

CHAPTER II

THE PROFILE OF INDONESIA AND THE RELATION WITH SAUDI ARABIA AND IRAN

In this chapter the writer describes the profile of Indonesia in international conflict resolution so that it will become a reference in the discussion of Indonesia's capacity as a mediator of conflict between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Republic of Iran. Indonesia's closeness to the two conflicting states is an important factor that will affect the undertaken conflict mediation process. Indonesia's relationship with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Republic of Iran is also described in this chapter as a data.

A. The Profile of Indonesia

Indonesia is the largest archipelago in the world that stretched almost as large as the European continent. Based on the book *“Ensiklopedia Pulau-Pulau Kecil Nusantara: DKI Jakarta-Seribu Nusa Ibukota Di Laut Jawa”* there are at least 17,504 islands in Indonesia. The number of these islands have an impact on the complexity of existing culture in Indonesia. The complexity of culture cannot be separated from the various conflicts that occur as a direct impact of cultural differences. Cultural diversity may have a negative impact; the conflict between ideologies, if it is not handled properly it will create comprehensive conflict. This condition makes Indonesia has enough experience in terms of cultural or ideological differences conflict mediation.

According to the 2000 census report, 88 percent of Indonesians claim to be Muslims, 6 percent Protestant Christians, 3 percent Roman Catholics, 2 percent Hindus, and less than 1 percent of Buddhists, adherents of indigenous religions, other Christian groups, and Jews. As the largest religion, Islam has 215.6 million people. Most

of the Muslims in this country are Sunni and it is estimated that there are about 1 million to 3 million as Shiites (Ketut Gunawan, Yohanes Rante, 2011). Indonesia is known as a nation that has various Tribes. The explanation shows how the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is inhabited by Multicultural community groups. This is evident in Indonesia has many ethnic groups that each has a different cultural structure. This difference can be seen from the differences in language, customs, religion, type of art, and others. Communities with this multicultural if not well controlled can bring up various conflicts both vertical and horizontal conflicts.

Diversity in the community turned out to bring many problems for the nation of Indonesia. Conflicts that occur in Indonesia generally arise as a result of socio-economic disparities and discriminatory treatment causing certain groups to feel blackmailed, marginalized and unfairly treated. While other groups are unfairly enjoying privileges and being arrogant and repressive. Ethnic and religious factors are the packaging of the socio-economic disparity attributes that give rise to group resistance that feels squeezed and marginalized so that the potential for conflict between groups is greater and sharper. In other words, the gap between these ethnic groups becomes structured and hierarchical so that it can easily be inflated and organized.

Although it can trigger conflict, religious and ethnic diversity provides a solution to overcome the impact of society with Multiculturalism. Various religions embrace a philosophy that can be socialized to provide an understanding the impact of disputes. For example, Hindu community in Bali recognizes the philosophy of "Tri Hita Karana" which implies three causes of human welfare consisting of harmonious relationship between man and God (Parahyangan), man with other (Pawongan) and man with his natural environment (Palemahan) (Ketut Gunawan, Yohanes Rante, 2011). Thus, by managing the

value of this Philosophy in the form of socialization and implementation the conflict among human beings will be avoided as small as possible. More with the agreement of Pancasila as the foundation of the state and the life guides of the Indonesian nation has proven able to unite the nation of Indonesia as a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-racial and multi-cultural nation to become a nation in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

Concrete example is the union between ethnic Arab and ethnic Javanese in Embong village, Malang which has reached social order. Characteristics of the social life of Embong village is characterized by good social processes, especially social interaction process and social assimilation process. While the model or form of social interaction between Arabs and Javanese ethnic in Embong village are in form of cooperation (cooperation) with accommodative and assimilative social process. While the pattern of relations between Arab and Javanese ethnic groups more lead to the pattern of inter-group relationships that are acculturation and integration (Ketut Gunawan, Yohanes Rante, 2011).

B. The Involvement of Indonesia in International Community

In the international world, Indonesia has been known since its independence, the people of Indonesia under Sukarno's leadership bravely demand the independence from Dutch and Japanese occupation. Indonesia has committed to the peace of the world, it is stated in the preamble of the Republic of Indonesia, "Whereas independence is the inalienable right of all nations, therefore, all colonialism must be abolished in this world as it is not in conformity with humanity and justice". Then in September 1948 was established a foreign policy that is "Free and Active", over the draft of Mohammad Hatta Indonesia's vice president at the time.

Definition of foreign policy "free-active" by Mochtar Kusumaatmadja is; *“Free, in terms that Indonesia does not take sides on powers that are basically incompatible with national identity as reflected in the Pancasila. Active means that in carrying out its foreign policy, Indonesia is not passive/reactive to international events, but should be active.”*

Meanwhile, according to A.W Wijaya, *“Free, which means it not bounded by ideology or foreign state political policy or by blocks of states, or superpowers. Active means that with realistic contribution actively develop the freedom of friendship and international cooperation with respect for the sovereignty of other states.”*

From the two meanings of these experts, it can be concluded that the free an active foreign policy is that Indonesia does not take side on political power of other state or specific parties that basically incompatible with the personality of Indonesia as stated in Pancasila and the implementation of Indonesia’s foreign policy it actively develops cooperation with other states and respects the sovereignty of other states. The establishment of free and active foreign policy political ideology is to maintain the state sovereignty and defend the independence of the nation, join and create world peace to achieve the society welfare, the relationship between nations as a realization of the Pancasila spirit (LintasJari.com, 2016).

Indonesia actively participated in international activities, including the establishment of the Asian African Conference. Africa Asia conference aims to gather the international community in the Asia-Africa region to maintain the world peace, mutual respect for the sovereignty of other nations and enhance economic cooperation. The Indonesian Government, through diplomatic channels, approached 18 Asian and African state to determine the extent of the opinion of these ideas of the Asian-African Conference implementation. It turned

out that in general they welcomed this idea and approved Indonesia as the host of the conference.

Asian-African Conference brings a great impact in the effort to create world peace and ended the colonialism throughout the world, especially in Asia and Africa. The spirit of Asian-African Conference that does not give a preference to the Western and Eastern blocks has encouraged the raise of the Non-aligned Movement. After the establishment of Asia-African Conference, Indonesia initiated the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), as the struggle against both super power state sides; America and Russia in the Cold War 1947.

Starting from the meeting of five state leader; Sukarno of Indonesia, Nasser of Egypt, Tito of Yugoslavia, Nehru of India and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana at the United Nations General Assembly 25th 1960, they tried to raise up a resolution to defuse tensions between the blocks of East and West. Then, they held a conference between the two blocks to prevent open conflict. This initiation continues in the form of movements that would not get involved or bonded by the two blocks. Non-Aligned Movement aims to realize the world peace based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, against the imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, differences in skin color including Zionism and all forms of expansion, domination, and concentration of power (Natasya, 2003).

Indonesia's commitment to world peace is reflected in some actions by the Indonesian Government in international conflicts, such as:

a. The Role of Indonesia in Vietnam – Cambodia Conflict

On December 25, 1978, Vietnam suddenly invaded the territory of Cambodia. This attack certainly shocked Cambodia and other ASEAN states, which had been hoping for a Peace, Free and Neutral

Zone to be established in Southeast Asia. Under the principles of international law, Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia in 1979 clearly violated international norms on the principle of "noninterference and non-use of force" and contrasted with Indonesian foreign policy at the time (Maradona, 2009). Vietnam invasion directly provoked the China attack and brought the Soviet Union. Indonesia's perception of the Cambodian Conflict, both in terms of Vietnam as an attacker and Cambodia as being attacked, was different from the majority of other ASEAN member states.

As an implementation of Indonesia's "free-active" foreign policy, Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, who served as Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee issued a statement regretting the increase and expand of conflict between the two ASEAN states which will affect peace, security and stability in Southeast Asia. This statement became the basis for a special meeting of Foreign Ministers that held in Bangkok on January 12, 1979. During the meeting, the Foreign Ministers requested that all foreign troops should be withdrawn immediately from the Cambodian territories. But the demand was ignored by Vietnam.

Indonesia together with other ASEAN member strived to create peace and was appointed as interlocuter in the resolution of the Cambodian Conflict. This was due to the relatively close relationship between Indonesia and the two conflicting states. As interlocuter, through Indonesia Foreign Minister at that time seek resolution that considered effective enough to make peace quickly. The second attempt by Indonesia was to announce "12 Articles Proposal" through a meeting to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Asian-African Conference that held in April 1985 in Bandung. This "12 Article Proposal"

then became the foundation of Cambodian conflict political settlement.

In addition, Indonesia also visited the Soviet Union to discuss the Cambodian Conflict and persuaded the US to force Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Cambodia. The visit of Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja to the Soviet Union has succeeded in persuading the Moscow Government to push Vietnam harder immediately withdraw its troops from Cambodia. This was related to the interest of the Soviet Union that wants to normalize its relations toward the China. Indonesia believe that China's pressure on Vietnam will result in the increase of Vietnam dependence on Soviet Union so that further impact is the involvement of major powers in the region that will worsen the situation (Maradona, 2009). China agreed to normalize its relations with the U.S., with condition that the U.S. withdraw the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. The U.S. then began to reduce economic and military support to Vietnam. As a result, in 1987 Vietnam agreed to withdraw 20,000 troops. Then in 1988, Vietnam withdrew its 50,000 troops, and eventually all its troops were withdrawn in 1989 unconditionally.

The success of Indonesia was followed by the holding of Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM) I and II which resulted in some success. Vietnam's troops withdrawal from Cambodia, not only because of the enormous influence of the Soviet Union on Vietnam, but also because of various talks and meetings, both official and unofficial that held both within ASEAN and outside ASEAN. This is a clear evidence of Indonesia's role as mediator in resolving Cambodia conflict through ASEAN.

b. The Role of Indonesia in Cambodia - Thailand Conflict

During the Indonesia's leadership in ASEAN, there was a conflict for territory between Thailand and Cambodia. That conflicts were triggered by a dispute over the ownership of a border region that located between the provinces of Sisaket, Thailand and the Choam Khsant district in the province of Preah Vihear, Cambodia. The conflict began in early 1904 and escalated after the inauguration of the Preah Vihear Temple, an ancient temple located in a contested area of UNESCO's world heritage in 2008. The escalation of the conflict cannot be avoided to take casualties from each party on February 4, 2011. Indonesia took the initiative to mediate in the conflict (PRATAMA, 2012).

At the level of general orientation, Indonesia's "active free" foreign policy implementation that is not take a side of any ideological bloc does not mean that Indonesia is not involved in solving the problems of other states. The free and active political direction of Indonesia at that time does not mean that Indonesia being passive in international activities, but rather it could be interpreted as free from all bonds, in various aspects, such as military, political or ideological, so that Indonesia can be free to take an active role in every problem or event in the world, without any influence from various military, political and ideological ties. (Djiwandono, 1994)

The majority of ASEAN members would not get involved in the case and preferred to take this case to United Nations. Responding to this, the Government of Indonesia questioned where the position of ASEAN if it could not resolve the regional conflicts that occur in the region, it may weaken the credibility of ASEAN. As a direct step, the

Government of Indonesia conducted Shuttle Diplomacy performed by Marty Natalegawa as Foreign Minister at that time. Marty Natalegawa visited Cambodia and Thailand to meet the foreign minister to obtain information from the first party after that he went to New York to give a statement to United Nation that ASEAN is able to resolve the conflict. This step proved effective to stabilize the conflicted areas on the Thai and Cambodian borders. Although the 4.6 km² conflicted area still in tense, but the army on duty can refrain from taking up weapon.

Indonesia's efforts through ASEAN as a mediator is to encourage the two states to negotiate and solve the problem by conveying the arguments of the foreign ministers and urging to withdraw troops around the temple in order to avoid the tension. Formally, Thailand and Cambodia were actually willing to sit together in an ASEAN-facilitated meeting as did on February 22, 2011 in Jakarta. At that time, the foreign ministers of both states agreed to accept the monitoring team from Indonesia. The results of this meeting also agreed on a Joint Border Committee (JBC) meeting in Bogor in April 2011 that should also involve defense ministers of both states.

c. The Role of Indonesia in South China Sea Conflict

The South China Sea conflict occurred as a consequence of territorial sea claims by Brunei Darussalam, China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam. Not only the states that directly adjacent to the South China Sea, along with the high flow of world sea trade passing through the South China Sea, then came some states involved because want the South China Sea remain as international waters, such as the United States (US). The emergence of the US in addition to China as a superpower in this conflict then

made the situation in the South China Sea increasingly conflictual. This conflict generally fought over the islands, coral reefs and the shores of the South China Sea, the Spratly and Paracel pulleys, and various maritime boundaries, including the Gulf of Tonkin. In addition, this conflict is also extended with the claim of the Natuna islands which are part of the territory of Indonesia. (Hiramatsu, 2001)

The interests of the states that involved in this conflict revolve around maintaining and acquiring rights for fishing grounds; exploration of under waters crude oil and natural gas in various parts of the South China Sea, and strategic control of crucial shipping lanes. This sea is one of the world's busiest shipping lanes with more than 1.6 million m³ or about 10 million barrels of crude oil per day delivered through the South China Sea. The marine traffic in the South China Sea is three times larger than the Suez Canal and five times more than the Panama Canal. This fact can illustrate the strategic point of the South China Sea for the states that fighting over it, and why then it becomes important for them to defend their interests there. (Felayati, 2013)

Indonesia's position in Southeast Asia as chair of ASEAN in 2011 provides a positive opportunity for Indonesia to act as a mediator in territorial claims conflicts over the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea. The mediation efforts undertaken by Indonesia through regional conflict management are the approaches of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Implementation of ARF approach is confidence building in the form of region level meeting and also in meeting that attended by Governmental and academic element, initiated by Indonesia, by facilitating workshop which conducted every year in Indonesia, and continued from confidence building is preventive diplomacy by running shuttle diplomacy

(Felayati, 2013). The efforts which were Indonesia doing in the process of mediation through ASEAN, has generated an important meaning of the function of mediation for the region and Indonesia, for region, mediation halts the widespread of the conflict, and is expected to find the best way of dispute settlement, by actively facilitate the meetings and dialogues to discuss about the issue. For Indonesia, taking the role as mediator increases Indonesian leadership in the ASEAN, which is compatible with Indonesian foreign policy.

d. The Role of Indonesia In the Conflict of Rohingya

Rohingya is one of the ethnic people living in Myanmar who is Muslim, but they are not recognized as citizens and are discriminated by the Myanmar Government because of their historical background that believe the Rohingyas is illegal immigrant from Bangladesh. Rohingyas live in the Arakan region that is also inhabited by Rakhine tribes, but the relationship between the them is not harmonious. In May 2012, conflict broke out between Rohingya and Rakhine tribes. The conflict began when a forensic photograph was circulated about the murder of a Rakhine woman named Ma Thaida Htwe that occurred on May 28, 2012 by three Rohingyas youths. Monks and Rakhine communities demonstrating "No Rohingya", killed Rohingyas, destroying religious buildings, and residence. The conflict left more than 70 people died, more than 3,000 buildings were destroyed, and around 60,000 people lost their homes and have to evacuated to Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia (Nurdiana, 2015).

Basically, the conflict between Rohingya and Rakhine in Myanmar is caused by ethnic conflict, not a religious conflict. Incidentally, Rohingyas are

Muslim and Rakhine are Buddhist. Remember that Rohingyas are discriminated against for decades by their own states and the majority ethnic because they considered minorities in terms of language, religion and physical characteristics. So much discrimination suffered by Rohingyas such as not granting citizenship recognition, restrictions on job search, human rights abuses, property confiscation, forced worker, murder, Rohingya women often subjected to rape, and the burning of houses and places of worship (Nurdiana, 2015).

During the leadership of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), the policy to resolve the conflict between ethnic Rohingya and ethnic Rakhine is sending a letter to President Thein Sein through Yusuf Kalla who was appointed as a special envoy. In his presidential address on April 4, 2012 at Bogor palace, he said that "The Government is not only concerned but has been, still processing and will continue to make various efforts, diplomacy and other efforts related to humanitarian issues on Rohingya ethnic in Myanmar ". Then, at the ASEAN Summit he said that he sent Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa to be actively cooperate with the Myanmar Foreign Ministry on the issue of Rohingya ethnic conflict. He said "his direction is in line with what Indonesia has done and doing" (Ardani, 2015).

President SBY realizes that regarding the limitations of Indonesia, so in helping to resolve the conflict in Myanmar, SBY involves OIC and ASEAN to be active in conflict resolution. It takes a lot of money to provide humanitarian assistance to conflict victims in Myanmar, of course Indonesia has not been able to do, so SBY through Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa invites OIC to contribute in helping the settlement of conflict and provide humanitarian assistance to Myanmar.

In response to the ethnic conflicts that occurred in Myanmar, the Indonesian Government responded cautiously and did not use the hard power method because realized it could damage the good relations between Indonesia and Myanmar. The Indonesian Government does not immediately criticize Myanmar but prefers to communicate first with the Myanmar Government to find out the factual conditions that occurred in Myanmar. In addition, the Indonesian Government also upholds the principle of non-intervention and makes policies that are not imposing on Myanmar. The Indonesian Government put forward the method of diplomacy, sharing of expertise, and capacity building cooperation. Because the policy is perceived to provide more effective results. The commitment of Indonesian Government cooperation in assisting the settlement of Rohingya ethnic conflict is strengthened by the grant of 1 million US dollars for the construction of elementary school in Arakan, increasing the number of SOEs that expands into Myanmar, and the establishment of Blue Books on Indonesia-Myanmar Capacity Building Partnership 2013-2015 as a form of Indonesian politics commitment. (Ardani, 2015)

The Government system with a conciliative character will bring its state internationally, and on the issue of conflict between Rohingya and Rakhine, the Indonesian Government has proven to bring Indonesia more actively by issuing various policy initiatives to assist in bilateral and multilateral conflict resolution with OIC and ASEAN. Foreign policy made by the Indonesian Government in helping to resolve the conflict between ethnic Rohingya and ethnic Rakhine in Myanmar tends to be problem solving.

Beside the regional conflicts that occur in ASEAN, Indonesia also involved in UN peacekeeping operations to maintain the stability of world peace. Based

on data from the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) personnel from Indonesia reached 124,517 people, recorded until November 30, 2015. Indonesia has been involved in 16 UN peacekeeping military operations. This is done because compatible to the Indonesian ideology which supports the peace of the world as listed in the preamble 1945 of the Republic of Indonesia. In the international community, the involvement of the state in UN peacekeeping military operations is very important as an evidence of its role in the world peace maintaining. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia, 2016)

During the leadership of President Joko Widodo, there are questioned about the president's ability to bring Indonesia to keep active in international level, but it is indisputable that from some policies that President Joko Widodo made to fulfill national interest by foreign policy. At the beginning of President Joko Widodo's leadership, Indonesia faced an issue of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) which inevitably force the Indonesian population to compete actively in a broader scope. To deal with it, President Joko Widodo launched the program of "mental revolution" and boost Indonesian population spirit to face the wider competition. President Joko Widodo also became the leaders of the state that took an attention in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit in Beijing, China. The Journal Magazine called the president Joko Widodo as the World Magnet because President Joko Widodo is able to convince the delegates of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit in 2014 to invest in Indonesia. During the one-year leadership of president Joko Widodo, Indonesia still has a great achievement in the sphere of international community. (Aznil, 2015).

Foreign policy that made by President Joko Widodo reflects Indonesia's domestic interests. President Joko Widodo is a new actor in the international arena, he

said that he is a domestic reformer, not international Statesman. So, the foreign policy adopted by the president Joko Widodo put forward a matter of interest that accordance with the will of majority Indonesian society. The four foreign policies of president Joko Widodo priorities are;

- a. Promoting Indonesia's identity as an archipelagic state,
- b. Enhancing the global role of middle power diplomacy
- c. Expanding engagement in the Indo-Pacific region, and
- d. Further reform of the foreign ministry to emphasize economic diplomacy

President Joko Widodo is assisted by Jusuf Kalla as vice president in Indonesia's leadership. Although the president Joko Widodo is a new actor in the international community, the capacity of Jusuf Kalla as vice president of Indonesia has been unquestionable. Previously Jusuf Kalla experiences had served as vice president in the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono became an important provision in Indonesia's foreign policy. Proven by Jusuf Kalla succeed cooperating with Iran as friendly states and strengthened the relationship between the two states. In addition, with the assistance of foreign minister Retno LP Masyudi who has experience in a wide range of foreign policy simplify the position of President Joko Widodo in making policy that believed as Pro-People Diplomacy. A brief understanding of the pro-people diplomacy is a foreign policy that based to Indonesian people's interest. (Connelly, 2014).

After two years of his leadership, the activeness of Indonesia with a commitment to maintain the world peace is started to be seen. One of them is the official opening of the 6th World Peace Forum at September 2016 in Jakarta. World peace forum established in 2007, consists of researchers, peace activists, journalists, students, religious

leaders and politicians who have a common commitment to maintain the world peace. The 6th World Peace Forum entitled "Violence against Extremism: Human Dignity, Global Inequality, and Joint Responsibility". Indonesia has succeeded made differences as a trigger to national unity, these should be emulated by other states that have a lot of difference inside (Prasetyo, 2016).

President Joko Widodo's call to keep the peace of the world has done several times in various international forums. In the G-7 summit in Japan, President Joko Widodo said that Indonesia is ready to become the motor of realization the peaceful and prosperous situation in Asia and the world. He warned that violence and conflict have an adverse impact, peaceful resolution of conflict should always be the first choice to resolve the conflict. The world today is no longer running bipolar and begins to emerge the states that have potential and contribution in the world, one of them is Indonesia. Therefore Indonesia, said President Joko Widodo, is ready to become the motor of world peace (Armandhanu, 2016).

The Government of President Joko Widodo - Jusuf Kalla has been pursuing a policy of diplomacy to achieve the purpose of the Indonesian as a state according to the preamble of 1945 Constitution during their leadership. The International policy outlined in *Nawacita* or nine priority programs of Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. This program was initiated to show the priority change towards Indonesia's politically sovereign, self-reliant in the economic field and personality in culture.

C. The Relation between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Republic of Indonesia

The relation between Saudi Arabia and Indonesia has been going since a long time ago, even before the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. The development of Islam in Indonesia is one proof that relationship has lasted long time. Islam was brought into

Indonesia by the Umayyad dynasty which conducted a trading business to Southeast Asia region (Putuhena, 2007). Until today, the majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim, and even Indonesia became one of the biggest Islamic population states in the world.

The relation between Indonesia and Saudi Arabia began with the effort of Indonesian people to obtain a recognition of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. King Abdul Aziz Al-Saud that gave the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia provisory to the Government of the Republic of Indonesia on 21 November 1947 (AMINAH., 2011). After news of Indonesian independence proclamation in 1945, King Abdul Aziz Al-Saud expressed his excitement. Even, he announced a statement during the hajj season to the international community that presents at that time. "We are one of the first states that open an embassy in Indonesia," King Abdul Aziz said at the time, then in 1948, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia opened a special representative in Jakarta. Later in 1955, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia opened an official embassy in Jakarta. Then in 1964, Indonesia opened an office Embassy of the Republic Indonesia for the Saudi Arabia in Jeddah. Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia then moved to Riyadh in 1985. Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia in Jeddah then changed its status to Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia. (Majid, 2015).

Besides bilateral relations, both states also develop cooperation in various international forums, such as the United Nations, UN agencies, NAM, OIC, and others. The desire of Indonesia and Saudi Arabia to boost bilateral cooperation could be seen during the Session of 9th Joint Commission between Indonesia and Saudi Arabia on 26-27 April 2012 in Bali. The Joint Commission meetings resulted in the "Agreed Minutes" that signed by the head of the Indonesian delegation, Director General of Foreign Ministry for Asia Pacific; Ambassador Yuri O.

Thamrin, and Labor Affairs Deputy of Saudi Arabia; Ahmad Bin Saleh Al Humaidan. The meeting discussed various bilateral cooperation improvement in form of two working commissions, namely the Commission Work One to the issues of economics, and Commission Work Two for other specific issues.

Indonesia, which is biggest Muslim states in the world, is a strategic partner for Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern states. Historically and religiously, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia's good relations based on the various common interests and culture. Both states have many common views on various regional and international issues. It is a relationship that goes well between them in the political field, both states also concentrated about peace in the Middle East (FAIZ, 2016). The history of Islam in Indonesia cannot be separated from the role of Middle Eastern scholars in its spread through trade. There are many opinions about the entry of Islam in the territory of Indonesia, apart from these various opinions, currently Islam that rapidly grow in Indonesia is Salafi Islam that same with Islam in Saudi Arabia. Islam Salafi is an Islamic teaching that keeps the purity of its teachings from outside influences. In the development of Islam in Indonesia today there are various worrying shift of teachings. This shift caused by various factors both inside and outside the body of Muslim community in Indonesia. Saudi Arabia as a state that committed to keep the pure teachings of Islam trying to spread its influence to Indonesia with various forms of cooperation. As a developing state that need of outside assistance, the Indonesian Government welcomes various forms of cooperation with the Saudi kingdom.

The desire to improve the relations between two states was proven by the establishment of Joint Commission Meeting which serves as a bilateral forum to discuss various issues related to the recent developments in both states, on the meetings that was held on 30-31

August 2008, both states delegations agreed to enhance the cooperation in employment, protection of migrant workers' rights, the economy and trade, the implementation of the Hajj and Umrah, grants and endowments, immigration, health, tourism, aviation, and energy sectors. At that time, both states delegations agreed to conduct such meetings annually (Ministry, 2010, hal. 22).

Saudi Arabia is an industrial state that relies on petroleum sector and other mineral resources. The economy of the state greatly helped by the petroleum products. The oil reserves of Saudi Arabia in 2003 estimated at 260.1 billion barrels, equivalent to a quarter of total world oil reserves at that time (Aladdin, 2006). All forms of cooperation that exist between Indonesia and Saudi Arabia should become the special concern for Indonesia, because the relationship bring a lot of benefits for Indonesia.

Located in two different regions of the world, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia differences are markedly in terms of their domestic politics, history, and foreign policy. However, one superficial similarity between the two states is their predominantly Sunni Muslim population, which is distinctly different in their outlook, dress code, and religious practices. The historical record of political violence and terrorism experienced by the political regimes in these states are also strikingly different. The Saud dynasty has been ruling in Saudi Arabia for more than two centuries. During this period, various pro-reform political dissent, anti-Zionist sentiment, and anti-Americanism had often turned into violent action. On the other hand, formerly of Dutch colony, post-independent Indonesia was long under the autocratic rule until the fall of Suharto in 1998. Communist insurgency, ethnic unrest, and radical Islamist movements have been the traditional domain of Indonesian internal security affairs. Despite sharp

differences in domestic politics, geography, history, and economy, the recent counterterrorism measurement taken by Indonesia and Saudi Arabia demonstrate a remarkable parallel: an emphasis on reforming the anti-terror regulations, intelligence sharing with western security services, creation of financial intelligence units (FIU), and compliance of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) recommendations on anti-money laundering and counterterrorist financing.

As victims of terrorism, Saudi Arabia and Indonesia both cooperate with global counterterrorism efforts, particularly in the areas of intelligence sharing and terrorist financing. Indonesia and Saudi Arabia have cooperation agreements on counterterrorism, military training, and defense industry. Saudi Arabia and Indonesia, in January 2014, signed the first Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) covering training and education, counter-terrorism efforts and the defense industry. Both Saudi Arabia and Indonesia, agreed to cooperate on counterterrorism, noted that terrorism should not be linked to any ideology or religion, in particular, Islam. On several occasions, Indonesia has made global headlines due to vicious terrorist attacks and the presence of terrorist networks (and training camps) that may be connected to the militant Al-Qaeda group. Indonesia is also considered one of the world's largest suppliers of Islamic State (IS) fighters, with more than 500 Indonesians having joined the war in Syria and Iraq, based on data from the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT). It illustrates the existence of a radical Muslim community that not only believes Islam should be the sole guidance in life but is also willing to use extreme measures to reform and uproot established conditions.

Saudi Arabia is a major work place for thousands of Indonesian workers, which mostly in the domestic sector as house maids. As of 2009, there are around 1 million Indonesian workers working in Saudi Arabia.

Many of these workers are employed in domestic service and are apparently desired by many Saudi families due to their Islamic faith and perceived piety. A considerable number also work in the construction sector, contributing significantly to the Saudi economy. According to the Jakarta Post, these workers remit nearly \$2 billion annually, constituting a significant source of funds for the state (Mansur Juned, Mohammad Hery Saripudin, 2017).

The bilateral relation between Indonesia and Saudi Arabia is not merely about the deployment of Indonesian workers to Saudi Arabia. In the trade sector, Saudi Arabia is one of the biggest potential markets for Indonesia in the Middle East. Both states have agreed to double their bilateral trade value by 2020 as the two states believe they have a lot of potential for expansion. Based on data from Indonesian Statistics, the total non-oil and gas trade value between Indonesia and Saudi Arabia in 2011 and 2015 showed an annual positive increase of 3.89%. Indonesia's average non-oil and gas export value to Saudi Arabia in the period of 2011-2015 was recorded reach \$1.83 billion per year. Meanwhile, Indonesia's average non-oil and gas imports from Saudi Arabia were recorded to be \$921.23 million per year during the same period (Kementrian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2016).

In additional of bilateral relation, In the tourism sector, about 15 percent of Saudis revenue from Hajj activities come from Indonesian Hajj. Indonesia and Saudi Arabia strengthened bilateral cooperation between the two countries for the benefit of the two sides. According to the Indonesia's Badan Pusat Statistika (BPS), tourist arrivals during 2015 surpassed the target of 10 million set by the Government, reaching to 10.41 million, while it recorded that more than 150,000 arrivals from Saudi Arabia. The Indonesian Government is working hard to attract more tourists from the Middle East, including the Saudi Arabia Kingdom, and has set itself the target of hosting 20 million

visitors by 2019 (Kementrian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2016).

In the education development aspect, in 1980, as reaction to Iran's Islamic revolution, the Saudi Government founded "*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab* (LIPIA)", a branch of the Imam Muhammad bin Saud University in Riyadh, to be an ideological bulwark in Jakarta. LIPIA offers a bachelor's degree in Islamic Law, a diploma program for Arabic-language teachers, and preparatory courses for both programs. LIPIA comes under the Saudi Ministry of Higher Education and is entirely financed by Saudi Arabia. The curricula and teaching materials reflect the Saudi worldview. Although LIPIA does not subscribe to Indonesia's concept of a religiously pluralistic democratic society, the Indonesian Government allows it to operate freely. LIPIA is seen as helping Indonesia to solidify its bilateral relations with Saudi Arabia; its presence helps to upgrade Indonesia's ailing educational infrastructure. Indonesian Government educational institutions suffer from lack of finance, poor facilities, and insufficiently trained lecturers (Eleanor Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie, and other Americans concerned with the mounting threats to peace and democracy, 2006).

The long historic and well-nurtured bilateral relation between Indonesia and Saudi Arabia were evidently preserved with the visit of President Joko Widodo in September 2015 to the Kingdom. The president and his accompanying delegations were warmly welcomed by Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Salman. King Salman decorated Indonesian President Widodo with the prestigious King Abdul Aziz Medal at Al-Salam Palace in Jeddah, the highest honorary medal granted to foreign heads of state, as an appreciation of the strong friendship and cooperation between the two states. The two leaders held talks on a number of international and regional issues of mutual concern and interests. They

discussed the state of bilateral relations and explored ways of enhancing them (Kementrian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2016).

In reply to the arrival of President Joko Widodo to Saudi Arabia, King Salman bin Abdulaziz al-Saud made a visit to Indonesia as part of an Asia tour in March 2017. The arrival of King Salman carrying 1,500 people including 25 Prince and 10 ministers. The visit of King Salman is a historic moment for Indonesia, the last time of Saudi Arabia kingdom king visited Indonesia was 47 years ago. The visits of King Salman bin Abdul Aziz al-Saud to Indonesia has potential bring investment around Rp 80 trillion. During the visit, the Indonesian Government offered the number of cooperation projects to Saudi Arabia. Minister for State Owned Enterprises (BUMN) Rini Soemarno, as quoted by beritasatu.com said "King of Saudi Arabia carrying 10 ministers and 25 princes with the aim to strengthen the relations between Indonesia and Saudi Arabia".

King Salman's visit in March 2017, is closely related to the investment. It is estimated that an additional investment of around Rp 300 trillion, including a Saudi Aramco refinery investment, in Cilacap, valued at the US \$ 6 billion. From the investment side, Saudi Arabia has a huge potential. Indonesia's participation in the G-20 made Indonesia attracted many foreign parties to invest. To support domestic development, crude oil is a vital requirement for Indonesia to be considered as stable. Indonesia's crude oil potential for this time is not significant, PT. Pertamina as a State-Owned Enterprise (SOE) increasingly intensifying cooperation with Saudi Aramco an Oil National Company from Saudi Arabia to build an oil refinery. In the case of crude oil import contracts from Saudi Aramco-Indonesia, Pertamina expects to get a cheaper price and the cooperation can take a long time. Saudi Arabia and Indonesia which are members of the G-20 have great potential in the field of

oil investment and trade. Becoming a member of G-20 due to the achievement of Indonesia is considered successful by the world. The Indonesian economy is large and very potential to grow.

D. The Relation between Republic of Iran and Republic of Indonesia

Diplomatic relations between Iran and Indonesia began in 1950. Since then, Indonesia has an embassy in Tehran, and Iran also has an embassy in Jakarta. The relation between the two states was cut off for a time due to nuclear sanctions by United Nations (UN) to Iran. Before the sanctions was imposed, the trade value between Indonesia and Iran was considerably high. The total value of bilateral trade between Indonesia and Iran reach to US \$ 273.1 million in 2015. Four years earlier, both trade values were the only US \$ 1.8 billion. Meanwhile, in August 2016, the value of Indonesia-Iran bilateral trade only amounted to the US \$ 150 million or lower compared the same period last year. In terms of investments, based on the record of the Board Investment Coordination (BIC), Iran's realized investment in Indonesia cumulatively during 2011-2014 amounted to the US \$ 6.3 million with a total of 16 projects. Such sanctions also affect the access of banking between Indonesia and Iran disconnected, that ultimately makes export-import financing activity of both completely stopped (Elisa, 2016).

Since the removal of international sanctions against Iran, numerous foreign political and economic delegations have traveled to Iran so there is no obstacle for other states to trade with the Islamic Republic of Iran. President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad expressed his appreciation to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on the positions taken by Indonesia in the decision-making process of UN Security Council on the Iranian nuclear issue which resisted the sanctions against Iran. Indonesia abstained from voting at the United Nations to bring the

issue of Iran's nuclear program to the Security Council in 2006. Indonesia again abstained from voting in 2008, Indonesia has officially endorsed Iran's right to peaceful nuclear technology, but only under the safeguards of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the IAEA (Wellman, 2010).

Related to the agreement of the Iran's nuclear program, Indonesia welcomed the agreement named the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) that has been conducted between Iran and the 5 + 1 group states. Indonesia expects that the JCPOA would fully performed. Therefore, it will provide the new hope for Iranian people, so that the economy becomes more opened and at the same time can be utilized for the world economy benefit. Indonesia argues the need to avoid the politicization of Iranian nuclear issue and expect this issue resolved in the technical framework of IAEA. Indonesia expects the continued communication between Indonesia and Iran in order to obtain the complete information to determine the exact fair position, especially on the Iranian nuclear issue.

Iran is a strategic partner for the Republic of Indonesia. The bilateral relation between two states increased after the bilateral meeting at the KAA Summit and Extraordinary OIC Summit in March 2016. The momentum also strengthens the relationship between the two states after the implementation of JCPOA which partially abolished the economic sanctions against Iran. At the global level, both states are a full member of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Group of D-8. Iran and Indonesia have similar views in dealing with various regional and international issues. Both states agreed on the importance of Islamic unity and the importance of enhancing Islamic cooperation. Both leaders agreed to continue supporting Palestine. The problem is confirmed repeatedly by senior officials of Iran and Indonesia. President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Hassan Rouhani in a meeting with the vice president of the Republic of Indonesia, Jusuf Kalla on the sidelines of 17th NAM

Summit in Margarita Island, Venezuela on September 2016, said that Tehran and Jakarta have a very close view in addressing political issues, which means that they have a good relation in the political aspect. (Hidayat, 2016).

In bilateral trade between Indonesia and Iran largely focused on activity in the energy sector, although it has begun expanding into other industries. In December 2016 the president of Indonesia; Joko Widodo made a visit to Iran to strengthen cooperation between the two states. President Joko Widodo's visit is a return visit after President Rouhani visited Indonesia in April 2015. President Joko Widodo explained the main attention of cooperation forms between both states at that times was the energy; oil and gas. Economic cooperation which is currently explored in the field of energy and oil and gas, including supplying LPG from Iran as well as the preliminary study on the development of two oil wells in Iran. Such cooperation field is believed to be a benefit for Indonesia, where the Government can make the efficiency for LPG purchasing price from Iran.

In the social field, the relationship between Indonesia and Iran works well. The Government of Indonesia and Iran has made a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and the Imam Khomeini Relief Foundation (IKRF) the Islamic Republic of Iran on Humanities and Social Welfare. The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) which was signed in December 26, 2011, aimed to strengthen and develop cooperation in the field of social welfare and humanitarian, which focused on supporting and empowering people in need and marginalized groups, especially orphans and female-headed households. Social relations between Indonesia and Iran could be seen from the visits of ambassador and diplomat's wives in Iran; including Indonesia, to the city of Tabriz, Azerbaijan Province, Iran, on March 12, 2013. This visit aimed to

submit their contributions to the wife of the Iranian Foreign Minister; Madam Zahra Salehi-Rad, in helping the victims of the earthquake that happen in the city. In addition to donation, the wives of ambassadors and foreign diplomats also watched closely the residential redevelopment and provide the motivation to the earthquake victims. Not only that, the Indonesian Government has also sent two teams of volunteers to the location of the earthquake, namely Dompet Duafa and Fast Action Response Unit.

In the political sphere, the bilateral relation between Indonesia - Iran has been growing so fast. The increase of good relationship was marked by the exchange of visits between Heads of State or Government, the Speaker of Parliament and other high-level officials and mutual support on candidacy or membership in international organizations. To strengthen the cooperation in the fields of politics, on May 9, 2003, in Teheran a MoU on the establishment of bilateral Consultative Committee on Political Affairs has been signed by officials that leveled as Deputy of Foreign Minister. This forum is to enhance the political cooperation and brainstorming on regional and international issues. On April 23, 2015, President Joko Widodo held a bilateral meeting with Iranian President Hassan Rouhani. The meeting was held on the sidelines of the 60th Asian-African Summit, President Joko Widodo and Hassan Rouhani agreed that the violence committed by terrorist groups in the name of religion should be destroyed by close cooperation between both states. In addition, it also discussed the efforts to increase the Indonesia - Iran trade volume. Iranian President Hassan Rouhani prepares readiness Iran's private sector to enter into Indonesia's infrastructure investment (Humas, 2015).

Indonesia and Iran cultural cooperation contained in the Cultural Agreement between Indonesia and Iran on April 27, 1971 and ratified by Presidential Decree No. 46

of 1971 dated July 20, 1971, the State Gazette No. 49. The Memorandum of Agreement has discussed the interest of both states to promote the mutual understanding and respect the cultural history of each state. As a follow-up of the agreement, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of Republic of Iran have decided on the Cultural Exchange Program 2012-2014, which was signed on March in Jakarta. The arrangements were made to strengthen the friendly relations that exist between Indonesia and Iran and to strengthen and develop the bilateral relations in the cultural field. Both states also held many cultural events such as the manufacture of stamps, International Conference in field Inter-sect Approach, Iran-Indonesia Cultural Week, Indonesia-Iranian Women Friendship Week, Iran Film Festival, Indonesia-Iran Youth Friendship Week, the Koran exhibition, the international seminar in the context of 60 years of bilateral relations, and many other. Cooperation in culture can be seen from the establishment of Islamic Cultural Center (ICC) in Indonesia. ICC is a cultural exchange institution, especially in Islamic culture, formed by the Iranian Government to spread its influence in various regions of the world. The presence of ICC is well welcomed by the Indonesian Government as it is considered to enhance good relations with Iran as a strategic partner. ICC in Indonesia is spread to several areas in, one of their movements is by establishing the Iran Corner at various Islamic University in Indonesia.

Regarding the religious ideology brought by Iran, the Shia, the Indonesian Government has not yet declared a clear policy or statement. The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) has not yet emerged an explicit edict of this ideology, except for the MUI of East Java which strongly declares that Shiism is a deviant and misleading ideology in Islam, following the incident in Sampang, Madura. Some figures in the MUI itself is allegedly a Shiite figure (Syafuruddin, 2017). Cited from tirto.id on June 3, 2016,

the Government of Indonesia approved the development of religious education cooperation to Iran through the minister of religion Lukman Hakim, because the state (Iran) considered as the state that play an important role in building world civilization. This cooperation aimed to rebuild Islamic civilization (Antara, 2016).

However, most Indonesians agree that Shiism is a deviant ideology in Islam, so that the majority of Indonesians are critical of the Shi'ite presence in the state. This can be seen from the community's rejection of the Assyura day celebration in Bogor, West Java. The Assyura day is the celebration of the Muhammad's grandson death, Hassan, who is part of the Shiite ideology of belief. The second evidence seen from the conflicts that occurred in Sampang, Madura, where the Sunnis attacked the Shiite minority. Shia in Indonesia take advantage from the issue of freedom, democracy and human rights to become a shield in spreading its ideology. With strong resistance from the people of Indonesia, the Shia community moves quietly and infiltrate the governing body to influence the policy. Under minority conditions and powerless, the Shia in Indonesia cooperate with various elements of the nation.