

## Polemic over the Rejection of the Presence of the Israeli National Team which Led to the Cancellation of Indonesia as the Host of the U-20 World Cup

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### Abstract

Football is one of the biggest sports in the world, until now it has become a very large industry and involves a lot of money, including the large salaries of players in work agreements, and Indonesia is no exception. This phenomenon attracts attention not only for sponsors in terms of business, but for political actors as well as part of the political media for them. Football for some political elites is considered as a medium or a tool for them to communicate with audiences in the electoral politics sphere. This is done by conveying political information through a popular medium for many people, namely football. In this way, it can be understood that football also has its own spirit in the process of political constellation in Indonesia. The rapid development of football has made this sport a source as well as a tool to achieve certain goals. The goals can vary, ranging from the acquisition of capital capital to power, existence and ideologicalization. The goals desired through football were carried out by propaganda techniques that made it possible to achieve a desired goal. In essence, football and politics are two things that are identical but not the same. These two things are two battles to fight over something that has high intrinsic value. The rejection of the presence of the Israeli national team in the U-20 World Cup which led to the cancellation of Indonesia as the host led to various legal polemics and involved complex legal aspects. In this journal, we will discuss aspects of civil law using applicable laws in Indonesia regarding the cancellation.

**Keywords:** Indonesia, Political Media, Legal Polemic, Israel National Team, U-20 World Cup



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### INTRODUCTION

FIFA officially announced Indonesia's elimination from hosting the 2023 U-20 World Cup on Wednesday (29/3) at 22.00 WIB and the cancellation of the draw which was originally to be held on March 31 2023 was conveyed directly by Exco PSSI, Arya Sinulingga. This was officially announced after PSSI Chairman Erick Thohir met FIFA President Gianni Infantino. The meeting took place in Doha, Qatar on Wednesday (29/3) afternoon to evening. At around six o'clock Doha time, FIFA confirmed that Indonesia would no longer be the host of the 2023 U-20 World Cup.

The cancellation of Indonesia as the host of the U-20 World Cup was the result of the rejection by several people regarding the presence of the Israeli national team in this tournament. Israel's qualification for the 2023 U-20 World Cup immediately received a reaction in Indonesia. This opportunity is something positive for young football athletes, so that they can then gain great knowledge and experience in facing world-class tournaments. Unfortunately, recently Indonesia has been threatened with failing to hold this big soccer agenda, considering the pros and cons that emerged in public discussion regarding the participation of the U-20 Israel National Team in the event. It's just that at that time not many spoke out loud against Israel's presence.

The polemic over Israel's presence in Indonesia reached its peak after the Governor of Bali, I Wayan Koster, sent a letter rejecting Israel's presence in Bali to Menpora Zainudin Amali on March 14, 2023. After that, the voices of Israel's rejection grew louder. One of them is from the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo. Central Java Governor Ganjar Pranowo said he did not regret having made a statement rejecting the participation of the Israeli national team in the 2023 U-20 World Cup. Ganjar said that his statement was a stance that had to be taken. This relates to the constitutional mandate of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. A number of community organizations up to members of the council have also rejected this. Because the voices of rejection were getting louder, FIFA (Federation Internationale de Football Association) decided to cancel the draw for the 2023 U-20 World Cup on March 31 in Bali. Dino Patti Djalal, founder and chairman of the Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia (FPCI), told VOA that Indonesia's cancellation from hosting the U-20 World Cup was a bitter event in the history of Indonesian football.

With the cancellation of Indonesia as host status for the U-20 World Cup, this is clearly a heavy blow. As is well known, the U-20 World Cup is an opportunity for Indonesia to present itself in an international tournament. Moreover, the U-20 World Cup is the third largest event in the history of FIFA (Federation Internationale de Football Association). Because this event is very useful for developing talented young players to the highest level. So by being appointed as the host, Indonesia will take the opportunity for the world to see that Indonesian football can compete with other countries at the highest level. However, it was unfortunate that all of these golden opportunities were lost due to the cancellation of Indonesia as the host for the U-20 World Cup due to the rejection of the presence of the Israeli national team.

Based on the background described above, several problems can be formulated, namely: What is the legal protection for parties who are harmed by the cancellation of hosting the U-20 World Cup? Does the act of refusing the presence of the Israeli national team violate the provisions of the law in force in Indonesia? This journal will discuss the cancellation of Indonesia as the host of the U-20 World Cup due to the polemic over the rejection of the presence of the Israel National Team and understand the aspects of civil law related to and provide recommendations for cases similar to legal protection for parties involved in the tournament organizing contract. According to Brotowidjoyo, scientific journals are essays about science that present facts and are made with established methodologies and scientific writing principles. In 2009, Marusic explained that a scientific journal is a work that contains research reports supported by strong data, as proof that research results can be accounted for.

Similarly, in conducting this research has a specific goal to be achieved. The aims of this research are to find out: Add and expand knowledge and understanding of legal aspects in theory and practice, especially in civil law practice. Analyzing Indonesian legal policies regarding the entry of the Israeli national team to Indonesia to take part in the World Cup. Examining the political impact of Indonesia's decision to allow the Israeli national team to enter Indonesia to participate in the World Cup. Study international legal regulations regarding the participation of the Israeli National Team in international events such as the World Cup. Analyze the legal impact of political pressure received by Indonesia in making a decision regarding the participation of the Israeli national team in the World Cup. Make legal recommendations that may be implemented by Indonesia regarding the political polemic of the Israeli national team in participating in the World Cup.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

As a scientific work, this research has a goal, to reveal a truth. In legal research, a scientific activity, which is based on certain methods, systematics, and ideas. Through research, analysis and construction of the data that has been obtained and processed is carried out. Therefore a

research is a series of steps that are carried out in a planned and systematic way in order to get answers that are close to the truth and can be scientifically accounted for. The research method that we use in this journal is a normative research method where research is carried out by examining using general observations, literature studies, and analysis of laws as well as encyclopedias and various data on political polemic in sports which are needed for deep processing. answer the problems studied in the research. We have conducted journalistic and literature studies which will serve as supporting legal materials in completing this article. This method is carried out by collecting and analyzing legal data from various sources such as laws and regulations, court decisions, legal doctrines, and also the constitution or basic laws. This journal explains how the process of canceling Indonesia to become the Host occurred.

## **RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Bung Karno's historical record, which stretches far back in the historical records of the Indonesian nation, committed and refused to compete against Israel in the 1958 World Cup qualifiers. the football. What happened today is reminiscent of a historical phenomenon. At that time Indonesia bravely rejected the Jewish occupation of Palestine. Bung Karno's ideals of rejecting forms of oppression and colonialism. In addition, this historical phenomenon later became a signal for politicians to strongly oppose the Israeli national team in a prestigious soccer event.

One of the most emotional and politically charged events was the cancellation of the U-20 Football World Cup in Indonesia (FIFA 2023). FIFA canceled Indonesia as the host for the U-20 World Cup on Wednesday, 29 March 2023. It has been a long way to go, and that hope has finally been dashed. The cancellation occurred due to the rejection voiced by several elements, including the Governor of Bali I Wayan Koster, Governor of Central Java Ganjar Pranowo, PDIP, PKS, PPP, and a number of mass organizations (community organizations). These parties rejected the presence of the Israeli national team in Indonesia, due to differences in political views. However, is this comparative study still relevant to today's phenomenon? Given the long history and various changes that have occurred in the Indonesian nation from time to time.

Some time ago, Ganjar Pranowo commented on the controversy, bringing the spirit of Bung Karno's rejection of Jewish colonialism. We understand that Bung Karno rejected Israel at that time because the Indonesian people at that time still had deep traumatic memories of European colonialism for centuries. "Never forget the story" - that's Bung Karno's message. Decades have passed so it is not wise if we are still trapped in a traumatic past. It is difficult to cancel the U-20 World Cup due to political elements, said Political Researcher from the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), Aisah Putri Budiarti. As a political machine heading for the 2024 political year, it is clear that this issue is of concern to the political elite. Puput - Aisah Putri Budiarti's nickname - said "who knows" this is part of the PDIP's political strategy especially ahead of 2024. However, she thinks this condition could benefit Ganjar Pranowo as one of the PDIP cadre profiles included in the 2024 presidential candidate survey. Indonesian U-20 national team player, Hokky Caraka also expressed his disappointment with Central Java Governor Ganjar Pranowo due to the cancellation of the 2023 U-20 World Cup in Indonesia. Politics that emerges from the power of football is not only seen in developed countries but has penetrated the local context. Football is used as a local political machine to get political actors' voices for competition. In Italy, the AC Milan club was also used by Silvio Berlusconi in the competition for the position of prime minister of Italy. Football is a popular sport in Indonesia, this phenomenon has attracted attention not only from commercial sponsors but also from political actors and some political media. For some political elites, football is seen as a means of communication or a tool to communicate with the public in electoral politics. You do this by conveying political information through the media that many people like, namely football. So it

can be understood that football also has its own spirit in the process of political formation in Indonesia. The rapid development of football has made this sport a source and a tool to achieve certain goals. Goals can range from increasing equality to power, existence and ideologicalization.

### **Discussion**

The cancellation of the U-20 World Cup has not only harmed the players, coaches and staff of the Indonesian national team. Likewise with the Indonesian government which is one of the parties that is disadvantaged. Because the budget spent on preparing for the U-20 World Cup is not small, the total budget spent is almost Rp. 500,000.00 (five hundred thousand rupiah). That the budget is used to renovate the stadium which is the venue for the U-20 World Cup as well as the Training Center and other accommodations. However, there are also those who are disadvantaged, namely the sellers of merchandise from the U-20 World Cup. The euphoria of Indonesia hosting the U-20 World Cup was not only felt by football fans but also by the sellers. Because that way they can get more profit from the results of all U-20 World Cup merchandise sales.

But now merchandise traders have suffered huge losses. This resulted in the cancellation of Indonesia as the host. PT Champion Raga Adidaya (JUARAGA) as the holder of the merchandise license for the U-20 World Cup expressed his sadness and disappointment. Mochtar said that the company felt a huge impact from Indonesia's cancellation of hosting the 2023 U-20 World Cup. His party admitted that they had collaborated with the MSME sector for merchandise production. JUARAGA admits that it has produced 53 types of merchandise and is the most in the history of organizing the U-20 World Cup. Even though there was a feeling of disappointment because it was canceled in Indonesia, his party admitted that they were proud to have been appointed directly by FIFA as the holder of the official merchandise license for the tournament. However, JUARAGA admits that they will help MSME actors to recover from the challenges faced due to the cancellation of the FIFA U-20 World Cup in Indonesia.

In Law Number 8 of 1999 concerning Consumer Protection in Article 6 it is stated regarding the rights of business actors, where these rights consist of the right to receive payments in accordance with an agreement regarding the conditions and exchange rates of traded goods or services, the right to obtain legal protection from bad faith from consumers, the right to defend oneself properly in legal settlements of consumer disputes, the right to rehabilitate one's good name if it is legally proven that the loss suffered by the consumer is not from the goods or services being traded, and the rights regulated in terms of other laws and regulations.

Approaching 2023, the public and especially Indonesian football fans will surely be impatient for the FIFA U-20 World Cup. At the event, FIFA chose Indonesia to host the prestigious youth football event. Football is a business, but it can also become a political weapon, as Barcelona is a form of propaganda from the people of Catalonia to the Spanish government and many other similar cases. It is therefore important to increase the education and political awareness of supporters, so that interest groups do not simply take advantage of them. In fact, a democratic system based on majority vote encourages political actors to appear in popular sports such as football. Even Qatar's bid in 2010 to host the 2022 World Cup had a strong political element.

Allegations were made about the involvement of UEFA president Michel Platini and the then FIFA president in Qatar's appointment as hosts, from corruption to human rights violations. After all, politics and football are two things that cannot be separated. There are often different political stances at different football events. For example, the raising of the Palestinian flag as a campaign against Israeli colonial practices, as well as the secret actions of

the German national team at the 2022 World Cup in Qatar. This was accompanied by a major public debate about the rejection of the organization of the Israeli national team. The legal consequence of the cancellation is a breach of contract between the related parties. The aggrieved party can file a claim for damages against the party that violates the contract, as well as the bad reputation of the host and the economic impact of the cancellation. The act of refusing the presence of the Israeli national team can be considered a violation of HI provisions, especially in terms of maintaining benefits and safety in organizing the tournament.

The problem of recognition in relation to diplomatic relations is the emergence of problems when the 2023 U20 World Cup in Indonesia is actually close. However, it is a sport and an integral part of international relations when one of the participants is the Israeli national team, it triggers a backlash against the BDS movement (Boycott, Divestments and Sanctions) in Indonesia. The BDS movement is a form of movement whose goal is to end the Israeli occupation and colonization of Palestine. BDS is thus a revival of a discourse that once framed the conflict in those terms before being sterilized and managed by the orders of the Oslo Peace Process. In 1991, in an effort to build on Oslo's achievements, the UN General Assembly repealed Resolution 1975 which declared "Zionism is Racism." In 2001, after nearly a decade of Oslo's failure and one year into the Second Palestinian Intifada, civil society organizations gathered at the United Nations World Conference against Racism in Durban. There, they revived the language of the 1975 resolution and stated that Zionism is Racism and that Israel is an Apartheid State. However, BDS did not gain significant momentum until many years later.

The study of international politics only deals with the existence of the Israel national football team when football has an impact when the pro-Israel state government uses financial threats, rewards or financial sanctions for political reasons, such as the promise to reduce Indonesian taxes otherwise if the Israeli national team is still allowed to compete. In terms of international law, especially diplomatic law, Israel is a country without diplomatic relations with Indonesia. In this FISIP Statement, Radityo Dharmaputra, S.Hub.Int., M.Hub.Int., RCEES IntM., MA., lecturer at the Department of International Relations FISIP UNAIR shared his views regarding the cancellation of Indonesia as host of the U-20 World Cup by FIFA and its implications for the dynamics of domestic politics and Indonesian foreign policy. But the relationship between the two countries has a history where Indonesia does not have diplomatic relations with Israel, but the two countries have unofficial relations covering trade, tourism and security relations. According to data for 2020, the value of Indonesia's exports to Israel was US\$157.53 million or around Rp. 2.27 trillion (exchange rate of Rp. 14,464/US\$).

The definition of diplomatic according to KBBI is the official relationship between the state and the state. From this understanding, it can be interpreted that diplomacy is a relationship through state instruments as a representative or delegation of the state. Then, based on Article 1 paragraph (1) of Law 37/1999, foreign relations are any activities related to regional and international aspects carried out by the government at the central and regional levels, or their institutions, state agencies, business entities, political organizations, community organizations, non-governmental organizations, or Indonesian citizens. From these various definitions, it can be concluded that foreign relations also include diplomatic relations. For information, in terms of diplomacy, Indonesia applies an "intermestic" pattern, namely diplomacy that voices national interests to the international community, and communicates domestic developments to the international world. The recent opposition to welcoming the arrival of the Israeli team in Indonesia arose due to negative sentiment towards Indonesia. Most people cite their sense of solidarity with the Palestinian people as the reason for their rejection of Israel. Both are registered as members of the United Nations (UN), until now Indonesia has no diplomatic relations with Israel. Although they do not have official diplomatic relations, the

two countries have bilateral relations in various sectors. Indeed, Indonesia does not prohibit regulations regarding Israeli delegations, which is written in Foreign Minister Regulation Number 3 of 2019 concerning General Guidelines for Foreign Relations by Regional Governments CHAPTER X Part B which contains:

### **RI-Israel Relations**

Until now, Indonesia has no diplomatic relations with Israel, and opposes Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories and people, therefore Indonesia rejects all official relations with Israel. In conducting relations with Israel, it is necessary to pay attention to the existing procedures and are still valid: There is no official relationship between the Government of Indonesia at every level and Israel, including in correspondence using official letterhead; Not receiving the Israeli delegation of Israel officially and in an official place; It is not permitted to raise/use the flag, emblem and other attributes as well as the playing of the Israeli national anthem in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia; Israel's presence does not imply political recognition of Israel; Israeli citizens' visits to Indonesia can only be made using an ordinary passport; Authorization to issue visas to Israeli citizens is carried out by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights c.q the Directorate General of Immigration. Visas are issued in the form of affidavits through the Indonesian Embassy in Singapore or the Indonesian Embassy in Bangkok.

However, there are still many pros and cons and strong opinions on the Indonesian government's decision. However, it is safe to say that Indonesia avoided severe punishment from FIFA after world soccer's governing body revoked the right to host the 2023 U-20 World Cup amid controversy over Israel's participation, the head of national football said. Because there is indeed a law that can support that narrative but we also see it from the perspective of FIFA, which decided to sanction the funding freeze for the All Indonesian Football Association (PSSI) instead of banning Indonesia for the second time in eight years, the organization's chairman, Erick Thohir, announced from France Thursday (30/3) evening. "I can only say, thanks to the grace of Allah SWT and the prayers of all Indonesian people, especially football lovers, Indonesia has been able to avoid the severe sanctions of isolation from the world of football," he said in a statement published on the association's website after meeting with FIFA President Gianni Infantino in Paris. "FIFA only provides administrative sanctions in the form of freezing FIFA Forward funds for PSSI's operational needs. It will be reviewed again after FIFA reviews the grand strategy for developing Indonesian football," he added. FIFA Forward was built to provide comprehensive, tailor-made support for football development for each of their members and its six confederations based on the three principles of more investment, more impact, more oversight. Infantino issued a decision to freeze funds after Erick informed FIFA about Indonesia's strategic plans for the development and transformation of football. Through the latest punishment, said Erick, world football's governing body showed Indonesia a "yellow card, not a red card" even though this was not the first time that Indonesia had received a sanction/penalty.

This is because in 2015, FIFA suspended Indonesia's membership and banned the national team and its clubs from international competitions for a year after the sports ministry suspended the football federation due to a dispute involving two teams with dual ownership or management issues. To support its member national associations in their football activities, FIFA provides up to €4.5 Million each in operational costs such as staff salaries, administration and governance every four years under Forward 3.0 which was launched this year. In addition, each member association can receive up to IDR 44 billion for certain soccer projects in line with long-term development goals. FIFA is also offering additional assistance of up to Rp.18 billion each to the member associations most in need to assist them with travel and accommodation

costs for their national teams and football equipment. FIFA last week canceled Indonesia's hosting rights to the U-20 World Cup, citing "current circumstances," just weeks before the tournament was scheduled to start.

The move came after several Indonesian politicians and Muslim groups spoke out against the Israeli team's participation. Those opposed to hosting Israel include the governors of Bali and Central Java, where several tournament matches are scheduled to be held. The decision angered Indonesian football fans and players, who had been preparing for the event for years. Indonesia has no diplomatic relations with Israel and has been a vocal supporter of the Palestinian cause. Erick said FIFA would review the new sanctions after assessing Indonesia's strategic plans and would provide the necessary assistance. He also said that Indonesia could still compete in the Southeast Asian Games next month, which was not on the official FIFA calendar. FIFA has been working with Indonesia to improve football infrastructure and management since the deadly stadium demolition in Malang in October 2022 that killed 135 people. FIFA also agreed to assign officials to monitor its program in Indonesia. Meanwhile, new sports-related controversies emerged after the Governor of Bali, I Wayan Koster, said he was also against the participation of Israeli athletes in the World Beach Games scheduled for August on the island. This all played a role in the cancellation of the U-20 World Cup in Indonesia. FIFA's decision to cancel this was regretted by Indonesian football fans, but received sky-high praise from the media in Israel. Tripped by political games, played by the elite, loving Indonesian football is getting more and more difficult.

## **CONCLUSION**

The cancellation of Indonesia as host status for the U-20 World Cup is clearly a heavy blow. As is well known, the U-20 World Cup is an opportunity for Indonesia to present itself in an international tournament. Moreover, the U-20 World Cup is the third largest event in the history of FIFA (Federation Internationale de Football Association). The cancellation occurred due to the rejection voiced by several elements, including the Governor of Bali I Wayan Koster, Governor of Central Java Ganjar Pranowo, and a number of elements from political parties to several mass organizations (community organizations). The parties concerned rejected the presence of the Israeli national team in Indonesia, due to differences in political views. However, is this comparative study still relevant to today's phenomenon? Given the long history and various changes that have occurred in the Indonesian nation from time to time.

Some time ago, Ganjar Pranowo commented on the controversy, bringing the spirit of Bung Karno's rejection of Jewish colonialism. The Indonesian U-20 national team player, Hokky Caraka, also expressed his disappointment with Central Java Governor Ganjar Pranowo because the 2023 U-20 World Cup was canceled in Indonesia. We understand that Bung Karno rejected Israel at that time because the Indonesian people at that time still had deep traumatic memories of European colonialism for centuries. Therefore we ask about legal protection for those who are harmed by the cancellation of hosting the U-20 World Cup and whether the act of refusing the presence of the Israeli national team violates the provisions of the law in force in Indonesia? The cancellation of the U-20 World Cup has not only harmed the players, coaches and staff of the Indonesian national team. Likewise with the Indonesian government which is one of the parties that is disadvantaged. Because the budget spent on preparing for the U-20 World Cup is not small, the total budget spent is almost Rp. 500,000.00 (five hundred thousand rupiah). That the budget is used to renovate the stadium which is the venue for the U-20 World Cup as well as the Training Center and other accommodations. However, there are also those who are disadvantaged, namely the sellers of merchandise from the U-20 World Cup.

The cancellation of the U-20 World Cup in Indonesia certainly affected business people. Which is where business actors will suffer losses due to the cancellation of this event. Therefore, business actors are obliged to obtain their rights if the losses they have experienced have occurred. So based on Law Number 8 of 1999 concerning Consumer Protection in Article 6 it is stated regarding the rights of business actors. These rights consist of the right to receive payment in accordance with an agreement regarding the conditions and exchange rate of goods or services traded, the right to receive legal protection from bad faith from consumers, the right to defend oneself properly in legal settlements of consumer disputes, the right to rehabilitation good reputation if it is legally proven that the loss suffered by the consumer is not from the goods or services being traded.

The definition of diplomatic according to KBBI is the official relationship between the state and the state. From this understanding, it can be interpreted that diplomacy is a relationship through state instruments as a representative or delegation of the state. Then, based on Article 1 paragraph (1) of Law 37/1999, foreign relations are any activities related to regional and international aspects carried out by the government at the central and regional levels, or their institutions, state agencies, business entities, political organizations, community organizations, non-governmental organizations, or Indonesian citizens. However, there are still many pros and cons and strong opinions on the Indonesian government's decision. Approaching 2023, the public and especially Indonesian football fans will surely be impatient for the FIFA U-20 World Cup. At the event, FIFA chose Indonesia to host the prestigious youth football event. Football is a business but it can also be a political weapon, therefore it is important to increase the education and political awareness of supporters, so that interest groups do not simply take advantage of them.

With that in mind, we think that the Indonesian government has taken the necessary steps to resolve this issue but we also think that the case is redundant because of how an issue of sport becomes highly political. The actions of the federation may please some parties, but the rules never specify that the refusal of the Israeli national team to play football in Indonesia. Opportunities don't come a second time and this competition can be a necessary step to advance and make Indonesia proud in the world of football. Some of these young players could be eyed and in demand by the biggest clubs around the world if they perform well, and the results are fostered by the club. But they will never get that chance again. Some of our young players have played in Europe even without this competition, but imagine how big a name we will be in football in 2023 and make us one of the countries that is doing quite well in developing young talent. Indonesia even had time to make songs, mascots and official merchandise for this U-20 World Cup competition. This cancellation also has an impact on stadiums, sponsors and investors who have provided everything needed to guarantee the success of the U-20 World Cup in Indonesia, moreover the losses that will be experienced by business actors who sell official merchandise and jerseys from the U-20 World Cup. -20. All the preparations that have been made so far have all been in vain and in the end nothing.

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