

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Saudi Arabia by its economic development of the country is stable even increased, becoming one of super power states in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia became a producer of petroleum. The economic development will influence the political process of the state. Then the regional political developments rely heavily with the activities of the states. How far the states influence the political process in Middle East, is based on the ability and activities of the super power states.

The dynamic of socio-political in the Middle East became the most gets the spotlight most of the world community. Conflict and successive wars from time to time, become part of the history of the inherent in the area. States of the hegemony and power politics that super and economy is also changing. In accordance with the country's ability in maintaining its hegemony.

As to the amount of petroleum mining and the world needs oil that increased from year to year the price of oil is very influenced by the conditions and situation that happens in the Middle East. In fact 70% of total petroleum reserves in the world are found in the area

A conflict in the Middle East is not just political and economic factors, but also over tribes and religions background. Tribes and religions are very sensitive in Middle East. A different form of Government in each states, there are Ashabiyah and Wathoniyah-shaped. The differences tend make a conflict, Saudi Arabia with Egypt, as well as his monarch led system with the system of the Republic, and Iran with Republicans as well as with the background understand Shia. Then a conflict in the Middle East is not just a political issue, but also economy factors and extends with religious and tribal conflict.

Saudi Arabia who embraced Islam-Sunni and Arab tribe, opposite with Iran who embraced Islam-Shiite and Persi tribe. Tensions of the cold war and a very large military power, its make own fears for other countries in the region. Arab countries that don't have adequate powers would choose to join and support one of the parties.

Since the mid-20th century, Middle Eastern Governments are experiencing a turn of regional rulers in the area. The era of the 1950s and 1960s was the era of the Glory of Egypt. Led by Gamal Abdel Nasser. Nasser gets a high prestige in the Arab world when He can expel the United Kingdom, France and Israel in the battle of Suez in 1956.

The rivalry between the countries of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Saudi was only about the problem of how to maintain a regime. At the time of the era of Egypt, Nasser appeared an idea to create a Pan-Arabism, who hoped the Union could

make the whole arab countries under one organization or regime. Then established Arab League. The concept is cultural similarities in language and history between Arab countries and the strategic is the struggle against Western colonialism.

Contrary to the Arab League which based on ideology of Arabism, Saudi Arabia invited the Kingdom of Morocco to establish the international organizations based on Ummah or Pan-Islamism. That is the Organization of the Islamic Conference was established in 1969. One of the factors is burning Al Aqsa and occupied Jerusalem by Israel, but the main factor is to counter the rival regime, the Arab League which based on Pan-Arabism, dominated by Egypt.

The actions of Saudi Arabia that made Pan-Arabism is difficult to manifest. Arabia choose maintain political and social pattern as has been done so far. As with other Arab countries, despite its socio-cultural and religious similarities, but retained its own political freedom.

The rivalry between these two states, however, are a reflection of natural character and also the future of the communities in the region, from North Africa to the Gulf. Arab countries also tend to be reluctant to share economic resources with another. But if the date back, in terms of the political, the Union can give enormous political advantage and a superior position against other countries.

The organization of Islamic cooperation was established upon a decision of the historical summit which took place in Rabat, Kingdom of Morocco on 12th Rajab 1389 Hijra (25 September 1969) as a result of criminal arson of Al-Aqsa Mosque in

occupied Jerusalem. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) (formerly Organization of the Islamic Conference) is the second largest inter-governmental organization after the United Nations which has membership of 57 states spreading over four continents. OIC has Charter describing the principles, objectives, implementation, activities, structures, etc. and still referring to the Qoran and Sunnah as the main reference.¹ As an international organization which the original concerns focused on political issues, particularly to save Al-Aqsa in Palestine, OIC has transformed into an international organization to promote international cooperation in politics, economy, social culture, and science among Islamic countries in the world.²

OIC's member countries that have a significant role in the OIC are generally states that already had power in their respective aspects. OIC became an arena to fight between members who want to influence or got national interest of OIC membership. War interests are contested by the members of the one of repercussions making the OIC to be weak in the peace process and progress along with Muslims, because national interests are still considered priorities on the interests of the ummah. Therefore, any there are less influential OIC behavior.

In the development of International Affairs, the OIC is very weak in bargaining position compared to other international organizations. This is because the national

¹Akhtar, Hahnaz., 2002. *The role of the organization of the islamic conference in political and Economic Co-operation in Islamic World(1974-1994)*. BahauddinZakariya University, Mutan, , p. 82
²<http://www.kemlu.go.id/Lists/MultilateralCooperation/DispForm.aspx?ID=4&ContentTypeId=0x01004C15E337FCE5974A84402C70E5A18980> accessed on February 25, 2015

benefits brings its members not directly obtained in the short term. In the international scale, especially in the fields of economics and politics that are usually the basis of cooperation in international organizations, it is very weak to compete with other international organizations.

The other problems of OIC are, OIC cannot help domestic problemsits members i.e.OIC does not have the right to curb or control and intervene by military force the members in the various agreements, the OIC also has no right to interfere in the domestic issues of its members as written into the guidelines in OIC's decision making procedure. OIC proposed the recommendation to solve the conflict by the moderation, negotiations, strikes, and arbitration. Then, it is considered by the majority of its members, that the OIC is just an organization of cooperation that is merely a formality in the solidarity of Muslims, and unable to solve in of social problems.

In this case, Saudi Arabia is as one of the pioneers of the establishment of the OIC and an active member in various problem solving and summits. Saudi Arabia saw an opportunity to propose and reform the OIC returns in accordance with their national interests to decide Foreign Policy then the proposal could be discussed and decided on the OIC summit.

Historically, OIC always depends on Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia always recommended and held a conference. This country is never absent in various OIC Heads of State Conference and OIC Foreign Ministers Conference. Saudi Arabia is

always totally supporting and helping OIC to implement and plan programs for the development of Islamic countries.

In 2005, Saudi Arabia invited and initiated to reform the OIC to have more influence in international relations. OIC 3th extraordinary summit to formulate and make decisions, called the Ten-Year Plan of Action was formulated in cooperation of ten years it was is not just a political problem into a scale of priorities but also economy, because it was to develop the degree of the welfare of the members of the OIC. King Abdullah was the main architect of the summit in Mecca that approved the 10-year Action Plan for the OIC.³

After the massive reformation as well as the OIC long-term plan program, the OIC was expected by Saudi Arabia to have an active role in helping to resolve several conflicts and help the developing member state in the Islamic world and the Middle East. In this case, Saudi Arabia began to play its role in making Foreign Policy against the Islamic world and the Middle East through the OIC. One of them in Political aspect, in 2012, Saudi Arabia proposed the OIC to ban Syria from membership of the OIC as a sanction for the conflict that occurred in their country,⁴ then the proposal was into a decision even though the delegation of Iran did not agree.

³Press Corner Organization of the Islamic Conference December 12, 2005 "*Saudi-US Relations Information Service*" Editor's Note <http://www.freemuslims.org/news/article.php?article=1150>

⁴<http://www.kemlu.go.id/Pages/IFPDisplay.aspx?Name=MultilateralCooperation&IDP=4&P=Multilateral&l=id> accessed on april 1, 2015

The initiation of the establishment of IDB (Islamic Development Bank) into OIC, Saudi Arabia has an important role of IDB. More voting right at the IDB may influence the IDB decisions in approving money for project supported by particular member states. Voting right at the IDB definitely influence the appointment of high executive positions at the IDB. Ever since the IDB's creation, its president has always been Saudi citizen. This is possible because Saudi Arabia has bought the largest amount of shares of the IDB.⁵ The borrower members of the IDB, directly their foreign policy, could be influenced by the OIC. In this case, Saudi Arabia would like to further play an active role in various programs of OIC, not only in political aspect but also in economic aspect.

OIC expected capable to influence the foreign policy of its members in the process of peace and progress of the Islamic countries who are members of OIC. So, the OIC could be more influential in the international scale.

Saudi Arabia has a specific purpose in his role in the OIC, by making foreign policy decisions that directly received the national interest from a wide range of cooperation undertaken together with the OIC. As well as the dominance of Saudi Arabia with its allies in the OIC.

National interest expected Saudi Arabia which can be obtained through cooperation with OIC, such as the economic dependency of assistances and loans from the members of the OIC to economics of Saudi Arabia and its allies, the

⁵ Al Ahsan, Abdullah. 1988. *The Organization of the Islamic Conference*. p. 55, The USA :International Institute of Islamic Thought.

spreading of wahhabi teachings throughout the world, and focused is maintaining the hegemony and the status quo in the Middle East by receiving support from the Islamic world

B. Research Question

How did Saudi Arabia maintain the hegemony in Organization of Islamic Cooperation?

C. Theoretical Framework

To answer the research question above, the author uses the national interest theory and the concept of Foreign Policy to analyze about the role of Saudi Arabia as well as the International regime theory of liberalism to analyze the OIC. The author is just using the theory of Foreign Policy because the author thinks that Foreign Policy represent the national interests of Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the theory of Foreign Policy become a priority in analyzing the role of Saudi Arabia.

1. National Interest

The activities and behaviours of state, based on the national interest. The definition of national interest bades on Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton,“The fundamental objective and ultimate determinant that guides the decision makers of a state in making foreign policy. The national interest of a state is typically a highly generalized conception of those elements that constitute the state’s most

vital needs. These includes self-preservation, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic well being.⁶

Basicly, national interest is the fundamental reason to determain the foreign policy of its state. National interest is the needs of the state to fullfill its nesercities, then the concept of national interest is to get the specific goals and aims of the harmony interaction between two states or among states.

According to Hans J. Morgenthau, national interest is the minimun capability of state to protect and maintain the identity of physic, politics, culture from the other state. From its condition, the leader of state have to dicide the policies to another state by cooperation or conflict. Then, the state have to decide the national interest based on its power and make the cooperation or interaction with national interest of another state it will form an international politics.⁷

2. Foreign Policy

According to Rosenau, in his book 'The World Politics: An Introduction', arranged with Thompson and Gavin, foreign policy is a complex study, because it does not only involve external aspects but also the internal aspects of a state.⁸ The state is a major actor in international relations based on foreign policy theory, even though the non-government actors also played an important role in international relations. In the study of foreign policy, the stimulus, the domestic

⁶ Plano, Jack C., Olton, Roy. 1969. *The International Relations Dictionary*. United States of America: Holt, Rinehart and Winston,inc. Hal. 128.

⁷Masoed, Mochtar. 1994. *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional; Disiplindan Metodologi*. Jakarta: LP3ES. Hal. 142.

⁸ James N.Rosenau, Gavin Boyd, Kenneth W. Thompson. 1976. *World Politics: An Introduction*. NewYork: The Free Press, p. 15

and the external factors affect a state to make foreign policy decisions through a conversion process.

Foreign policy is a strategy or plan of action created by the country's decision-makers in dealing with other nations or other international political unit, and controlling to achieve specific national goals poured in the terminology of the national interest.⁹ Foreign policy is intended to preserve and maintain the viability of state.¹⁰ Rosenau also explained the conversion process that occurred in the formulation of a state's foreign politics referring to the definition of the situation, both external and internal environment and consider the purpose to be achieved and their capability.¹¹

Modelski on his book 'A Theory of Foreign Policy' explained the basic concepts in foreign policy, they are: (1) policy makers, (2) aims, (3) principles, (4) power to implement, and (5) the context of in which foreign policy is formulated and implemented.¹²

The purpose of foreign policy is actually a function of the process by which the country objectives laid out. These goals are influenced by the target as seen from the past where the aspirations for the future. Distinguished foreign policy objectives over the long-term goals, medium-term and short term.

⁹Jack C. Plano dan Roy Olton.1999. *Kamus Hubungan Internasional*. Bandung: Abardin, p. 5.

¹⁰Ibid, p. 32.

¹¹ James N. Rosenau, 1980. *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*. New York: The Free Press, p. 171,173.

¹²Dugis, Vinsensio. 2008. *Explaining Foreign Policy. Change Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik*, 101-104.

Basically the purpose of long-term foreign policy is to achieve peace, security, and power.¹³

3. International Regime

International regime is those pertaining to activities of interest to members of international systems. These are taking place interely outside the juridical boundaries of sovereign states, or cutting across the international juridiscation boundaries. In formal term, the members of international regimes are sovereign state, thought that the parties carrying out the action governed by international regime are often private entities.¹⁴

The four absolute terms to be referred to as the international regime, as follows:

1. Principles, are beliefs of fact, causation, and rectitude.
2. Norms,are standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligation.
3. Rules, are specific prescriptions for action
4. Decision making procedures, are prevailing practices for making and implementing collective choice.

¹³ James N. Rosenau. 1969. *International Politics and Foreign Policy: A Reader in Research and Theory*. New York: The Free Press, hal. 167.

¹⁴ Young, Oran R. 1982. *Regime Dynamics: The Rise and Fall of International Regimes, International Organization*, 36(2), International Regimes (Spring, 1982), pp.277-297. [pdf] University of Wisconsin Press. Available on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706523>

Regime is being one of the ways to solve the various problems in the International relationship, because the regime has the ability to affect the participants in deciding a decision.

As explained by Young, he defined regime as institutions governing the action of those interested in special activities. "They are recognize a pattern of behavior and practice around which expectation converge".¹⁵

Hasenclever was describing in his book "Theories of International Regime" in defining the international regime, i.e is the same purpose is the main purpose of the establishment of the regime. Three approaches in the international regime, namely power, interest and knowledge.¹⁶

1. Interest-based approach

In its explanation, the Interest-based approach is embraced by the neo-liberalist who believes that the establishment of an international regime is to get the national interest for the participant. The regime into the container for the country is to get the interest, but in such cooperation, it does not generate relative gains, absolute gains rather than for each participating country.¹⁷

By regime, cooperation can be built only by negotiations and agreements because it is not binding and there is no punishment in writing in case of violation of norms. But, a regime is formed and carried by a

¹⁵Young, Oran R., 1982, *Regime Dynamics: The Rise and Fall of International Regimes*, International Organization, 36(2), International Regimes (Spring, 1982), pp.277-297. [pdf] University of Wisconsin Press.on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706523>

¹⁶Hasenclever, Andreas, Mayer, Peter, and Rittberger, Volker. 1997. *Theories of International Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 2

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 4

country which aimed at achieving the hegemon of the interest of the state power. This led to the existence of the uneven power in a regime, because the power only focused on one country hegemon. Then every country will allow the country to join an institution. International regime will also unite countries concerned in an institution which can provide benefits to any countries.

The establishment of a regime was based on the common good and profit implications on the level of compliance and the effectiveness of the regime. Then by power distribution, it is necessary for hegemon or institutions which can provide to rule and control the process of implementation of the regime.

This theory is closely associated with the economy aspect. The main purpose of the participants joined in a regime is 'interest'. This decision making is very important in order to solve various problems.

Neoliberal or interest-based theories of regimes have been extraordinarily influential in the past decade and have come to represent the main-stream approach to analyze international institutions. Though, its not completely insensitive to the effects of power differentials, they emphasize the role of international regimes in helping states to realize common interests.¹⁸

¹⁸ Ibid, p.4

In international politics, by contrast, anarchy is the rule. International regimes-principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures are governing an issue-area which is one way to provide elements of “order,” structured regularity despite anarchy. Such islands of order in the sea of anarchy tend to be relatively rare and highly valued-which explains the generally neutral, or even positive, connotations of “regime” in international settings.

2. Power-based approach

According to the realist to control problems in international relations, a regime needs Hegemon state, then regime can decide the decision making effectively and fast. Krasner also defined, “The most common proposition is that hegemonic distributions of power lead to stable, open economic regimes because it is in the interest of a hegemonic state to pursue such a policy and because the hegemon that has the resources to provide the collective goods needed to make such a system function effectively.”¹⁹

The ability of hegemon state in regulating and decision making is very important to be a leader of participants, because state has a great power to be able to control the operation of the regime. Then regime can run effectively to achieve the common interest.

3. Knowledge-based approach

¹⁹ Stephen D. Krasner. 1982. “Regimes and the limits of realism: regimes as autonomous variables”. *International Organization*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 499

Knowledge-based approach can also refer to as cognitive-based Approach. According to Hasenclever, “Knowledge-based theories of regimes have focused on the origins of interests as perceived by states and, in this connection, have accentuated the role of causal as well as normative ideas.”²⁰

In cognitive-based approach, the participants already balance and analyze a variety of programs and processes in an international regime. Cognitive aspects in question are information, knowledge, social environment, even ideology. In the scale of international relations, knowledge-based approach only gets very little portion in the international regime. Most of the Regimes prefer to use interest-based approaches and power. That can get benefit directly.

In the theory of international regime, organization becomes an actor. In this thesis, the author explains that the state’s foreign policy and international regime can influence each other and control. The members or countries can get their national interest. It depends on norms and values in international scale. Since 1945, the issue of the role of international organisations for state policy can be said to have become accentuated as the post-war period that has seen a huge expansion of the number of

²⁰Hasenclever, Andreas, Mayer, Peter, and Rittberger, Volker. 1997. *Theories of International Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 5

formal international organisations in all areas. Foreign policy has increasingly become an activity that is carried out through or within international organisations.²¹

Checkel's view and explanation 'Sociological institutionalism'. States and international institutions are seen as mutually constitutive of one another. Organisations contribute to constituting actors and their interests in the long and the short term. To 'constitute' means to provide agents with understandings of their interests and identities. According to this understanding, institutions are strongly independent variables. A general constructivist approach to the relationship between states and international organisations (which is the wider context in which the third category is embedded) maintain the formation of states' interests is also shaped by norms and values at the international level. International organizations, in other words, are not just seen as regulating states' foreign policy behaviour; they also contribute to constitute states' preferences and the derived interests. Although membership of an international organization in principle, it always contributes to shape who 'we' are in a given state.²²

²¹Larsen, Henrik, 2005. *Analyzing the foreign policy of small states in the EU : the case of Denmark*. New york : Palgrave Macmillan, p. 15

²²Ibid. p. 16

D. Hypothesis

Saudi Arabia maintains the hegemony in OIC institutions to achieve the interests of the Islamic World and the Middle East through;

1. Saudi Arabia maintains the hegemony and domination by utilizing the authority and the history of the establishment of the OIC, to achieve their national interest and maintains the status quo in the Middle East.
2. Saudi Arabia always repeated the historical process of the OIC, which the Saudis have always been important actors in the negotiations in the OIC. Saudi Arabia gave huge donation and financial to the OIC for live programs and variety development in OIC countries. The dependence between Saudi Arabia and the OIC is mutual beneficial. OIC considered by Saudi Arabia as a tool to get national interest.

E. Range of Research

To avoid widen explanation (out of context) the author explain the Saudi Arabia's foreign policy to maintain the hegemony and domination in the Islamic World and Middle East by utilizing OIC. The author only focus on the Saudi Arabia's foreign policy toward OIC to get its specific interest. The scope of writing is from the beginning of OIC establishment until present.

F. Method of Writing

This thesis research is a research study of the literature. Research material that is used in the form of secondary data, such as books, journals, documents which have been published as well as the other references that are considered relevant, properly sourced from print and electronic media.

G. System of Writing

Systematics of writing is a basic framework and the absolute in a scientific paper so it can be assessed the quality of the results depending on how to describe and present. Systematics in writing thesis consists of five Chapters, namely:

Chapter I : Introduction containing the background problems, formulation of the problem, the framework hypothesis, thought-provoking, objective research, the scope of writing and writing and writing systematic methods.

Chapter II : The History and background of Saudi Arabia. In this chapter, the author explains about the The History of establishing of Saudi Arabia and the political governance of Saudi Arabia. The role of Saudi Arabia in OIC.

Chapter III: Explaining the socio-political context of OIC establishment as the regime and international organization. The significance of OIC, the role of Saudi Arabia in helping and organizing in programs through the OIC's foreign policies.

Chapter IV : This chapter gives an overview of how Saudi Arabia maintains the hegemony and domination by policies toward Organization of Islamic Cooperation to achieve their national interest.

Chapter V : Conclusion.