

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Since the establishment of Saudi Arabia, Saudi Arabia's policy has always focused on the Middle East region. Conditions of the Middle East countries will directly affect the stability of Saudi Arabia. Therefore, Saudi Arabia prioritizes its relationship with the region. Qatar got full independence from Britain in 3 September 1971 (Diwan, 2008). In 1971 it was the Arab States which recognized Qatar as a State and Qatar was accepted at the United Nations and the Arab League. Qatar has developed its international profile. Qatar feels very confident if its country has the capacity to adopt an independent foreign policy. Qatar is an early member of OPEC and is a founding member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Qatar has become an active country as a member of several international organizations and has established bilateral relations around the world (Iqtait, 2018).

From historical facts, the relationship between Qatar and other Gulf countries was initially a good relationship. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Arab Kingdom of Qatar are countries that both share the majority of the population with ethnic and Arab cultural backgrounds with the Sunni sect (Jatmika, 2014). These two kingdoms are to the Persian Gulf. The Persian Gulf region itself consists of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain. Both kingdoms are members of the Arab League. The Arab League itself is an organization which according to its charter was established to coordinate economic activities, including commerce, communication, cultural activities, citizenship, passports, visas, social activities, and health activities. Furthermore, it is also explained that members who are members of the Arab League are prohibited from committing acts of violence with each other. As well as the purpose of establishing the organization, one of them is to

strengthen the friendly relations of the Arab Nation (Jatmika, 2014). However, precisely in the leadership of Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani in 1995, relations between Qatar and the Gulf countries began to experience turmoil (Coates, 2014). Many foreign policies were opposed to Saudi Arabia and several other Gulf States. The emergence of relations between Saudi Arabia and Qatar began to stick to the surface since the Arab Spring in 2011. The difference in vision between the two countries has become one of the triggers for warming relations. Qatar emerged as the new face of the country with the leadership of a revolutionary monarchy while Saudi Arabia remained in the traditional monarchy.

The relationship between Saudi Arabia and Qatar heated up in 1955 where the dispute has erupted concerning natural gas ownership by Qatar. At that time, Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani – father the current Qatari Emir, Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, brought down the power of a former pro-Saudi ruler. He took control of power from his own father, Khalifa bin Hamad Al Thani. At the same time, a small country on the edge of a small peninsula on the Arabian Peninsula makes the first shipment of liquefied natural gas from the world's largest reservoir or reserve off the coast of North Field which has an area equivalent to Qatar. Qatar shares the management of the North Field with Iran; the country is hated by Saudi Arabia. From there, the two neighbors hid fire on the skin. The huge amount of natural gas reserves not only transforms Qatar into one of the richest countries in the world. Qatar's focus on gas management has made the country far from its neighbors in the Gulf Cooperation Council, which relies on the economy on oil indirectly from the dominance of Saudi Arabia (Kirkpatrick, 2017).

In 1995 Saudi Arabia and Qatar involved in a conflict, where Qatar began to implement the foreign policy based on domestic freedom and development and began to adjust its foreign policy towards other countries. In addition, Qatar, which began to establish strong relationships with the United

States. Qatar also began to build relations with Iran that caused tension with Saudi Arabia (Roll, 2017). Saudi Arabia - Qatar bilateral conflict continues with Qatar's policy of accepting the Muslim Brotherhood in July 2013 and relations between Qatar and Iran in the form of economic cooperation in the fields of oil and natural gas production. As a result, Saudi Arabia decided to stop diplomatic relations with Qatar in early 2014. The secularity of Saudi Arabia allows the assumption that every country that builds an alliance with Iran is also an enemy of Saudi Arabia (Infografis: Riwayat Hubungan Arab Saudi dan Qatar, 2017). In June 5, 2017, Saudi Arabia announced the termination of diplomatic relations with Qatar. The termination of Saudi Arabia's diplomatic relations with Qatar is not the first thing to do.

Based on the explanation above, I want to try to explain the termination of diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

1.2 Research Question

From the problems expressed in advance, the problem to be discussed in this paper is “Why Saudi Arabia terminates diplomatic relations with Qatar in 2017?”

1.3 Theoretical Framework

Theory of Foreign Decision Making

A country's foreign policy is generally the result of a series of decisions related to the phenomenon of nations. Usually, the policy is issued by certain countries to address issues that develop with other countries. This theory is able to explain the reasons behind taking foreign policy by the state. Therefore, it is important to know the definition of foreign policy in advance by William D. Coplin. According to Coplin, the foreign policy contains a number of activities that can be classified into three types, namely general policy, administrative decisions, and critical decisions. The general foreign policy consists of a series of decisions that are only related indirectly (Coplin, 2003, p. 32). In this research, to

explain the policy adopted by the Saudi Arabian government, the author uses the Foreign Policy Making Theory approach according to William D. Coplin in his book entitled "Introduction of International Politics". This theory will explain how a series of foreign decision-making processes are formulated along with the things that influence them.

The foreign policy decision and policy theory proposed by William D. Coplin states:

To be interested, people have had a decision to make their interest in the area. However, it would be a mistake to think that foreign policy makers act in a vacuum. On the contrary, given the foreign policy act may be viewed as the result of the three categories of considerations affecting the foreign policy of decision makers state. The first is domestic politics within the foreign policy of decision makers states. The second is economy and military capability of the state. The third position is the particular position in which it finds itself specially in relation to other state systems. (Coplin, 2003, p. 30)

Furthermore, Coplin categorized policy influencers into four categories, namely, bureaucratic influencers, partisan influencers, interest influencers, and mass influencers (Coplin, 2003, p. 81).

1. Bureaucratic influencers

Bureaucratic influencers usually affecting decision makers by providing information at the stage of formulation and administrative assistance at the implementation stage, Bureaucratic influencers, are rarely open in opposing existing policies even though they may and seek to change these policies through administrative decisions at the level the low one.

2. Partisan influencers

In a closed system, if they exist and there is no revolutionary, sometimes have the ability to determine the continuity of the position of the decision maker, if

agreed to Bureaucratic influencers but otherwise, they cannot afford it if it cannot be agreed upon by Bureaucratic influencers. The revolutionary partisans of influencers who embrace a closed political system do not have much influence in decision making. But in an open system, Partisan influencers give full support to the government because elections are very important for Partisan influencers. On the other hand to suppress foreign policy decision makers is limited by the fact that, executive institutions are policymakers who are initiatives, and demands for security and secrecy often limit opposition.

3. Interest influencers

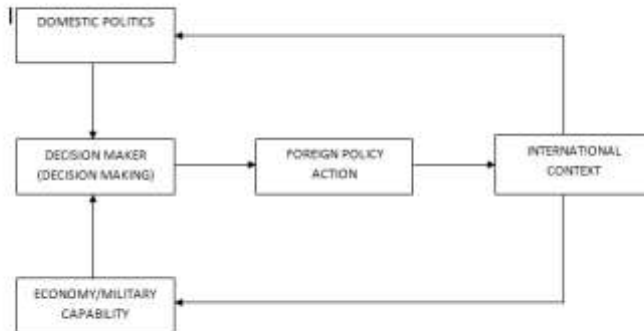
In a closed system the interest influencers operate through secretary partisans and Bureaucratic influencers in secret and make their role in suppressing foreign policy makers secondary in nature, unlike when in an open system, they have a large role because among them have financial capacity or public support to influence the ability of Influencer's Partisans and decision makers to try to win elections.

4. Mass influencers

Mass influencers have an impact even though substantially the climate is formed by decision makers and partisan influencers, if in a closed system if in an open system it is able to obtain information that is often the basis for disagreement with foreign policymakers and usually leads to public opinion.

According to William D. Coplin in the theory of decision making and foreign policy has three determinant factors, namely: domestic political conditions, economic and military capabilities, and international context. The following is the theory of foreign decision making:(Coplin, 2003)

Picture 1.1
The decision making process of William D. Coplin



Source: (Coplin, 2003, p. 30)

a. Domestic Politics Condition

Domestic politics is only a set of considerations that work in the formulation of a country's foreign policy (Coplin, 2003, p. 170). Coplin focuses its analysis on the relationship between foreign political decision makers and domestic actors, who seek to influence their foreign political behavior. Even though the openness of a political system or the level of domestic stability experienced by the system can shape certain aspects of foreign policy, other factors can also work in it, such as cultural factors that influence human behavior.

Domestic politics has a major impact on a country's foreign policy. Differences in government systems that are adopted such as democratic or autocracy open or closed are domestic conditions that are considered in making decisions. Then the stability of the country and domestic conditions are taken into consideration in making decisions. But keep in mind that domestic politics is only a set of considerations that work in the

formulation of a country's foreign policy (Coplin, 2003, p. 170).

Foreign decisions are the result of domestic political processes involving various actors under certain conditions. There is an interaction between foreign policymakers and domestic political actors who seek to influence foreign policy or in the context of Coplin referred to as "policy influencers". These interactions are embedded in the policy influence system. Policy influencers are a source of support for the strengthening of certain regimes within a country. This applies to all government systems, both democratic and autocratic. Then the stability of the country and domestic conditions are taken into consideration in making decisions. In some countries, the state leader (President, Prime Minister, or King) is the dominant actor in decision making (Coplin, 2003, p. 74). So that decision makers can refer to domestic conditions, whether support and demands from the community are in line with policies formulated in political institutions.

The Bureaucratic influencer type is the right type used in analyzing domestic politics in Saudi Arabia. Since its founding in 1932, Saudi Arabia was led by a king who had absolute power. The king served as head of state, head of government and prime minister, therefore all policies both within and outside the country were taken by the King.

In the context of Saudi Arabia, when viewed from an autocratic system of government, the King of Saudi Arabia has a dominant role in Saudi Arabia's foreign decision-making. Saudi Arabia unites religious and political beliefs and does not have a constitution and prohibits political party activities. The king is the head of state and religious leader. The royal family controls the country's political, economic and military power. Cabinet decisions, agreements, and agreements signed with other countries must be ratified by the king. The Qur'an and the

Hadith of the Prophet are the basis of state law enforcement.

b. Economy and Military Capability

Decision making must take into account the economic and military conditions that the State has in making a foreign policy. Not only that, but decision-making must also pay attention to the economic and military strengths, as well as the weaknesses of the country in preparing foreign policy. Decision making must pay attention to and align the commitments and capabilities of the country and also understand the limitations of the country. (Coplin, 2003, p. 124)

Economy and the military are two things that make the domestic power of a country. Economy and military are one of the capabilities needed by the state to guarantee the realization of national interests. To determine the economic strengths and weaknesses of certain countries can be seen from GNP, GNP per capita and balance of payments of a country. To determine the strengths and weaknesses of a country's military can be seen from the capacity to use military power, the level of dependence on other countries and the internal stability of a country.

Considering all the above factors, Coplin divides the country into two categories, namely, developed countries and backward countries (Coplin, 2003). Developed countries have relatively high GNP, varying production capacities, conventional arms that are well-trained and very involved in international trade. The underdeveloped country has a relatively low GNP with an economy that depends on other countries and an army that is not well trained. This difference between developed and underdeveloped countries will distinguish foreign policy taken. Developed countries have the military ability to attack underdeveloped countries and are able to manipulate the economies of backward countries. So that

developed countries will be superior if the war will be carried out.

Saudi Arabia has a strong economy and military in the Middle East region. It can be known if Saudi Arabia is a developed country. In economic terms, Qatar is a serious threat to Saudi Arabia. This happened since the leadership of Emir Sheikh Tamam bin Hamad Al Thani, the economy and political policy of Qatar increased positively(Wicaksono M. , 2017).

c. International Context

The international context explains why a country behaves in certain ways towards other countries. This international context is related to the geopolitics of a country and realist scientists have provided an explanation. Hans J. Morgenthau argues that each country has a certain relationship with the international environment which it has determined as an objective set of national interests.(Coplin, 2003)

According to Coplin, there are three important elements in discussing the impact of the international context on a country's foreign policy, namely geographical, economic and political. The international environment of each country consists of the territories it occupies, in relation to other countries in the system and also the economic and political relations between these countries and other countries. In addition, international pressure tends to force a state to change norms and to conduct a certain policy in order to survive and to defend national sovereignty(Maksum, 2015, pp. 7-8).

In the international context, Saudi Arabia is a country that has a power relationship with the Gulf State. In the GCC, Saudi Arabia was regarded as the leader of the Gulf state, seeing its formation in 1981 as a reaction to the Iraq War versus Iran. Qatar, a small country on the Persian Gulf which is part of the GCC along with 4 other countries should follow Saudi direction in terms of sphere

of influence. Whatever decisions or policies issued by Saudi Arabia must be followed by the countries that are members of the GCC. Similar to what Saudi Arabia has done in terminating diplomatic relations with Qatar, the seven countries that are members of the GCC cut off periodically in almost the same time breaking diplomatic relations with Qatar. This is because Qatar wants to get out of the shadow of Saudi Arabia. The progress seen from the Qatari State in any field such as economics and technology makes Qatar want to be independent in terms of managing and deciding policies without having to interfere with Saudi Arabia. However, Saudi Arabia cannot just release Qatar because the historical fact tells if Saudi Arabia considers that Qatar is still under Saudi control. As well as fear if Qatar starts to look towards Iran, Saudi Arabia can read if it is a form of betrayal of the alliance.

1.4 Hypothesis

Based on the above description, the hypotheses because of this research are:

1. The involvement of the royal family in the foreign policy decision making due to a political rivalry inside Saudi Arabia.
2. Saudi Arabia perceived Qatar's economy is a threat.
3. Saudi Arabia suspicion against Qatar's supports the radical movement.

1.5 Research Objectives and Benefits

This research aims to:

1. Knowing the problems that occur between Saudi Arabia and Qatar
2. Explain the policies of Saudi Arabia through intervention in Qatar

3. Analyzing considerations that encourage Saudi Arabia to terminate diplomatic relations with Qatar.

The benefits that can be generated from this research are:

1. A piece of material about the knowledge of Saudi Arabia in terminating diplomatic relations with Qatar
2. To add insight to international relations researchers regarding cases that is the topic of research.
3. As a comparison material for further research with the same discussion.

1.6 Scope of Research

In accordance with the theme to be discussed, the discussion will be carried out in the period 2011-2017, at this time vulnerable there is an escalation of the conflict between Saudi Arabia and Qatar which leads to the termination of diplomatic relations. In 2011, during the Arab world Awakening, Qatar supported protesters who carried out agitation for change, including the Muslim Brotherhood. (Sergie, 2017) Saudi Arabia and other Gulf monarchies view the Muslim Brotherhood as a threat because it ideologically opposes the hereditary rule (Wintour, 2017).

In 2017, Saudi Arabia blocked the Qatar news sites including Al-Jazeera due to controversial news about Iran. This ended with the termination of the diplomatic relations carried out by Saudi Arabia on June 5, 2017.

1.7 Methodology

1. Type of Research

This type of research in this thesis is qualitative research. According to Bogdan and Taylor defines qualitative research as research that produces descriptive data in the form of written words, or verbally from people and observable behavior (Moleong, 2002). In qualitative research, it is

necessary to emphasize the importance of closeness to people and research situations, so that researchers gain a clear understanding of reality and real-life conditions (Poerwandari, 1998).

2. Method of collecting data

Method of Collecting Data conducted for this research are:

a. Library Research

This research was conducted by obtaining references from various books, journals, reports and related material with research objectives(Zed, 2004).

b. Field Research

This research was carried out by obtaining information directly from officials and authorities in the company to provide information regarding the purpose of the study(Bailey, 1982).

c. Questionnaire

The questionnaire is a structured question that is filled in by the respondent or the informant alone or by the interviewer himself by reading the question and recording the answer given(Churchill, 2005).

3. Method of analysis data

The research of this undergraduate thesis uses analysis technique by gaining data as much as possible and classifying the data which is coherent with this topic. Later, the data are systematically presented based on the relation between one and another subtopic.

1.8 Systematic Research

This thesis is planned to be presented in the discussion according to the following chapters:

CHAPTER I is a preliminary chapter that contains the standard rules of scientific writing which contain the

background of the problem, subject matter, frame of mind, hypothesis, and system of writing.

CHAPTER II is a chapter that will attempt to explain the relations between Saudi Arabia and Qatar. In this case, the researcher will explain the history of diplomatic relations between Qatar and Saudi Arabia. The existence of bilateral relations between the two countries before the conflict arises.

CHAPTER III is a chapter that describes the escalation of conflict and the breaking up of Saudi Arabia's relations with Qatar. In this case, the researcher will explain the conflict behind the occurrence of the act of terminating diplomatic relations by Saudi Arabia. There are things that are behind the conflict and have happened long ago.

CHAPTER IV is a chapter that explains the considerations that caused Saudi Arabia to break its diplomatic relations with Qatar. The involvement of the royal family in the foreign policy decision making due to a political rivalry inside Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia perceived Qatar's economy is a threat. Saudi Arabia suspicion against Qatar's supports the radical movement.

CHAPTER V is the concluding chapter and contains conclusions drawn from the entire exposure or decryption of facts and constructive suggestions or prescriptions.