

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Spread across a chain of thousands of islands between Asia and Australia, Indonesia has the world's largest Muslim population (BBC N. , 2016). Estimated that the number of Muslims reached 207 million people, mostly follow Islam Sunni. This huge number implies that about 13% of Muslims in the world live in Indonesia and also implies that the majority of the population in Indonesia is Muslim (Islam di Indonesia, 2015). Although the majority of the population is Muslim, the state is not an Islamic state that based on Islamic law. Indonesia is a democratic secular state but with a strong Islamic influence. Since the beginning of this state, there has been much political debate on the basis of the Indonesian state ideology. The arrival of Islam has diverse impacts for local communities dependent on the historical and social context of the area where it is arrived.

The concept of multiculturalism has long dominated the lives of Indonesian society. This relates to the Indonesian society that have many ethnic groups, religions, and races. Therefore, the concept of multicultural society become a relevant topic to study because it fits the motto of Indonesia “*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*”. Multicultural society is not only a concept of diversity in tribes or ethnic cultures that characterize a pluralistic society, but emphasis on cultural diversity in equality. In the life of a multicultural, human beings were created as a creature that equipped with values of harmony. Multiculturalism that formed in Indonesia is the result of socio-cultural and geographical that diverse and wide. According to the geographical conditions, Indonesia have many islands where each island is inhabited by group

of people that form a society. From these society formed a culture of the society itself.

In the international political arena Indonesia involved in many activities aimed to maintain international stability and security. Indonesia presence in the scope of United Nations and plays in active role. In October 2006 Indonesia managed into the Security Council of the United Nations through voting conducted by the General Assembly at United Nations Headquarters, New York. In the scope for the non-permanent membership of UN Security Council to represent the Asian region. The Indonesia chosen as the UN Security Council shows the international community recognition towards Indonesia's role in creating peace and security in the region and global levels.

A conflict that warmly happens in beginning of 2016 is the execution by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia toward 47 suspects of terrorism in Saudi Arabia that one of them was a Shiite Leader named Nimr Bakr Al-Nimr and another one was the leader of Al-Qaeda Islam movement group. They are suspected as a terrorist in Saudi Arabia that controlled by Shiite group in Saudi Arabia kingdom between 2003-2006 (Fisher, 2016). The decision by Saudi Arab Government provoke the wave of protest around the world of Shiite believer, especially from Iranian people that dominated by Shiite. Then, Iran Government strictly condemned that decision of the Saudi Arabia kingdom that then followed by the attack of Saudi Arabia embassy in Teheran, Iran by Shiite protesters that support their leader Nimr Bakr Al-Nimr (Staff, 2016).

As an affirmative action of that incident, the Government of Saudi Arabia pulls out their ambassador from their embassy in Iran and cut off the diplomatic relation toward Iran. In addition to support the Saudi Arabia decision, some state in solidarity of Arab League also pulls out their ambassador in Iran as a solidarity

action and the condemnation of the attack of Iranian people toward Saudi Embassy in Teheran.

The U.N. Security Council condemning the attacks by Iranian protesters on Saudi Arabian diplomatic premises "in the strongest terms" and calling on Iranian authorities to protect diplomats and their property. UN member states agreed to a comprehensive code of conduct for ambassadors and their hosts, resulting in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961, which took effect in 1964. The 1961 convention is very precise about this. Article 22 states: "The premises of the mission shall be inviolable. The agents of the receiving state [the host] may not enter them, except with the consent of the head of the mission." The same clause places the host state "under a special duty to take all appropriate steps to protect the premises of the mission against any intrusion or damage and to prevent any disturbance of the peace of the mission or impairment of its dignity" (The Associated Press, 2016).

The conflict between the two states has been going on for many years, although not in the form of direct open conflict, but it feels quite worrying. That is because states in the Middle East is the biggest crude producer in the world that can affect the stability of the world economy (Nasution, 2016). Because of the stuck and complexity of the conflict in the Middle East between Saudi Arabian and Iran it's becomes a serious topic that raised in international issues.

The internationalization of this conflict provides the opportunity of the states outside Middle East to being intervened. Indonesian Government in this case try to get involved in mediating the conflict. This is seen by the statement of Indonesia President Joko Widodo to the press that "Indonesia will send special envoy to Iran and Saudi Arabia in as soon as possible". Also, the statement of Indonesia Vice President Jusuf Kalla in metrotvnews.com "that Indonesia will maximize the effort of conflict

resolution in dispute between Iran and Saudi Arabia” (Sumantri, 2016). This Undergraduate Thesis will try to explain the reason of Indonesian Government want to mediate the conflict between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Republic of Iran in 2016.

B. Research Question

In order to analyze the reason of Indonesian Government in mediate the disputes between Iran and Saudi Arabia after the dead penalty by Saudi Arabia Government toward Sheikh Nimr Bark Al-Nimr that provoke the wave of protest and attack of Saudi Embassy in Iran by Iranian Militant the appropriate research question is **"Why does Indonesia propose to mediating the conflict between Saudi Arabia - Iran in case of diplomatic relations termination 2016?"**

C. Theoretical Framework

To analyze the reason of Indonesia Government, want to mediate the conflict between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Republic Islam of Iran in 2012, we need some theory as a theoretical framework. In the further discussion, this thesis will describe the concept of mediation effort and theory of foreign policy.

The Concept of Mediation Effort

Conflict seem to be present in all human relationships, in seeking to manage and resolve conflict, they tried to develop procedures that are efficient; that satisfy their interest, that build or maintain relationship, where appropriate; that minimize suffering; and that control unnecessary expenditures of sources. Conflict also has a negative effect on development and often leads to human displacement. For these reasons, it is in the best interest of leaders to seek solutions to conflict. The parties might try to reach a bargain. Bargaining is a

process of interdependent decision making in which the goal of each party is to get the best outcome in a situation for which the outcome depends on the choices made by all actors (Maoz, 1990).

Failing a satisfactorily bargained solution, both parties might turn to two other means of resolving conflict: negotiation or mediation. If direct negotiation does not reach a mutually agreement outcome, a mediator may be called on to be an intermediary between the parties. If the parties do not trust each other, a third party might be able to establish a credible framework for resolution.

Christopher W. Moore explain the meaning of mediation in his book *The Mediation Process* 3rd Edition, mediation is an extension or elaboration of the negotiating process that involve the intervention of an acceptable third party who has limits (or no) authoritative decision-making power. This person assists the principal parties to voluntarily reach a mutually acceptable settlement of the issues in disputes (Moore, 2003).

The definition of mediation in general is a conflict management process whereby a dispute parties requests or receives assistance from individuals, groups, organizations or states as a third party to resolve disputes or misperceptions without physical contact or violation of the law. The dispute parties must agree with the intervention made by third party, reduce tension and seriously negotiate to obtain satisfactory results. (Bohmelt, 2011).

Noticed into various conflict mediation processes that have occurred over time, the researchers conclude there are at least four factors that determine the success of the mediation process, that are, first, the type of issue in disputed. Second, the process of resolving previous conflicts or similar conflicts. Third, the interests of domestic or

international actors to the conflict or the undertaken mediation process. Fourth, the characteristics of both parties in conflict with a third party as mediators.

Whereas research indicates that mediation is effective in many conflicts, parties are often reluctant to try it because they are unfamiliar with the process and distrustful of their adversary. Methods of third-party intervention have found strong expression in the field of conflict resolution, and yet there remains significant potential for improvement in both theory and practice. Regarding the different types of mediation, it is divided into three models used in different jurisdictions and subject areas.

The first is facilitative mediation, this mediation style provides a structure to ensure that parties reach mutually acceptable solutions. A key feature of facilitative mediation is its consensual and voluntary nature (D Spencer and T Attobelli, 2005). Palmer and Roberts explain that facilitative mediators have a minimal role in the mediation process. In other words, the mediator does not suggest results that are appropriate to the parties. The role of facilitative mediators is to encourage, and enhance, communication between dispute parties to help them reach acceptable solutions (M Palmer and S Roberts, 1998).

The second is evaluative mediation that was first categorized in academic research by Riskin. He argues that in evaluative mediation, the role of mediators has a much greater degree of participation in the interaction and conflict resolution to influence the process until it reaches agreement. (Riskin, 1994).

The third is a Transformative Mediation based on the idea that mediation has the potential to produce a transformative effect, which can have a positive effect on the parties and society. This type of mediation is the latest model of mediation as firstly

mentioned by Folger and Bush in his book “The Promise of Mediation” in 1994. The role of mediators is to influence each side to see from the others perspective so that they can work together. Transformative mediation emphasizes the concept of empowerment and recognition. Empowerment refers to allow the parties to understand the various available options and enable them to realize that there is a choice to be made and that they have control over the choices made. (Joseph P. Folger, Robert A. Baruch Bush, 1996)

A Policy Brief Journal on mediation mentions several factors involved in successful mediation. These dimensions are recurring themes in the literature on mediation. The theoretical dilemmas posed by these considerations are the most important factors in the practice of mediation. Since most cases of mediation include at least some of these dimensions, we thus contend that these factors will be conducive to successful mediation (Margret Johannsen and Christian Weidlich, 2014). Due to the difficulties in assessing the constructive interpretation of facts from outside, the “Policy Brief” limits to the following factor;

i. The Mediator Approved by Conflicting Parties

Acceptance of the mediator by all parties can derive from manifold considerations. Neutrality, which is often cited as the core quality of an ‘honest broker’, can but need not necessarily be among the motives for accepting a mediator. Conversely, partiality or even pursuing one’s own interests need not preclude such acceptance. It can even be argued that a mediator’s vested interest in the matter at hand is perceived by the parties as a sound basis for getting

involved. In any case, the attitude and status of the mediator need to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis (Margret Johannsen and Christian Weidlich, 2014).

Mediation, whether by individual, organization or other state, has always been an important method of managing international conflict (Holsti, 1966). It is important technique of conflict management and growing importance because of the increase in number and seriousness of international conflicts and it deserve a serious and systematic study.

To mediate the conflict the disputant must be willing to allow a third party to enter the disputes and assist them in reaching a resolution. Acceptability does not necessary mean that disputant eagerly welcome the involvement of the mediator and are willing to do exactly as they says. It's does mean that the parties approve of the mediator's presence and are willing to listen and seriously consider the suggestion on how to manage and resolve their differences.

ii. The Mediator Capable of Transform the Context of Conflict

This relates to the ability of the mediator to positively influence the context of a conflict situation, for example by enhancing trust and helping foster an atmosphere, which promotes mutual understanding. To resolve the conflict peacefully, a third party must understand the conflict; The reasons behind the conflict and why the conflict continues (Bohmelt, 2011). Transforming the perception of the conflict mean that radicalized parties must change their self-perceptions. Helping new identities emerge is a way of de-radicalizing the dispute and is often a precondition for normalizing the situation. Transforming a conflict by creating a climate of hope and a minimum level of

trust is both crucial and extremely challenging (Margret Johannsen and Christian Weidlich, 2014).

The third party's role in this model is that of structuring the participants' discussion, feeding in information derived from the third party's experiences in handling conflicts at other levels, giving the participant the freedom, opportunity and motivation to move away from official position, and analyzing the conflict and exploring new ways of looking at it.

iii. The Mediator Capable to Control the Communication Channels

Talks between conflicting parties are rarely directed at the respective counterparts only, but also target diverse audiences whose anticipated or factual response in turn affects the dynamics of direct communication. In order not to let this configuration become counterproductive, the outside world needs to be considered and the parties must be prevented from letting problem solving turn into propaganda. Communication is one of the most important functions of the mediator (Margret Johannsen and Christian Weidlich, 2014).

A more successful model of mediation as an aspect of conflict management treats it not as a distinctive input unrelated to the nature of the conflict, but as a structural aspect of bargaining and negotiation. An analysis of mediation can only be undertaken if it is considered as an integral part of bargaining and negotiation. Steven has stated that;

“Analysis of mediation is not possible except in the context of a general analysis of bargaining and negotiation. That is unless the investigator has some theories about the agreement process in negotiation; it is difficult to see how he can analyze the contribution

of the mediator to the conflict resolution” (Stevens, 1963)

The communication that exists between the conflicting parties will affect the mediation process. The stronger relationship will make it easier for the mediator to resolve the dispute. The third party should have the ability to maintain good communication channels through the process of reconciliation and dialogue to resolve disputes. The main purpose of mediator is to resolve the dispute in a peaceful way.

iv. The Mediator Capable to Manage the Conflict Timeliness

This aspect captures the importance of timing in successful mediation. An early intervention may prolong the conflict and a late response may also be deadly. The timeliness of mediation is impossible to judge at the time of action and can only be proven in retrospect (Margret Johannsen and Christian Weidlich, 2014).

Timeliness in the mediation process is a very important factor for the achievement of peace. In some conflicts there is often a friction caused by a slow response in response to an event. The ability of the mediator in timeliness is determined by experience in the conflict resolution process ever undertaken and the accuracy of reading conflict situations.

v. The Mediator Capable to influence the parties

This factor refers to the degree of control a mediator wields over the parties to a given conflict. However, there is no way of precisely determining how power translates into influence (Margret Johannsen and Christian Weidlich, 2014). Although a

mediator cannot force an outcome, the process is very often effective. The key is the ability of the mediator to create a more productive discussion than the parties could have had by themselves.

Associated with the ability of mediators to be able to give effect to the conflicted state, the mediator's background becomes an important factor. The background is including the relationships with conflicting parties, the influence of mediators on the policies and strengths of mediators in policy making. The agreement made through the mediation process basically a shared agreement between the conflicting parties. The mediator is only authorized as a liaison to the interests of both parties. In this position the ability of mediators in influencing the policy made becomes an important factor for the achievement of peace.

Indonesia is an archipelagic state with a wide variety of tribes and cultures. Each tribe has an ideology that is different from the others, making it vulnerable to ideological conflict. The frequent ideological conflicts experienced by Indonesia are a valuable experience to help other states in ideological conflict. The conflict between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Republic of Iran is a prolonged conflict caused by differences in belief in Islam. Post-termination of diplomatic relations by Saudi Arabia, the Indonesian Government expressed its willingness in the mediation process. Indonesia already has various experiences in the conflict resolution process, both national and international scope. These experiences are Indonesia's main capital to engage in conflict mediation processes between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

To answer the research question, this undergraduate thesis firstly will discuss about the type of conflict between The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and The Republic of Iran due to the ideological background that become the trigger of disputes. Second, there are will be

discussion about capability of Indonesia Government to mediate the conflict, viewed from experience of Indonesia in facing some conflict before and the Indonesia influence power toward both states as strategic partner and the similarity in ideological background. This theoretical framework considered suitable to explain the reason of Indonesia Government purpose to mediate the conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia in 2016.

D. Hypothesis

The reason of Indonesian Government in disputes mediation between Iran And Saudi Arabia after the death penalty toward Sheikh Nimr Bakr Al-Nimr by Saudi Arabia Kingdom that provoke the protest and attack of Saudi embassy in Iran by Iranian militant are;

Indonesia Has Experiences in Managing International Conflict, through: Transform the Context of Conflict, Channeling the Communication, Timeline Management and Influence Over Parties.

E. Method of Research

Method of Research is a systematic way that used by a researcher to collect the data that needed in the process of phenomenon identification and explanation. In social science known two methods of social research; quantitative and qualitative. Both of these methods of research have own theoretical paradigms, styles, and paradigmatic assumption. The research method that used by writer in this thesis is qualitative research. It is used to explain the problems and to verify the hypothesis based on the empirical reality.

The style of qualitative research attempted to construct a reality and understanding of its meaning. Thus, qualitative research is usually very concerned about processes, events and authenticity. Indeed, in qualitative research the investigators value presence explicitly in

limited situations, involving the subjects with relatively small amounts. (Glasgow, 1991).

The strength of qualitative research is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the “human” side of an issue – that is, the often-contradictory behaviors, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals. Qualitative methods are also effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion, whose role in the research issue may not be readily apparent. When used along with quantitative methods, qualitative research can help us to interpret and better understand the complex reality of a given situation and the implications of quantitative data.

The three most common qualitative methods, explained in detail in their respective modules, are participant observation, in-depth interviews, and focus groups. Each method is particularly suited for obtaining a specific type of data. The sources of information or references are collected in the forms of interview to the involved actor in this case such as the Indonesia foreign ministry or the staff. Because this is a recent phenomenon that just happen in several months, the recent news is important to collect as a data. The researcher will also be using data from the internet news or television news as the main data. The secondary sources that will used as data is from book, paper and journal from the library to collect the theoretical data. In addition, various data from internet will also be used since some information and data dealing with the topic are only available through the internet media such as e-book, journals, e-news, articles, and other literary sources.

F. Scope of Research

The scope of research refers to the parameters under which the research will be operating. Limitation are

matters and occurrences that arise in research which are out of the researcher control. They limit the extensity to which research can go, and sometimes affect the end result and conclusion that can be drawn. Every research, no matter how well it is conducted and constructed, has limitation. In the field of research, scope and limitations refers to parameters that prevent researchers from pursuing further studies due to time and budgetary constraints. Some researchers must explore a subject area and find results within a specific period of time. Having a time limit is a limitation because it excludes the opportunity for individuals to make further discoveries in their subject areas, which influences the amount of information that can be relayed to an audience.

This research needs a scope to limiting and make the analyzing more specific and focus. The limitation of this research is focusing in the reason of Indonesia Government want to mediate the diplomatic disputes between the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Iran that caused by the attack of Iranian militant toward Saudi Arabia embassy in Teheran, the capital city of Iran. This attack is a protest action toward the death penalty execution by Saudi Arabia kingdom toward the Shiite leader Nimr Bakr Al-Nimr.

G. System of Writing

In order to create understandable analysis, the system of writing is really important. This undergraduate thesis provides analysis in systematic order by separated the analysis into several chapters. Every single chapter is a coherent body of analysis in order to answer the question that generated before. In this research, the writer limits the time of conducting the research.

Chapter I, the first chapter consists of seven sub-titles: background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, scope of research, and organization of writing. Introduction is the

brief opening about what will be the case that the thesis analyzes. Background is the status quo that generates the problems. Question research is the problem that this thesis wants to analyze. Theoretical framework is the explanation of theory used by this thesis to find the answer of the question. Hypothesis is the answer that the thesis wants to prove, followed by the method of research in which consist of the explanation of how the writer collects the data and sources to generate the answer. The next content is scope of research that important to put limitation in order to create focus analysis and the last is the organization of writing in which meant to show the order of the analysis written in this thesis.

Chapter II, there will be the explanation of the historical setting of Indonesia in mediating international conflict.

Chapter III, there will be the explanation of Middle East historical setting of conflict between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Republic of Iran.

Chapter IV, there we will discuss about the reason of Indonesia want to mediate the conflict between Saudi Arabia Kingdom and Iran. This chapter also will provide prove of the hypothesis about the reason of Indonesia, particularly in mediating the conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Chapter V, this will be the last chapter of this undergraduate thesis in which consists of the overall conclusion of this undergraduate thesis. The conclusion will consist of summary of all explanation generated in the previous chapters. In this chapter this thesis will conclude that the reason of Indonesia in mediating conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran after the death penalty toward Shiite leader Nimr Bakr Al-Nimr by Saudi Arabia that provoke the attack in Saudi Embassy in Iran by Iranian Militant and causing the Saudi Arabia cut off the diplomatic ties toward Iran and suggestion by the analyzing to resolve the conflict.