humanitarian missions. Wachid Ridwan said that MuhammadiyahAID planned three stages of programs. The short program is in the form of humanitarian assistance in the form of medicine and food. MuhammadiyahAID's intermediate program also provides a narrative of Palestinian-Israeli peace. The long program gives a political narrative of Palestinian independence.

The Future of Palestine: Expanding and Building an Alternative International Historical Bloc (a Coxian concept)

In analysing the Palestinian-Israeli phenomenon, it requires a total perspective to understand the violence that occurred as an expression of the capitalist world. An analysis that has the potential to open up new thoughts

and actions within the critical thinking paradigm. The Marxist theory of Palestine-Israel has the potential to yield insights that contradict the existed theory. The analysis focuses on Israel's violent colonization of Palestine and the ethical nature of this process on class, relations of production, or relations of the balance of political and economic power over time. The framing of the conflict in terms of nation and religion (Israel/Jewish versus Palestinian/Muslim) excludes class and capital, and stops linking analysis of political relations to the contradictions of capitalism; an analysis of class position and the role of capitalist development in the colonial political economy (Crooke, 2019). Robert Cox, aligned with the Marxist also had insightful of anti-colonialism, which can be distributed to effort of Palestine to be free from Israel colonialism with the historical bloc, which has been stated above. In short, the research would like to share the “**what if**” solutions from Coxian-perspectives.

The first **what if** story is the assistance from Islam countries such as Indonesia. In the real fact, NU and Muhammadiyah are representation of Indonesia to support Palestine. The form of assistance such as money, food, educations, and the others. NU and Muhammadiyah as Islamic committed to support Palestinian through in order to help citizens economic independence. If Palestinian people have been independent economically, they may be strong socially as well. If they have the social power, so they can against colonialism of Israel. Thus, NU and Muhammadiyah also strengthen cooperation between Indonesia and Palestine.

Kareem Rabie's critique (Rabie, 2021) joins other critical efforts in recent years to understand the ways in which neoliberal capitalism normalizes and facilitates Israel's continued oppression of Palestinians (Hanieh, 2016; Haddad, 2016; Algazi, 2006). Intellectuals committed to ending Israel's oppression of Palestinians have long incorporated criticism of capitalism into their work (Kanafani, 1972; Touma, 1973; Hanegbi, Machover, and Orr, 1971; Gozansky, 1986; Abdo, 1991). Changing historical circumstances have inevitably forced new critics to reinvent the ways in which capitalist and state oppression are related to each other in the case of Palestine/Israel (Historical Materialism, 2022).

Palestinians cannot rely only on a national Palestine Authority (PA) to overcome the crisis. The bourgeois governance uses the severed workers to undermine political rivals. The Fatah-led Palestinian Authority continues to impose sanctions on Gaza, which then preventing essential medical supplies from reaching patients. Fatah is nothing but an agent of Israeli imperialism, acting as the warden of the Palestinian people's prison. Hamas, which is at odds with Fatah, has called for "Palestinian unity", hinting at cooperating with Fatah in exchange for the lifting of sanctions on Gaza. This union of the two Palestinian bourgeoisies has nothing to offer the Palestinians. The Palestinian bourgeoisie cooperates with imperialism and sells workers in exchange for a part of the exploitation of the Palestinian masses. Starting from the Oslo Agreement which was a betrayal of the Intifada movement. Refusing to break with capitalism, the Palestinian leadership has led the masses to a stalemate. They are supported by the Arab rulers, for all talk about the liberation of

Palestine, always united with the actions of the Israeli ruling class (Farah & Zeineddine, 2020). Thus, the independence economy will far to reach if the governance still doing the manipulative policy towards the aid given by international support.

Farah & Zeineddine (2020) continue that with the spread of COVID-19, the Palestinian Authority has entered a state of panic, declared a state of emergency, and taken little action; the Palestinian workers showed that they could lead themselves. In Bethlehem, the epicentre of COVID-19 cases in the West Bank, 3,000 workers have formed an emergency committee. They have a long revolutionary tradition of organizing themselves into councils, dating back to the First Intifada when their failed leadership.

The council must appeal to working class Israelis, who equally suffer from a lack of funds for health care, despite the wealth that exists in their society. As the crisis deepens in Israel, the discontent of the masses will increase, sooner or later, space will open up for the Palestinian masses to join the anti-establishment atmosphere in Israel for a united front against Israel's ruling class. The health crisis has led some to call for unity between Palestinians and Israelis, the only union that can exist is between workers and poor Israelis and Palestinians who will be asked to pay the price for the health crisis created by the capitalist system.

The increasing militancy movements are linked to the revolutionary sentiments of the masses of the working class and youth throughout the Middle East. Palestinian youth are leading the militant mass struggle against Israel's cruel war on their brothers and sisters in Gaza. It is important to note that the struggle began within Israel's borders in 1948 and was led and organized by committees, networks and organizations that were outside the official Palestinian "leadership". Mobilization has cut through existing divisions, uniting the Palestinian struggle against occupation, discrimination and oppression in Gaza, the West Bank, East Jerusalem, Palestinian refugee camps and, especially, inside Israel's 1948 green lines. This struggle resonates with the working class and youth in around the world, and has inspired a wave of international solidarity that is growing on a global scale. The Palestinian people in the struggle with the awareness that nothing fundamental has been resolved, they have shown determination and a will to continue fighting. It is in this context of perspective that the Marxists put forward the program of a Federal Socialist State of Israel/Palestine as part of the Socialist Federation of the Middle East, in which oppression can be ended by revolutionary means and all nations, including Jews and Palestinians, and all other peoples in the region. Therefore, will have the right to determine their own destiny, and find the same path to prosperity (Merli, 2021).

Discussion of Covid-19 as a momentum for NU and Muhammadiyah to be actively involved in supporting the Palestinian from the shackles of Israeli occupation. The Coxian's perspective, welcome the expansion of the Intifada movement. In Coxian's perspective wellness, the coalitions and alliances which based on historical awareness together, may counter colonialism-imperialism. Thus, it is not limited to territory, nation, religion, and other pseudo-identities

other than collective identity as victims or oppressed classes. That is what is referred to as an alternative international historical bloc as a counter-hegemony to global capitalist hegemony in its various forms, in the case of Palestine. NU and Muhammadiyah should be coalition and alliance for against colonialism of Israel with soft power by the means of independent economy. The aids given to this country should be the media to ally with other Moslem countries. The aid given from all around the worlds as well, if it is managed very well, and not be occupied by the means of wrong governance, will ease Palestine independence. Based on the economy independent, the severe Palestinians will no longer exist; the PA will only focus on the good sake of Palestinian, than extend the capitalism. In other words, NU and Muhammadiyah aids as Moslem based movement, may a counter hegemony against economy colonialism of Israel over Palestine.

The second what if as the historical bloc can be in the form of international Moslem organizations for Palestinian liberation. NU and Muhammadiyah should support to international historical bloc. Both of organizations should be coalition and alliance to support Palestinian liberation. Without partnership all actors, liberation of Palestinian will never been occurred. Beside, when NU and Muhammadiyah become alliance to support liberation of Palestine, so this action is implementation of cosmopolitan ideas so that created world peace especially in Palestine. Because that, NU and Muhammadiyah should strengthen cooperation to support historical bloc internationally. Based on Coxian perspective, the international structure may be reconstructed with this movement. We can say that by referred to Coxian perspectives, universalities in Moslem based organization, will be the added value to achieve liberation for Palestine. As being stated before, the Coxian perspective rely on the cosmopolitanism, in the case of Palestine colonialism by Israel, it can be countered by the international organizations, like NU and Muhammadiyah from Indonesia.

What if all of the international Moslem-based organizations which are spread around the world, may counter-hegemonic struggle from Israel trough the intifada movements. The continuous and long-term commitment given from those international organizations may change the global structure and system to abolish global capitalist colonialism-imperialism once and for all. This goal will unite all elements or social groups in every nation that transcends the territory of every country in the world. Thus it will be in accordance with the mission of social transformation in the world order in the Coxian perspective Critical Theory.

At the local level, the Intifada Movement had to strengthen their productive capacity in terms of organizing, which included the economy, ideology, and the realization of a culture of liberation and independence. At the national level, this movement will seize power and form a Palestinian state as well as Israel which is anti-global capitalism. Furthermore, at the international level, together with other social movement groups that also seized power and formed countries in each region of the world, they jointly carried out counter-hegemony against the hegemonic capitalistic world order. The counter-

hegemonic struggle is carried out in two methods known as position wars and movement wars at every level or political arena (local, national and international). The simplest war of positions that can be understood is the struggle for power in a democratic manner, if that is possible then it is carried out through a legal election process and in formal politics. Meanwhile, movement wars are carried out by continuing political processes that may be outside the formal legal processes in various forms: from the formation of narratives through propaganda to carrying out revolutions and even armed.

The choices for the struggle for liberation and independence for Palestine in various countries in the global hegemonic capitalism are indeed not easy and cannot be carried out as is usually known so far, with the power from United States and UN. History has also proven that various efforts so far, including at the international level by involving the United Nations, will not necessarily change world history to be more just for anyone. Especially, when the United Nations is also considered to be an extension of the hegemony of capitalistic rulers from various nation-states in the world.

Noticed that Palestine has been separated into groupings, Hamas and Fatah, Palestine Authority (PA) should rule out the ideology, whatever it takes. Just like Muslim brother, Muhajirin and Anshor, who helped Mulism syiar in the Makah. The failure of UN to give liberation to Palestine must evoke other Muslim organizations in the world to be united and give their commitment to support Palestine Liberation. Just like Muhammadiyah through LazizMu and LazizNu who had committed to support Palestine for so long. The aid given from those organizations also considered as diplomatic way. As country, Indonesia support Palestine along the way through United Nations and so much forum in the world. In the international organization, NU and Muhammadiyah have represent the Muslim brother value to help each other.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Indonesia as a biggest Muslim country has delivered the commitment to support the liberation of Palestine. It is such a natural call from Muslim brother to help another Muslim country to support each other. NU and Muhammadiyah is representation of Indonesia. NU helps Palestine because of the influence of Gus Dur's big ideas as a big figure who is very influential in NU, namely the idea of cosmopolitan Islam. Muhammadiyah helps Palestine because Muhammadiyah wants to implement the internationalization of the Muhammadiyah movement and this organization is philanthropic social movement.

This research provides two solution recommendation so that Palestine can free from colonialism of Israeli. First solution, NU and Muhammadiyah should strengthen cooperation for providing assistance to Palestinian people so that created Palestinian people's economic independence. Second solution, NU and Muhammadiyah should strengthen alliance to support international historical bloc so that created independence of Palestine. This research confirms that in the future, international organizations based on cosmopolitan ideas can become social power which will counter hegemonic in world order.

FURTHER STUDY

Through a text content analysis approach, this research will unravel the official statements and stances of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah towards the Covid-19 crisis. Special focus is given to the concrete steps taken to help directly affected communities and the way the organizations coordinate humanitarian efforts.

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