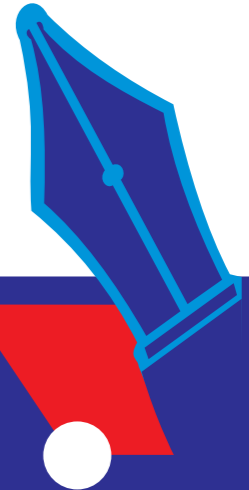# JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC WORLD AND POLITICS

JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC WORLD AND POLITICS

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Mustafa Selçuk & Nikos Panagiotou	Impact of ISIS on Radical Groups of Southeast Asia Countries
Ahmad Zainal Mustofa	Iran Defensive Attitudes Towards United States' Offensive Politics: Analysis of Iran's Nuclear Development Programs
Musyfiqur Rahman	Current Phenomenon Tension Between the United States and Iran in the Middle East
Aprilia Restuning Tunggal	Indonesia-Egypt Diplomacy: Darussalam Gontor and Al-Azhar University
Dhany Putra Pratama	Paradiplomacy Practice In Indonesia: A Lesson From West Nusa Tenggara Province In 2013-2018
Syaiful Anam & Rezki Satris	Reframing In Conflict Mediation: Empowering Parties Or Manipulating Decision-Making?
Anggi Nurul Qomari'ah	The Effort of NGO BOS (Borneo Orangutan Survival) Foundation in Saving Orangutans in Central Kalimantan (2016-2019)
Anastazia N Wattimena	Modern Slavery in Indonesia: Study Case Of Maritime Slavery in Benjina Kabupaten Kepulauan Aru Maluku

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Journal of

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Journal of Islamic World and Politics (JIWP) is the scientific journal published by Master of International Relations, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY). This is published twice in a year, June and December. We invite colleagues and researchers of international studies to write at Journal of Islamic World and Politics. the manuscript is written in size 12 Times New Roman (TNR), space 1.5 on A4 size paper with a side space of 3.5 cm from left side, 3 cm from the right edge, 3 cm from the top and bottom edges. Number of pages is 12-20 pages (4000-6000 words), including bibliography and tables.

Content
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Editorial

Reading the social phenomenon in the world, we will realize that the Islamic world and international world and politics are so dynamic. We watch and read every day from the social media about conflict and war happening in all over the world, mainly in Middle East. in another side, the states in the worlds are doing many things to build cooperation in eradicating poverty, violation of the human right in upholding peace for the people in the universe. We realize that terrorism, global conflict, violation of human right, human trafficking, and slavery are the world problem currently. These must be responded by the researchers and scholars.

Journal of Islamic World and Politics (JIWP) is one of the ways from the researchers and scholars coming from all over the world in sharing their new ideas or finding as the solution of problem faced in the contemporary issues.

In this sixth edition, we invite eight scholars and researchers to share their new ideas and the result of their researchs in reading the global phenomenon currently. We do hope that by publishing this sixth edition we will participate in giving the solution of the problem that we are facing in international Islamic world and politics.

We do hope that the eight articles in this edition are welcomed well by the readers and researchers as the way in transforming the current ideas and scientific research. Happy reading and we are waiting for your paper.

Ahmad Sahide
Editor-in-chief

Impact of Isis on Radical Groups of Southeast Asia Countries

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Abstract

Radicalization is not a new phenomenon in Southeast Asia. Islamic radicalization has increased and became a significant issue in Southeast Asia since 2001. Faith-based organizations have supported the radical spreading of misinformation, and therefore various measures have many casualties. the development of Islamic radicalism in Southeast Asia is starting to spread in Indonesia, Philippines, and Malaysia, mostly via social media. This research focuses on how the ideology of ISIS affects (re-activated) radical groups in Southeast Asia. More specifically, through discourse text analysis and frame analysis, this research aims to analyze similarities in discourses and frames through their communication campaigns. Besides, how the spreading of Islamic radicalism in Southeast Asia and broadening the scope of knowledge on the impact of Islamic radicalization in other regional countries also become a discussion. While ISIS shrinks in the Middle-East, the researchers argue that in recent years ISIS has started to affiliate with countries in Southeast Asia.

Keywords: *ISIS, Radicalization, Social Media, Southeast Asia, Terror attack, Radical groups*

Abstrak

Radikalisasi bukanlah fenomena baru di Asia Tenggara. Radikalisasi Islam telah meningkat dan menjadi isu penting di Asia Tenggara sejak tahun 2001. Organisasi berbasis agama telah mendukung penyebaran informasi yang radikal secara radikal, dan karenanya berbagai tindakan memiliki banyak korban. Perkembangan radikalisme Islam di Asia Tenggara mulai

menyebar di Indonesia, Filipina, dan Malaysia, sebagian besar melalui media sosial. Penelitian ini berfokus pada bagaimana ideologi ISIS mempengaruhi (mengaktifkan kembali) kelompok radikal di Asia Tenggara. Lebih khusus lagi, melalui analisis teks wacana dan analisis bingkai, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kesamaan dalam wacana dan bingkai melalui kampanye komunikasi mereka. Selain itu, bagaimana penyebaran radikalisme Islam di Asia Tenggara dan memperluas ruang lingkup pengetahuan tentang dampak radikalisasi Islam di negara-negara kawasan lain juga menjadi bahan diskusi. Sementara ISIS menyusut di Timur Tengah, para peneliti berpendapat bahwa dalam beberapa tahun terakhir ISIS telah mulai berafiliasi dengan negara-negara di Asia Tenggara.

Kata kunci: *ISIS, Radikalisasi, Media Sosial, Asia Tenggara, Serangan Teror, Kelompok Radikal*

INTRODUCTION

There are many radical groups that they want to bring a caliphate system in their countries. This ideological frame is similar to ISIS that calls all Muslims to join the caliphate system. They started making a campaign to reach people who want to join them through social media to people all around the world. Since the Syrian civil war began, ISIS tried to extend in the region, mainly in Iraq and Syria. Many foreign fighters joined ISIS from Europe, Balkans, and Southeast Asia. in this article, the researchers will focus on foreign fighters from South Asian and how ISIS affects Southeast Asian radical groups. Hundreds of Asians went to Syria and joined ISIS.

Some of them went with their family. Especially this year, ISIS started to focus on Southeast Asia because a massive number of the Muslim population joins ISIS coming from radical groups throughout the countries. Recent magazines and videos ISIS used Asian children to show them that many Southeast Asians already joined, gave them courage, and spread the ideology of ISIS in the region. Last year, there were many terror attacks in Europe and Turkey, even though there was not any attack news since it erupted in the Philippines after the Manchester

attack. Some of the radical groups in the Philippines announced that they accepted the caliphate of ISIS, and they siege the city of Marawi. This issue was in the tenth magazine of ISIS (Rome 10th). They said that ISIS fighters extended in Southeast Asia.

METHODOLOGY

The researchers critically examined how ISIS affects radical groups in Southeast Asia and their campaign progress also how they tried to gain followers in Southeast Asia. This paper analyzed ISIS magazine, statement in 2016-2018 regarding Southeast Asia, and analysis of critical published news about ISIS in Southeast Asia between 2016-2018 to figure out the impact of ISIS in Southeast Asia. the paper reviewed the narrative strategies adopted by the news media. in this study, the researchers used frame analysis and discourse text analysis.

Meanwhile, the international news agency showed that ISIS shrinks. in reality, they are spreading, especially in Southeast Asia. ISIS changes its strategy and starts investing in Southeast Asia. the research is inventive because it examined the magazine of ISIS, which they publish regularly, and international news coverage in a

critical comparison with major events. the main goal of this research is to find out the affiliation of ISIS in Southeast Asia.

RESEARCH METHOD

In 2014, when the civil war in Syria started point for radical group, Syria and Iraq accrued ISIS and leader of ISIS Baghdadi declared his caliphate in June 2014. Baghdadi called, "Global Jihad is gone on to build a global network of affiliates and branches that now stretches from Afghanistan to West Africa, from the Middle-east to Southeast Asia." the most critical factor in easy spreading is social media and online publications in different languages. Recently, ISIS starts to focus on Southeast Asia. It is Southeast Asia with a Muslim majority or substantial Muslim-minority populations that have been the most worried by the effect of Islamic State, because of the number of foreign fighters from the sub-region who have gone to Syria and Iraq. Al Qaeda and ISIS are different. It means they do not collaborate. Their split has had an impact in Southeast Asian radical groups, such as most senior activists of the JI (Jamaatul Islamiyah) network support Al Qaeda's Syrian affiliate Al-Nusra.

Jemaah Islamiyah has a base in Indonesia, which links to the

global jihad vision of Al Qaeda and commits to the establishment of a pan Southeast Asian Islamic state (Ramakrishna: 2017, 3). the statement aims to include Muslim groups in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore also some territory of Thailand and even Australia, where Muslim communities located. Another group is Abu Sayyaf (AS) in Southeast Asia bloody attacks in their regions. There is also an Islamist movement, Darul Islam, established by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and Abdullah Sungkar. the two believed that the Jamaatul Islamiyah (JI) should wage jihad against Indonesia. Some extremist leaders supported the idea of ISIS, such a Ba'asyir and Aman Abdurrahman. However, some of them eschew the concept of ISIS, such as Abdul Rohim and Ridho. Therefore, they left JAT to establish Jamaah Ansharusy Shariah (JAS) (Ramakrishna: 2017). Also, JAS rejected the declaration of ISIS so-called Global caliphate and has even sought to recruit Indonesian fighters for its chief rival, Al-Nusra, in Syria.

The Bali attack rebuilt the threat of radical network to Southeast Asian security, edited deadly attacks by the extremist groups. August 2003 was the attack of the Jakarta Marriott, in September 2004. This attack happened outside the Australian embassy in Jakarta. in October 2005, there was an attack in Bali, after a couple of years, a suicide attack that targeted Jakarta Ritz-Carlton and the near to Marriott hotel in July 2009 to set up an Islamic State (Hashim: 2015). Their aim was not only in Indonesia, but all of Southeast Asia countries establishing the Islamic States. Since then, radicalization has increased in Southeast Asia and become a severe threat to the regions.

Also, there are some other radical groups in Indonesia, which have similar ideological thinking with ISIS in Indonesia. Hizb-ut Tahrir, the extremist organization, founded by Syrian Omar Bakri Muhammad Al-Muhajiroun in 1938. It is hard to argue all of the members that have a radical ideology. However, there is a potential of radicalization. Al-Muhajiroun believes that countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Indonesia, and Malaysia should be his aim to establish the caliphate (IPAC Report: 2014, 13). the ideology of Hizb-ut Tahrir has been a spread among young people in Southeast Asia. Mainly, Hizb-ut Tahrir started to make links with their supporters and online activities. One of their followers, Fachry, established a

magazine because online magazines and news were an easy way to find followers. He believed that Islam's enemies, particularly America and western countries, controlled the mainstream global media. Thus, it was crucial to establish a magazine to fight in the media.

In 2007, Al-Muhajirun published their first magazine titled "Staying on the Road to Jihad" (IPAC Report: 2014). in the beginning, Fachry and his friends in FAKSI were neutral (*tawaquf*) toward the campaign of ISIS.

Nevertheless, on October 1, 2013, Omar Bakri proclaimed that they supported ISIS. He said that ISIS was the most active group among other Jihadi groups. He believed that Baghdadi descended from the Quraishi, the tribe of the Prophet. He thought that Baghdadi had in-depth religious knowledge, knew for his piety, and was a proven faithful commander (IPAC Report: 2014). After the declaration of Al-Baghdadi, many radical groups accepted and approved his idea regarding global jihad.

Also, the idea of the Islamic State is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia, especially Malang city, East Java, where the ISIS movement in Malang had campaigned for the setting up of a well-prepared

Islamic caliphate. in 2006, a group of people who promoted the idea of an Islamic state in Indonesia sneaked to school and university students and became their mentors. Between 2006 and 2007, they held mass demonstrations on campus under the banner of freedom of expression in support of the Islamic State (TheJakartaPost: 08/08/2014). It means that Indonesia is convenient for the idea of ISIS since many people support the concept of an Islamic state. However, the establishment of Islamic states discussed in the past, with many Islamic thinkers is hard. There is a gap in the idea of an Islamic state. Who would be the leader? How should someone be chosen as caliph? To dispose of those gaps, the ISIS leader of Baghdadi claimed that God wanted him for Muslims all over the world. He used a spiritual way to convince to Muslim join his idea. ISIS leader of Baghdadi made his campaign mostly social media, which is a useful tool current time for spreading ideas and information.

FAKSI (Forum Aktivis Syariat Islam) is a radical youth actively publishing via online websites and supporting ISIS. Salim Mubarok is one of the FAKSI members from Malang, East Java. He went to Syria with his wife and children. When

he arrived in Syria, he changed his name to Abu Jandal Al-Yemeni (IPAC Report: 2014). He fluently spoke Arabic and quickly improved an extensive network within ISIS and helped facilitate arrangements for other Indonesians who wanted to join ISIS, including five of his former students in Malang. When the researcher was teaching in Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang and explaining about ISIS, some of his students gave their testimony. They said that there were some cells of ISIS in which students and local people in Malang (Batu) did propaganda. Batu is one of the best places in Malang, where there are many resorts and villas for internal tourists to come. It means that ISIS members were trying to gain wealthier followers. East part of Java Island is an available spot for ISIS because Java is a region where people are quite open to beliefs. Therefore, ISIS tried to connect with local extremist groups and gain more members in Indonesia.

Another extremist group is JAD (Jamaah Ansharud Daulah) based in Indonesia, and since 2015, JAD has linked with ISIS. Jamaah Ansharud Daulah (JAD), as two other terrorist incidents published by ISIS, was officially responsible for the Jakarta Thamrin attack in January 2016. It was the first ISIS-inspired attack in Southeast Asia (Sidney: 2016). JAD also perpetrated Kampung Melayu Bombings in May 2017 (Arianti: 2018). All the knives perpetrators attacks in Indonesia outside Poso consulted ISIS online propaganda material because most of the people in Indonesia are active social media users. Radical literature in Indonesia, most of them translated from English and Arabic, has been encouraging militants to use stabbing (including beheading) against their adversaries (ICPVTR).

ISIS' mainstream media Al-Hayat Media Center released a video entitled "Join the Ranks," describing a group of Indonesian foreign fighters in Syria. in the video, most militants were young people from Southeast Asia.

Figure.1

Al-Hayat media center photo taken as a screenshot from the video of ISIS published on their website in 2016

In the video published (Sputnik News: 20/05/2016), there were several teenagers and children from Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines who went to Syria. They burned their passport and gave a message, "We renounce your so-called citizenship. We join soldiers that you will never be able to defeat. It is Allah's promise." They tried to encourage people who are radical to join them.

Besides, Rome (Rumiyah) is one of the online journals of ISIS. They started publishing in 2016. Publication languages are in Arabic, English, Turkish, and French and recently begin to issue their declarations in Urdu, Bahasa Malay, and Bahasa Indonesia. They are giving general information regarding Jihad action in different countries, how they do the operation, and give courage to their followers. the tenth issue of Rumiyah focuses on East Asia with the title of the magazine, Jihad in East Asia. in recent years, ISIS attacked the western countries, especially in Central Europe and Turkey.

ISIS attacked Manchester Arena after a concert by an American singer. the world's attention focused on the British city of Manchester, and suddenly radical groups erupted in the Philippines. So it came as a surprise when, several thousand miles from Manchester, the ISIS in Southeast Asia erupted the city of Marawi violently in the southern Philippines, Mindanao Island. Many Muslim armed groups in the country's south, including some commanders of the violent Abu Sayyaf, have pledged loyalty to ISIS (The Guardian: 28.08.2016).

When the siege of Marawi by ISIS from the Maute and Abu Sayyaf groups was almost two-month, the unsettling events in the southern Philippines served as a grim reminder of a militancy and terrorism problem threatening the security and stability of much of Southeast Asia (Forbes: 29.06.2017). Abu Sayyaf is one of the extremist groups in the southern Philippines. Abu Sayyaf is notorious for kidnapping for ransom and attacks on civilians and the army. Several of its factions declared their allegiance to the ISIS in 2014.
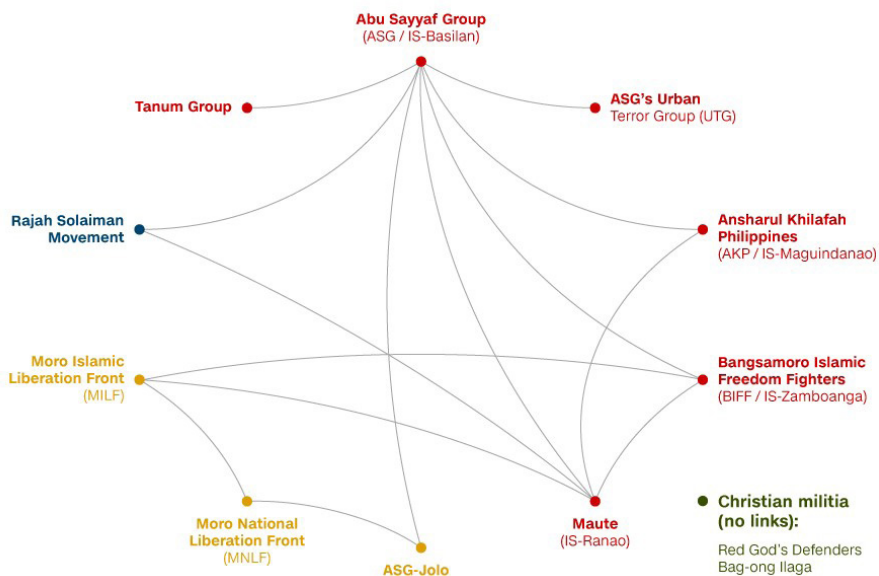
Figure.2

Institute for Policy Analysis of conflict; Philippine institute for political violence and terrorism research

Figure.3

An ISIS fighter erects the flag of the so-called Islamic State atop a school near a mosque in Marawi, southern Philippines, on May 24, 2017. Source CNN (http://edition.cnn.com/2017/05/28/asia/isis-threat-southeast-asia/index.html)

The Sulu Sea is the intersection of Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines. For extremists, it is accessible to reach the city of Tarakan (Indonesia) or Malaysia. Indonesia suspects that some of the extremists involved in the siege of Marawi may have slipped away during the battle with military sources of the Philippine. in recent years many ships passing through the Sulu Sea, including several Indonesian ships, have been hijacked by the Abu Sayyaf militant group, based Southern Philippines, group demand money in return for the safety of the detained crews.
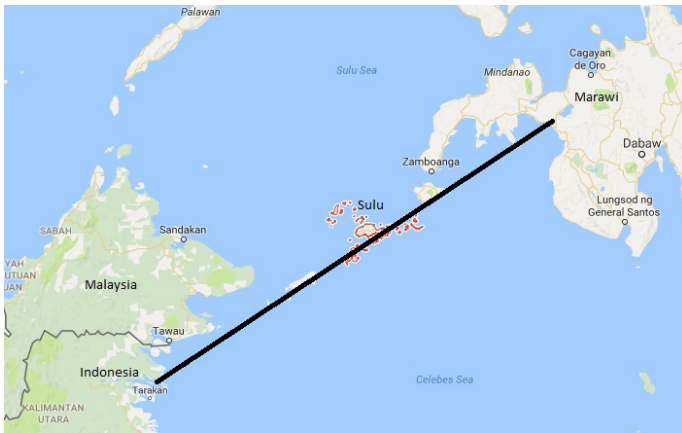
Figure 4

The Sulu Sea between Malaysia, Indonesia, and Marawi (Philippines)

Indonesia, Philippines, and Malaysia deployed a warship to reconnaissance patrol the waters plagued by this threat, signaling the start of unheard-of joint patrols by the countries that share borders in the region. There is a sense of urgency in the joint patrols following the alarming collapse of security in the southern Philippines after ISIS-linked fighters, including some from Indonesia and Malaysia, overran the city of Marawi. Malaysian Defence Minister Dato said, "I expected other Southeast Asian countries to participate in more joint patrols in the future to ensure security and safe travel throughout the region." Extremist groups are connected, and terrorism has become transitional. the national police of the Philippines reported that 38 Indonesians involved in the Marawi conflict. Four of them died, and the Philippines government deported 12 others, and the other 22 are still in Marawi (TheJakartaPost: 20.06.2017).

Malaysian government estimates that there are 50.000 ISIS sympathizers in Malaysia, a vast number compared to a country population. It is difficult to find out how many there are ISIS sympathizers in Indonesia because there are more than 17.000 islands. Still, at least there are some research radicalism maps, especially islands where the most population exists.

Regarding research of Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta (UIN), the following Table.5, Kalimantan is intolerant, and there is a tendency to radicalism.

Therefore, ISIS members tried to link from Marawi to Sulu after reaching Kalimantan (Tarakan). Social media and applications such as Telegram, WhatsApp, etc. facilitate them to communicate local extremist groups or gain more supporters for their goal.
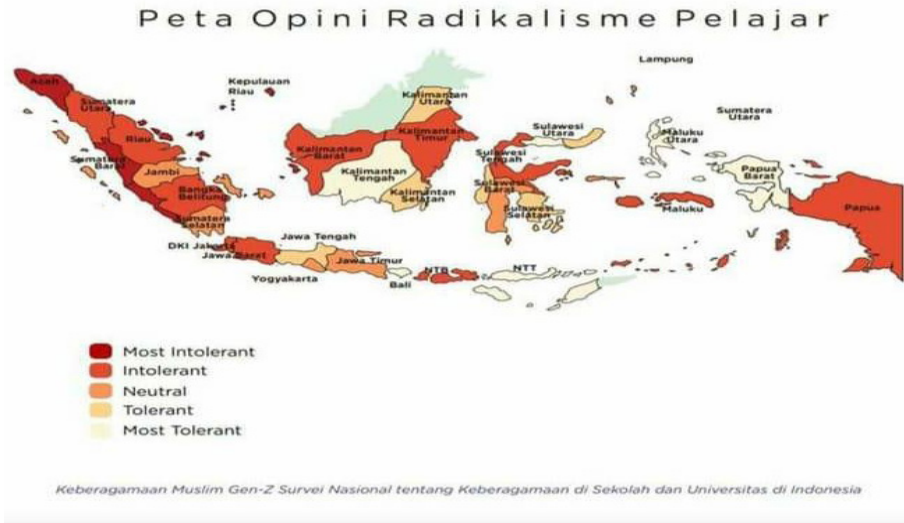
figure.5
PPIM Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta

ISIS published made massive propaganda via social media in Bahasa Indonesia, also Bahasa Malay, which are similar to each other. Anyone who speaks Malay will understand Bahasa, and so will people who speak Bahasa (more than 90 percent of Muslims in Southeast Asia) (Nawab: 14.09.2017). Nowadays, the internet or social media propaganda remains the most important means of recruitment.

Indonesia has the most Muslim population in the world, after Marawi siege worries about the growing impact of ISIS in Southeast Asia. Telegram is a popular messaging platform for Islamic State sympathizers. They use chatrooms with hundreds of members, besides holding private conversations. Indonesian authorities have blocked access to some Telegram channels, saying it has several "full of radical and terrorist propaganda" forums. the authority has blocked 11 of Telegram's Domain Name Systems (DNS) for its web-based service on July 14, 2017, and they would

be reopened these soon, as said by Communications Minister Rudiantara in a statement (Reuters: 01.09.2017). Pavel Durov, the founder of Telegram, noted that "We have discussed ways to block publicly available propaganda of terrorism on Telegram, which is something we have committed to do globally, and particularly in Indonesia," a joint news conference with the minister (Reuters: 01.09.2017). Durov added that it could take about 24 to 36 hours for the app to shut down public channels with terrorism content. Still, a direct communication line to Indonesian authorities would allow it to "shut them down more efficiently within several hours." Also, there has been considerable pushback against the ideology of ISIS.

Indonesia is home to two of the most significant Muslim mass movements in the world – first is Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and the second is Muhammadiyah (Liow: 2016). Those movements are much more moderates than other actions. Both organizations are active and well-known by society. Therefore, their declaration has an essential impact on the community. Muhammadiyah organization has many schools, universities, hospitals, and such institutions in different regions of Indonesia. the organizations' followers are approximately 30 million, which means it is a reputable organization in Indonesia. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) followers are about 40 million and the most prominent religious organization in Indonesia. Both religious movements endeavor at countering the ISIS narrative in Indonesia; nevertheless, as seen above in Table 5, a massive number of population intolerant and most intolerant.

On May 13, 2018, a couple of days before Ramadhan, a series of terrorist attacks occurred in Surabaya, the second biggest city in Indonesia. There was a big terror attack made by family members below.

Figure 6

Dita with his family suicide bombers including children (Photo: East Java Police HQ)

Evan Hudojo, 11, and Ethan Hudojo, 8, went to the entrance of the Santa Maria Catholic Church

located in East Java in Surabaya. At that moment, the two brothers, Firman Halim, 16, and Yusof Fadhil, 18, waited at the cross of the church on a motorcycle and detonated explosives that they were carrying.

At the entrance of the Santa Maria Catholic church in Surabaya on Sunday at 7.30 am local time, the attack killed all four boys and four other church members (Channelnewsasia: 27.05.2018). Then, their father drove a bomb-laden car to the Surabaya Centre Pentecostal Church at 7.35 am local time and detonated explosives. After that, his wife, Puji Kuswati, 42, and her two daughters, Fadhila Sari, 12, and Famela Rizqita, nine, brought a bomb attack on Diponegoro Indonesian Christian Church (Channel News Asia: 27.05.2018)..

As a result of this attack, 12 people died, including the suicide bombers. the Father of that family convinced family members of the suicide bombings. He said that all of them would gather in heaven after this suicide. Former Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) bomb-maker Ali Fauzi Manzi, said to Channel NewsAsia. "That is their belief, and that is their ideology (Channelnewsasia: 27.05.2018).

According to Indonesian police chief Tito Karnavian, Dita was the branch of Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) linked with ISIS since 2015. There was no proof that Dita went to Syria and returned to Indonesia. Tito Karnavian believed that they had learned how to make bombs via the **Internet and social media**. Surabaya attack was the third attack of JAD since they linked with ISIS every year. After a couple of days, another attack occurred in Sumatra Utara. Four sword-wielding men were shot dead, and one police officer also died. the investigators believed that the families in the attacks on Sunday and Monday were all part of the same cell of Jamaah Ansharut Daulah. This Indonesian terrorist group had declared loyalty to the Islamic State (New York Times: 16.05.2018). Islamic State claimed responsibility for those attacks in Indonesia and published a statement via social media (Amaq).

CONCLUSION

Social media has a significant role in societies; even radical groups used social media actively for spreading their magazine and reached ISIS in 2014. Abu Sayyaf is one of the extremist groups in the Philippines notorious for kidnapping for ransom and attacks on civilians and the army. in 2014, they accepted the "Global Jihad" of

ISIS, and some of its factions have declared their allegiance to ISIS. in Indonesia, there was a massive attack in Bali in 2002 by JAD (Jamaah Ansharud Daulah). After this attack, there was no such attack until JAD accepted the declaration of ISIS in 2014. the periodical terrorist attack appeared in Indonesia after JAD received a claim of ISIS. Also, Marawi siege in the Philippines, and regarding Malaysian authority, there were 50.000 people feeling sympathy for ISIS. All cases indicated that ISIS re-activated extremist groups in Southeast Asia. the 10th issue of Rumiyah, which is ISIS magazine regularly published, focused on Southeast Asia and mentioned about Jihadist from Southeast Asia (Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, etc.) to give courage to followers join them and gain more sympathizer. Internet and social media one of the significant are tools of ISIS to gain more followers and connect with local extremist groups. They used "**Twitter"** for spreading their magazine and declarations, "**Youtube**" for giving to courage their followers and "**Telegram**" for communicating with their followers or members.

Despite the measures taken after the siege of Marawi in the Philippines, terrorist attacks are unavoidable in Indonesia. Regional governments should remain alert to ISIS or related extremist group's developments, especially in terms of monitoring both returnees as well as communications between militants in Syria and their counterparts and members back homeland. Most of the attacks in Indonesia came from local extremist group members inspired by ISIS. These cases indicate how ISIS re-activated local extreme group members.

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Iran Defensive Attitudes Towards United States' Offensive Politics: Analysis of Iran's Nuclear Development Programs

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Abstrak

Artikel ini menjelaskan tentang sikap yang ditunjukkan Iran terhadap serangan, tekanan, maupun kecaman Amerika Serikat khususnya dalam program perkembangan nuklir mereka. Melalui teori ofensif-defensif dari Stephen van Evera, artikel ini menjelaskan empat determinan yang menjadikan Iran akhirnya menerapkan sikap defensif terhadap sikap ofensif dari Amerika Serikat. Empat determinan tersebut meliputi perkembangan teknologi militer, kondisi geografis, konstelasi sosial politik, dan tatanan diplomasi. Selanjutnya artikel ini memaparkan empat determinan tersebut dan mengaitkannya dengan program pengembangan nuklir Iran dan juga respon dari Amerika Serikat. Dengan demikian, terlihat bahwa Iran menunjukkan sikap defensif terhadap sikap ofensif Amerika Serikat.

Kata kunci: *Ofensif, Defensif, Pengembangan nuklir Iran, Amerika Serikat, Sosial politik.*

Abstract:

This article explains the attitude that Iran shows towards the attacks, pressures, and condemnation of the United States, especially in its nuclear development program. Through Stephen van Evera's offensive-defensive theory, this article explains four determinants that led Iran to finally adopt a defensive attitude towards all offensive from the United States. the four determinants include the development of military technology, geographical conditions, socio-political constellation, and the order of diplomacy. Furthermore, this article describes the four determinants and relates them to Iran's nuclear development program

and the response of the United States. Thus, it appears that Iran is showing a defensive towards the United States offensive.

Keywords: *Offensive, Defensive, Iran's nuclear development, United States, Social politics.*

INTRODUCTION

Iran's nuclear program is currently a hot issue discussed internationally. the development of this technology is reaping the problems of the United States and other Western countries, which incidentally already has thousands of nuclear weapons. According to data obtained from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), there are at least eight countries that have around 4,400 operational nuclear weapons. These countries are the United States, Russia, Britain, France, China, India, Pakistan, and Israel (Herianto, 2013, p. 168).

Iran's efforts in developing nuclear weapons technology have not been in vain. They get a lot of support from non-aligned countries. Iran is indeed active in building relations by doing diplomatic missions and is also intensely approaching its non-aligned countries on an ongoing basis. Fortunately, Iran's efforts get a quick response from these countries, marked when representatives of non-aligned countries announced support for Iran over the development of the nuclear program at a meeting of members of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) (Gogary, 2013, p. 143).

However, not all countries, especially Western countries, welcome the development of Iran's nuclear technology. the United States is the most violent country in opposing Iran's nuclear program. Most recently, when Iran conducted missile weapons testing for national defense, the US accused it as a program violating UN resolution (Kompas, 2018).

The United States always tries to stop Iran's domination in the Middle East region, because they are doing propaganda to prevent other developing countries from maintaining its existence as a Super Power country. in early 2002, US then-President George Herbert Walker Bush said in a congress the «axis of evil,» which included North

Korea, Iran, and Iraq (Brinkley, 2004, p. 945). Although Bush's speech was devoted to Iraq under Saddam Hussein's leadership, the US still regarded Iran as a to-watch-out-for enemy.

Furthermore, the author focuses on the attitude shown by Iran through its nuclear program developed towards American pressure and attacks from various angles and sides, since various efforts have also been made by the United States to prevent Iran from developing its weapons further. the author tries to untangle the tension between the United States and Iran in its nuclear development program using offensive-defensive theory.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research method used is a descriptive-analytical method, which is a method of collecting data by gathering relevant data to the discussion first, then analyzing them. the data collection technique used in this study was the documentation technique. Documentation technique is a technique of collecting data sourced from documents, such as books, journals, newspapers, magazines, and research reports as research data (Moehnilabib, 1997, p. 89). the author will describe Iran's defensive

attitude actualized in concrete steps, especially regarding Iran's nuclear program to deal with pressure from the United States. the author filtered all sources to produce accurate data accommodating forms of tension that occurred substantially and permanently.

The theory used was Stephen Van Evera's offensive-defensive theory. This theory adopts the concept of a security dilemma owned by Robert Jervis. the security dilemma itself can be a form of action and reaction that occurs in countries. Actions taken by one country in increasing its security will have an impact on the protection of another country as an effort to weaken the safety of these countries (Alghifari & Letticia, 2016, p. 20). the basic pattern of offensive-defensive theory balance is that when offense dominates, what happens is an increase in the security dilemma, then followed by arms competition. Eventually, war will likely occur. However, people can avoid it through defense more dominant than offense (Glaser & Kauffman, 1998, p. 45).

Based on this explanation, the author will describe Iran's behavior based on four determinants contained in the offensive-defensive theory in which Iran's position is as

a defender, as follows (Evera, 1998, p. 16-22):

a) Military Technology and Doctrine

    For the aggressor country or the defender country, military technology can undoubtedly benefit them. the change accompanied by an increase in military capability will be from data on Iranian spending and spending. the author will, of course, see the difference in the perception of the United States government as a factor that makes Iran strengthen its military.

b) Geography

    Geographically, Iran is adjacent to the Persian Gulf, the Gulf of Oman, and the Caspian Gulf. Being in a strategic position for trade routes certainly makes America want to control the region to secure its national interests. Besides, Iran's geographical location holds substantial resources. These resources come from oil and gas reserves, whose production costs are lower than other oil-producing countries (Printina, 2019, p. 50).

c) Political and Social Order

    The 1979 Iranian Revolution was the momentum of Ayatollah Khomeini to use his influence in changing foreign policy, especially with the US. Khomeini has laid Iran's political foundation that is not in line with the US, then followed by his successors. It is the starting point for the emergence of attacks and unrelenting pressure from the US.

d) Diplomatic Arrangement

    Iran conducts diplomacy with US non-affiliated alliance countries as back-ups in strengthening the country's resilience, also supported by the strengthening of Iranian military forces as an essential element to face national threats that could occur at any time.

DISCUSSION

Technology and Military Development

In 1960, Iran, then led by president Shah Reza Pahlavi, developed its nuclear power. At that time, Iran received a lot of help from Western countries such as America, Germany, and France. Iran's nuclear installation was initially only for research purposes with 5 megawatts of power, which

then began operating in 1967, then added cooperation between Iran and France and Germany for the construction of power plants. However, on its way, when the end of Reza Pahlavi's rule, Iran's cooperation with these Western countries ended. Iran continues its nuclear development program after the revolution without the will of the West. This issue is what triggers Iran in the Western view as a power that can endanger them, no longer as partners (Sahide, 2017, p. 154).

In 1979, Iran underwent a revolution, and relations between the two countries became broken. Muslim politics also became very influential towards the end of the 20th century, both on the perception of Islam and Muslim and Western relations. This issue continues to haunt the US causing distrust and shock due to the fall of the Pahlavi's regime. the White House worries about the emergence of radical Islamic fundamentalism or Khomeinism, which will spread to other countries after this revolution (Esposito, 2010, p. 99). Ayatollah Khomeini, as the leader of the Iranian revolution, even gave the nickname to America as the Great Satan. It is what makes America always blame Iran as a country that causes conditions

in the Middle East to deteriorate, especially in the Gulf region. Unfortunately, relations between Iran and America also reheated when Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was elected president of Iran. America began to shake Ahmadinejad with various issues, including nuclear issues. the controversy over Iran's nuclear program by the US becomes a revisionist force in the Middle East regional system. It is this factor that makes America see Iran as a serious threat to US interests in the Middle East. According to America, Iran is slowly but surely becoming the leading country in the Middle East region Sahide, 2013, p. 100-102).

The government, the Iranian military, and also its population widely support Iran's nuclear program. At the same time, obtaining nuclear weapons capability is rarely explicitly supported by Iranian officials or others. Nuclear weapons are regularly as counterproductive and anti-Islamic. All of Iran's nuclear infrastructure - underground enrichment facilities in Natanz, uranium conversion plants in Esfahan, Bushehr nuclear power plant, heavy water plutonium production plant in Arak, and enrichment facilities in Qom, located inside a mountain base operated by Revolutionary Guards

- shows the Iranian leadership. It is pursuing nuclear capabilities that can lead to the production of operational nuclear weapons.

After the end of the Iran-Iraq War, the nuclear program had a revitalization. There was significant progress during the presidency of Khatami (1997-2005), which in turn was a relatively moderate and pragmatism period in Iran's foreign policy. Khatami sought a policy of engagement with the IAEA and the European Union (EU) to reach a compromise on the nuclear program. Iran even suspended uranium enrichment in 2003 as a sign of commitment. Khatami's policy does not lead to a complete halt to the nuclear program, but it did open up opportunities for Iran and the international community to resolve the nuclear standoff. It also facilitated Khatami's efforts to reduce Iran's isolation and improve relations with critical regional countries, such as Saudi Arabia, and with European powers, such as France and Germany. As a result, Iran was able to attract more significant foreign trade and investment (Davis et al., 2011).

Nuclear Program Agreement

Today, the development of science and technology is progressing so rapidly, not least in terms of the use of nuclear power. the development of nuclear technology is indeed inseparable from the conditions and political situation during the world war. It causes developed nuclear technology to make weapons for war in the form of nuclear bombs. From this fact, the term nuclear is often associated with weapons (Akhadi, 1997, p. 10). Nuclear weapons are the primary concern of countries in the international community, both for the owner and non-possessor of nuclear weapons. Nuclear tests conducted by countries outside P5 pose a threat not only to P5 countries themselves but to the international community in general. Nuclear is a problem that disrupts global security and causes the future of world peace on the verge of collapse (Yustiningrum, 2016, p. 24). the figure of Nuclear Ownership Countries, 2018

Nuclear weapons by country, 2018

Note: Figures are estimates
Source: SIPRI   BBC
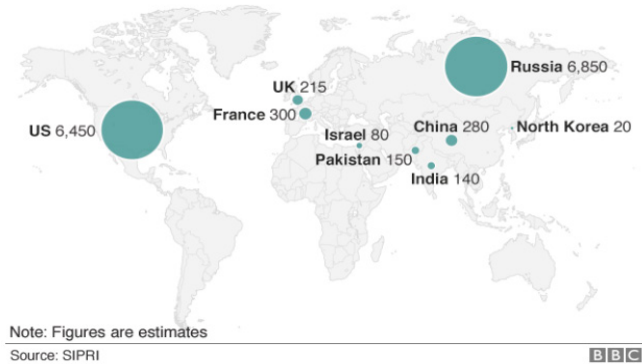
In 2015, there was a world nuclear agreement that was mutually agreed upon by Britain, France, Germany, China, Russia, and the US. the critical parameter of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Act (JCPOA) is a discussion of the Islamic Republic of Iran. the nuclear program agreement took place in Lausanne, Switzerland. the main points of the debate on the deal, are (jps.ucpress.edu, 2015):

1. Iran has agreed to reduce about two-thirds of the installed centrifuges. Iran will change from having around 19,000 installed today to 6,104 installed according to the agreement, with only 5,060 uranium looking rich for ten years. All6, 104 centrifuges are IR-1, Iran's first-generation centrifuges. Iran has agreed not to enrich uranium by more than 3.67 percent for at least 15 years.

2. Iran has decided to reduce its current stockpile of around 10,000 kg of low-enriched uranium (LEU) to 300 kilograms from 3.67 percent LEU for 15 years. All centrifugal infrastructure and over-enrichment will be placed in IAEA-monitored storage and will only be used as a replacement for outward operations and equipment.

3. Iran has agreed not to build new facilities to enrich uranium for 15 years.

4. Iran's flight timeline - the time needed for Iran to get enough fissile material for one weapon - is currently valued at 2 to 3 months. That time frame will be extended at least one year, for at least ten years, under this framework.

After reaching an agreement from the negotiations, on July

14, 2015, US President Barack Obama held a press conference at the White House. He explained that the negotiations aimed to spread the distribution of nuclear weapons in the Middle East so that the international community could ensure that Iran would obey and respect this agreement by not developing nuclear weapons. the argument presented by Obama regarding the nuclear deal with Iran is that America is free from potential direct threats to the national security of its country, which can come from countries that possess nuclear weapons. Iran is one of the states noted by America, especially in Bush's era as a country to watch out for and anticipate (Rofii, 2015, p. 32).

With Iran's oil production reaching 2 million barrels per day, the US hopes to partner with them again to meet the needs of large-scale energy supply. This step will benefit the US so that it can compensate for Russia, which dominates Iran. Besides, Western countries' embargoes have narrowed Iran's market reach in the past decade. the US and the UK are the countries that will benefit from the situation. the two countries that have economic motives will use the oil sector, such as Shell, Chevron, and British

Petroleum, to get involved in Iran's oil and gas exploration projects. the latest technology owned by the West can produce Iranian oil by 3.3 million barrels per day. US and European entrepreneurs choose a realistic strategy from this causality. They will get oil and gas resources, while Iran will be able to expand its market reach to an international level (Rofii, 2015, p. 33).

Doctrine and Geographic Conditions

Iran has the doctrine of military defense as the world countries in general. Nevertheless, Iran is unique in the aspect of military security. the uniqueness lies in Iran's defense strategy that relies on strengthening to defend from enemy attacks. It is the main philosophy and doctrine of Iran's military defense system. the doctrine of this defensive teaching comes from the teachings of Islam, in which the history of Islam itself shows how the Prophet Muhammad never started a war.

All types of warfare carried out by the Prophet Muhammad are in the context of resistance and self-defense against enemies who attack and want to wipe out Muslims along with Islam. Islam does not allow its people to be aggressive, but Muslims must be firm, and always ready to

face all possible invasions from outside. This formidable defense will, in turn, avoid or reduce the enemy's bad intentions to attack. the phrase that had been conveyed by Ayatullah Khomeini to the Iranian military commanders made the nationalism spirit of the combat troops burn. They are to maintain the defense and security of the country from various enemy threats. However, they also will not be rash and without calculation in deciding something. They believe that a defensive strategy is the best way to make enemies think twice if they want to attack them.

Before the Iranian Revolution, the US considered Iran as an essential economic partner by looking at the results of its location and geographical conditions. Iran, as a 'silk route' and an abundant producer of gas and petroleum, makes the US not miss the opportunity to establish cooperation. Both of them established trade relations in the military and petroleum fields. the US is a significant supplier of weapons to Iran to meet the needs of combat weapons. Also, about 20% of all oil obtained by the US comes from the Middle East plains. But behind it all, there is a secret mission brought by the US and one of its interests behind cooperation

with Middle Eastern countries. the purpose is to remove the influence of the Soviet Union from the Arab world. the US wants to invest three things to strengthen its impact, namely: First, exploiting natural resources to gain as much wealth as possible. Second, the US wants to change the ideology in the Middle East that is synonymous with using the Islamic system by turning it into an ideology of liberal democracy. Third, the US's desire to dominate the power in the Middle East to achieve glory (Sahide, 2019, p. 154).

The Iranian Revolution has changed the political constellation and US national interests in the Middle East. the US and Israel are the countries affected by the revolution and have suffered many losses. the US has lost its guaranteed security of the oil routes they desperately need, while losing partners to its modern weapons industry (Sahide, 2013, p. 94). Ayatollah Khomeini created an ideological idea in which Islam was by combining Iranian nationalism, which originated in religion and belief in the transnational character and the global mission of Muslims through propaganda, role models, and weapons revolutions to spread Islam. This idea is exporting Islam Revolutionary (Esposito, 1996, p. 127). the influence of Iran's

dependence on the US is slowly disappearing. Iran can stand without US assistance. in addition to voicing as an anti-imperialist state, Iran is also very concerned about its defense and security aspects, which are essential aspects of defending the country.

Social and Political Constellations

Iran is a country with a systematic strategy in determining policy so that Iran is not afraid of US criticism. Even the US efforts to immerse Iran so far have not produced maximum results yet. the US worries if Iran will dominate the Middle East region because this will make the US lose its influence in the area. There are at least seven reasons why America did not attack Iran, namely (dunia.tempo.co, 2019):

1. Iran has qualified military skills to deal with the United States in recent decades. Iran also has experience in learning US tactics and strategy through observation during the decade of the Iraq war.

2. The Iranian Army and the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps will not put their weapons on the initial attack. Iran will not just give up on the initial US attack.

3. Iran's Intelligence Ministry is one of the best in the world.

4. The Hezbollah Resistance Movement is likely to assist Iran's resistance to the US.

5. Iran has impressive capabilities in the development of cyberspace.

6. The US military deserves a rest after nearly a decade of the continuing war.

7. The US attack on Iran will bring the United States into a bigger war.

The seven reasons reinforce that the United States cannot attack Iran directly. Hence, the US uses the nuclear issue and, even more recently, is an Iranian missile test as a propaganda tool to undermine Iran's image in the international world. the United States is well aware that if it conducts a direct attack on Iran, then the US will get a lot of damage.

During this time, Western countries have turned a blind eye to Israeli nuclear bombs that threaten security and peace in the Middle East. But on the contrary, they always suppress and prevent Iran from possessing nuclear and nuclear technology, even though it is one of the most simple and legal rights of the Iranian people. Iran's closeness to Venezuela, Cuba, North Korea,

China, and Russia has raised fears for America. They worry that the international front against American imperialism and hegemony will form after the ineffectiveness of the non-aligned movement. the fear of the United States is increasing, especially with the increasing relations and cooperation between Iran-China-Venezuela, especially in the oil sector (Gogary, 2013, p. 143-144).

Western countries only focus on finding loopholes to weaken Iran in terms of military power and weapons. Iran must accept criticism after condemnation carried out by America and its allies. But Iran proves that they are a country that is not weak and timid. Iran remains unmoved by US efforts to stop its existence in developing weapons.

Implicitly, Khomeini's statement encouraging the military to strengthen weapons was an effort to prevent war. If Iran had a weak military defense, it might have long been Israel alone or with America attacking Iran. However, because Iran's air and sea defenses are substantial, including successfully dropping a US spy plane, the RQ-170 Sentinel at the end of 2011, the facts made Israel think long before attacking Iran. Thus, Iran's military defensive doctrine is essentially deterrence or deterrence (Gogary, 2013, p. 178).

Iran's military budget statistics provide an accurate picture of the adoption of its defensive doctrine, even though the Iranian economy is ranked 17th largest in the world and facing threats of attack from the US. Psychologically, the shadow of the US threat could disrupt Iran's calm due to the psywar. However, Iran still has the confidence to uphold the principle of defensive defense. Even though Iran currently has a low budget, the region highly respects the Iranian military. the following is a list of Military Expenditures from the top 5 countries (Herianto, 2013, p. 179):

Countries	Military Expenditures Budget 2010 ($)	% in 2009
1. USA	$698,105,000,000	4,7%
2. China	$114,000,000,000	2,2%
3. France	$61,285,000,000	2,5%
4. UK	$57,424,000,000	2,7%
5. Russia	$52,586,000,000	4,3%
6. Iran (number 25)	$9,174,000,000	1,8%

Iran is a budget-saving country for military spending, proved by Iran's success by ranking 25th in the world, even in the 6th largest in the Middle East. Still, Iran is an independent country. They use domestic scientists and engineers to produce weapons tailored to their defensive needs. This Iranian effort can save high costs. Iran prefers soft power in strengthening its country, namely culture, science and technology, and foreign policy (Herianto, 2013, p. 179-181).

In contrast to Iran, the US allocates more funds for defense. With the number of defense equipment of the two countries today, the United States military strength is far more reliable than Iran. the following are data on the military power of the United States and Iran in 2019 (globalfirepower. com, 2019):

Military Forces	USA	Iran
1. Budget	$716,000,000,000	$6.300.000.000
2. Active Personnel	1,281,900 people	532,000 people
3. Land Defense	6,287 weapons	1,634 weapons
4. Marine Defense	415 weapons	398 weapons
5. Air Defense	13,398 weapons	509 weapons

The two tables above prove that, even though Iran has a minimal military budget and less military power compared to the United States, it has other ways to manage both, starting from a defensive strategy, using scientists and engineers to prioritize soft power. It is what the United States scares from Iran.

In May 2018, US President Donald Trump withdrew from the international nuclear agreement and reinstated sanctions on Iran. Trump criticized the deal because there were no points of restriction on the development of Iranian defense equipment, according to him. Trump said that he would not let Iran continue to develop nuclear because it could threaten US national defense. Nuclear agreement that is valid until 2030 is to make Iran free to continue its nuclear development program, so that it will create a contestation of nuclear weapons ownership in the

Middle East (international.kompas.com, 2019).

Furthermore, the US officially left the Iranian nuclear agreement on May 8, 2018, and again imposed economic sanctions on him. the United States has still harassed Iran by entering a new phase. the US is very objected to the ballistic missile test activities carried out by Iran. However, Iran reiterated that its missile program was only for defense testing. Not only that, but the US also tried to influence other countries to simultaneously criticize Iran, seen by the US's insistence on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to denounce Iran. on the other hand, the US also does not hesitate to impose sanctions on Iran, even for the most stringent ones.

Iran Diplomatic and United States Pressure

US concern about Iran is a situation that can undoubtedly disturb the sound sleep of the White House. Ahmadinejad's strict statement that Iran will remain consistent with the principles of the 1979 Islamic Revolution further aggravated the condition. Also not spared, Iran responds to all forms of political maneuvering carried out by Western countries. So far, Iran has also been active in

establishing diplomatic relations with outside countries such as Russia and North Korea providing an injection of strength both morally and materially so that Iran can stand firm under US pressure. of course, the countries that Iran embraced to form diplomacy are US non-affiliated countries. This strategy also makes the US pressure the intensity against Iran.

In the Obama era, the US conducted foreign policy towards Iran by imposing economic sanctions and damaging the stability of the Iranian economy by reducing imports of oil and its petroleum products. the action aimed to isolate vital objects such as the Central Bank of Iran, which has an essential role in regulating Iran's trade flows. Obama also wanted Tehran to stop nuclear development activities. Even Obama directly threatened foreign investors who were still in the oil business with Iran. the threat was in the form of decisive action against financial institutions in their countries (dw.com, 2012).

The pressure on Iran does not end there. Efforts to intervene in Iran in the Trump era are much stricter. Trump gave a warning to any countries cooperating with Iran. They will not be allowed to establish cooperation with the US. Trump

issued this statement after the US left the Iranian nuclear agreement and re-imposed sanctions on Iran (bbc.com, 2018). the US's strong stance by imposing full sanctions on Iran aimed to make them feel pressured that they wanted to re-open negotiations with the US regarding its nuclear program. the US also hoped that the countries involved in the signing of the JCPOA could follow in his footsteps so that Iran would be in a challenging and increasingly pressured condition (Rahim, 2019, p. 31).

US foreign policy towards Iran during Obama and Trump are relatively similar. the two US leaders imposed severe sanctions to pressure the government in Tehran. Even Trump continues to exert pressure by conducting a psywar against Iran, especially after the US officially left the Iranian Nuclear Treaty and maintains a new round of implementing sanctions for Iran. the US is pressing Iran from various sides, such as bilateral and multilateral policies. With the repressive attitude shown, the US hopes that its systems can provide turbulence for Iran's foreign policy, especially in the economic and trade fields. This condition is essential. If the economy and business are thriving, then what happens is

domestic instability that can lead to conflict and division. This kind of situation is what the US wants to maintain dominance in the Middle East region without interference from Iran.

CONCLUSION

Based on the above discussion, Iran uses a defensive stance in the face of pressure and attacks from the United States. Four determinants describe Iran as a defender. the first is technological and military developments embodied in the nuclear development program, and the second is Iran's geographical condition as a 'silk route' and abundant oil and gas producers. Third, the social and political constellation of Iran is so systematic in determining policy, in which Iran in producing weapons is more utilizing the engineers and scientists they have. Fourth is Iran's diplomatic order by embracing non-affiliated US countries. Iran's defensive attitude is to offset the offensive manner carried out by the United States. Although it does not attack America directly, Iran is always alert and ready at any time if America wants a war. Until now, America does not have enough courage to fight and attack Iran directly. Instead, they only

denounce it with a variety of things, accusations, and reasons, especially regarding nuclear. It launches these criticisms with the hope that Iran could not move anymore and do anything to develop its weapons.

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Current Phenomenon Tension Between the United States and Iran in the Middle East

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Abstract

T*he tensions between the United States and Iran, as can be seen lately, have reached a rare point in the many escalations in recent years in the Middle East. Apart from the historical factors that began since Iran succeeded in carrying out a revolution by subverting the regime of Shah Mohamed Reza Pahlavi, another factor further heightening the geopolitical dynamics of the region was the departure of the US under President Donald Trump from nuclear agreement of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), followed by the enactment of tighter economic sanctions on Iran. in this article, the writer tried to explain the phenomenon of tensions between the two countries using the national interest theory according to Scott Burchill, by reading the strategic goals of the political attitudes of the US in the Middle East for its national interest. the findings of this article confirm that the US does not want a large force in the region disturbing its national interest. However, the US also does not want to launch an open war against Iran but rather tighten a series of sanctions economically.*

Keywords: *Tension, United States, Iran, National Interest, Middle East, JCPOA*

Abstrak

Ketegangan antara Amerika Serikat dan Iran, seperti dapat dilihat belakangan ini, telah mencapai titik langka dalam banyak peningkatan dalam beberapa tahun terakhir di Timur Tengah. Terlepas dari faktor-faktor historis yang dimulai sejak Iran berhasil melakukan revolusi dengan menumbangkan rezim Shah Mohamed Reza Pahlavi, faktor lain yang lebih meningkatkan

dinamika geopolitik di kawasan itu adalah kepergian AS di bawah Presiden Donald Trump dari perjanjian nuklir negara tersebut. Rencana Aksi Bersama Komprehensif (JCPOA), diikuti dengan diberlakukannya sanksi ekonomi yang lebih ketat terhadap Iran. Dalam artikel ini, penulis mencoba menjelaskan fenomena ketegangan antara kedua negara menggunakan teori kepentingan nasional menurut Scott Burchill, dengan membaca tujuan strategis dari sikap politik AS di Timur Tengah untuk kepentingan nasionalnya. Temuan artikel ini mengkonfirmasi bahwa AS tidak ingin kekuatan besar di kawasan itu mengganggu kepentingan nasionalnya. Namun, AS juga tidak ingin melancarkan perang terbuka terhadap Iran tetapi lebih memperketat serangkaian sanksi ekonomi.

Kata kunci: *Ketegangan, Amerika Serikat, Iran, Kepentingan Nasional, Timur Tengah, JCPOA*

INTRODUCTION

In the beginning, it was hegemony. It is a desire to rule by suppressing weak social structures. Gramsci defines hegemony as the embodiment of a class and all its components carrying out the power project to grip the lower classes through violence and persuasion (Simon 2004, 16). It is illustrated in the recent phenomenon, the tensions between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran. America, as a superpower, moves all its components and instruments to control Iran's "class" state as a structure under the United States.

The desire of the United States to launch a more massive hegemony to Iran began when Donald Trump brought the United States out of Iran's nuclear agreement or the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). Even since the beginning of his campaign, Trump has been touting for bringing America out of the agreement, which Trump called the "worst agreement" ever made by the United States. Indeed, this criticism leads to the 44th United States President, Barack Obama, because the agreement was made and agreed during Obama's leadership.

Iran, as the first Islamic country in the world succeeding in igniting its revolutionary fire and was very popular in 1979 (Esposito 1997, 77), up to now has values and

significance for political maps and policymakers in the Middle East. One of its strategic values is because politically Iran has control over the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz, which is a shipping lane for oil carriers from the region to Western countries, besides Iran itself is one of the largest oil-producing countries in the region (Burdah 2008, 66–67).

In addition to the strategic geopolitical value making these two countries to face each other diametrically, there is another fundamental factor that is quite primordial, namely excessive fear of monolithic Islam, which for John L. Esposito is an unfounded Western myth, but it continues to be produced for the sake of achieving certain interests. Without being based on authentic historical reality about Islam, Western commentators on Islam have distorted much of the reality of Islam itself (Esposito 1996, 202). They are actually building a myth to legitimize hegemonic purposes. Including in the case of Iran, America made the main spectrum in building meta narration about the latent dangers of the influence of the Islamic Revolution to achieve its national interest.

Since Ayatollah Khomeini appeared as one of the symbols for the resistance movement over Western hegemony, it was increasingly emphasized above the view that Islamic fundamentalism or militant Islam is a real threat to the West. How Khomeini discussed frontal narratives by calling the United States "Great Satan" or "Destroy America!" as a jihad against foreign infidels who have usurped the rights of Muslims as an oppressed party (Esposito 1996, 13).

In recent times, several important events have occurred, which have either directly or indirectly added to the escalation between the United States and Iran. From shooting down the most sophisticated unmanned aircraft ever made by the United States to take a hostage of British warships, then bombing two Saudi Arabian Aramco oil refineries, and also endless wars in Yemen.

The study of tensions between the United States and Iran is widely discussed by researchers, such as the article written by Enayatollah Yazdani in the journal Sociology Study entitled *Confrontation between America and the Islamic Republic of Iran*. in his article, Yazdani revealed that the United States and Iranian tensions in the last few decades were rooted in three fundamental issues: 1). the nuclear program problem, 2).

Development of ballistic missiles, and 3). Iran's influence in the region (Yazdani 2019, 180). Yazdani considered these three issues as a serious threat to the United States' interest in the region. Thus, the escalation is increasing and heating up from time to time. However, Yazdani also concluded that the confrontation strategy done by the United States against Iran led to the option "No War and No Peace".

The second article was written by Albert B. Wolf in the Comparative Strategy journal entitled After JCPOA: *American Grand Strategy toward Iran*. If Yazdani, in his article, identified three fundamental problems related to Iran's policy, which the United States considered would interfere with its national interest, then Wolf revealed four fundamental United States' interests in the Middle East that directly related to Iran's behavior: 1). Energy security, 2). the proliferation of the nuclear program, 3). the problem of terrorism, and 4). Israeli security guarantee (Wolf, 2018, 22).

However, the two articles have not offended the issues of regional crisis in which Iran is considered by the United States to have a very significant role, especially in supplying weapons and military funds for resistance movements

spread in several countries in the Middle East, such as the Yemeni Houthis and others. Therefore, the writer would review some of the current tension phenomena regarding Iran's involvement in the constellation in the Middle East and how it makes Iran confront the United States' national interest.

RESEARCH METHOD

In the preparation of this study, the writer relied on primary sources of library material that pretty much explains the historical and theoretical framework around the themes raised in this study. the effort to portray an area during an escalating situation between two countries, which both want to show the existence, domination, and fulfillment of their national interest in the region, certainly requires a comprehensive and analytical study. the writer also enriched the data by following the latest news related to the tensions between the United States and Iran in the region and specifically news about this research, both from printed newspapers or online media.

THEORY

In this study, the writer made the national interest theory a surgical tool for analyzing the construction

of phenomena regarding the United States and Iranian tensions in the region. According to Scott Burchill, the true national interest refers to the interest of a country by relying on the power it has (Scott 2005, 35). Furthermore, Burchill describes his analysis of national interest in four perspectives; realism, Marxism, liberalism, and English Schools, each of which has a four-way approach and certainly has its implications and implications in formulating and deciphering a phenomenon of international relations. However, the writer focused only on using the perspective of realism. Realism is a perspective trying to develop a full conceptualization related to the national interest. This view builds the assumption that national interest must be seen from the framework of the interests of a country as a high institution in politics representing society's interest as well as the character of anarchism in the arena of international politics (Scott 2005, 31-32). in this study, the writer would explain how this realism perspective has taken place in the map of the United States political policy since the beginning of the post-revolution tensions od the United States-Iran until now, under the pretext of realizing its national interest and making efforts to quell

Iran's influence in the region. Hence, the main focus of this article is to look at the United States' national interest in the constellation with Iran and, at the same time, see how Iran survives resistance.

The Beginning of Iran-United States Tensions

Islam reappeared as one of the global forces taken into account on the international political stage in the 1970-1980s. Space for the spirit of the rise of Islam covers various parts of the world. Islamic government leaders and opposition groups also use religion to legitimize the support of the people (Esposito 1996, 21). Moreover, the only success of this Islamic revival to the scale of the country was the Iranian Islamic Revolution.

Iran and America relations deteriorated rapidly after the Islamic Revolution in 1979. the new Iranian regime under the control of mullahs no longer trusted America because it supported the Shah of the past, Mohamed Reza Pahlavi. When the American government accepted the overthrow Shah to enter America for treatment due to cancer, a group of Iranian students stormed the American Embassy in Tehran and held 52 American diplomats on

November 4, 1979 (Rogan 2017, 590).

Recorded on January 20, 1981, 52 American diplomat hostages detained at the United States Embassy for 444 days finally left Iran. A few days later, they arrived in America, and the country and the mass media cheered on their return by congratulating them on the "return of the hostages". For days this event received special attention from various media in the world, complemented by various analyzes related to the diplomatic process taking place behind the scenes between the two parties until an agreement was reached for the release of the hostages. Besides, the sentiments emerging in the mass media narrative were the heroism of the United States and Iranian barbarism. on January 31, 1981, the New Republic revealed the "ransom" issued by the Jimmy Carter administration to meet Iran's demands to free the hostages (Said 1986, 7–8).

The West, primarily America, has witnessed a series of "Islamic revival" events with certain doubts mixed with fear. However, the image of the Iranian revolution was present to fulfill the complexity of the Western outlook on Islam. Since 1979, terms associated with

Islam, such as fanaticism, Islamism, fundamentalism, and Islamic militancy, have often appeared in the mass media without a clear understanding of its meaning and substance (Esposito, Arkoun, and Al-Jabiri 2002, 182).

On the surface, the Iran-United States crisis represented an ideological and cultural war between the governments of two different political systems. Nevertheless, at a deeper level, Iran's portrayal of Satan increasingly shows the severity of the views of United States officials and their fear of regimes controlled by the mullahs by using Islam as legitimacy to attack the interests of America and its allies. Since 1979, Iran has staked the legitimacy of power in the region by using its Islamic (Shia) identity (Gerges 2002, 50–51).

Ayatollah Khomeini and his revolution by the Western media are described as having a reactionary character carrying a "medieval" feel imaged as a century of backwardness and static. Furthermore, Islam is attached to negative abstractions alleged by Western scholars as inhibiting the development process and hindering modernization theories (Eickelman and Piscatori 1998, 34). Even for Europe, Islam is an eternal trauma, symbolized

as terror, destruction, and hordes of barbarians who are loyal and despised (Said 2016, 88). Moreover, it is hard to rebuild good relations between the United States and Iran. Especially after the September 11, 2001 incident, instead, the United States put Iran on the terrorist blacklist (Tamara 2017, 378).

Crucial Point of Current Tension

In addition to the tensions occurring since the beginning of Iran's revolution, the current tension was caused by several issues. One of the main triggers is since the United States, under the rule of Donald Trump, left the nuclear agreement or the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) unilaterally. Trump considered this agreement as "the worst agreement that should not have been possible". Thus, for this reason, Trump has again imposed harsh sanctions on Iran (Mikail 2018, 70).

The sanctions regime imposed by the United States on Iran began in 1979 in the form of economic and political sanctions. However, in this situation, Iran is still able to show its superiority as these mullah countries do not necessarily go bankrupt due to the United States' sanctions. It is exactly from this point that Iran learned to continue to improve and

become an independent country, meaning that it does not depend on the global economic cycle controlled by the United States and the international Zionist network. Based on data published in the influential economic weekly media, Business Week shows that Iran, with a population of 69 million, has a reserve of 35 billion USD, income per capita that reaches 6,800 USD, and income growth of 5.9%. Indeed, the United States' economic and political sanctions in no way affect Iran's socio-economic pressures. One impact of the United States' economic sanctions is the emergence of a phenomenon in which Iran seems "thirsty for goods, foreign capital and technology". Until 2004, foreign investment was minimal, and it was estimated to only around 2 billion USD per year (Sihbudi 2007, 269).

The economic situation under pressure from America's sanctions increasingly complicated the tactical steps of the Iranian government in the decision-making process to keep domestic stability safe and under control. on November 16-18, 2019, the Iranian government faced demonstrations taking place in various cities. the main trigger was the government's decision to revoke part of the fuel subsidy so

that fuel prices increased by up to 50% (Kompas, n.d.).

Iranian President Hassan Rouhani said that Iran was facing a difficult situation because it needed huge funds to meet the benefits and services of 60 million underprivileged people. This source of income is usually from oil exports. Due to America's sanctions making it very difficult for Iran to conduct global-level transactions with its partner countries for oil exports, the government was forced to raise domestic fuel prices (Kompas, n.d.). If Iran does not take this step, the government will face a far greater crisis as the government has not maintained economic stability.

By tightening sanctions on Iran, the American attitude increasingly made it difficult for the countries involved in this agreement, namely the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (US, UK, France, Russia, China) and the European Union represented by Germany. However, they experience a dilemma between maintaining an agreement with Iran as a country having strategic values in the region and also supporting the sanctions regime imposed by America.

Although Trump's controversial move has angered many parties, he remained firm in his stance. Even many people opposed his policy. As for Trump's goal of bringing the United States out of the nuclear agreement, then tightening a series of sanctions on Iran, according to Munir Shaqiq, Secretary-General of the Palestinian People's Congress Abroad, is because of four factors. First is to review Iran's nuclear agreement by considering tighter restrictions on Iran for nuclear development projects, even on the pretext of security. Second is the ban on Iran to develop ballistic missiles. Third, Iran must withdraw from intervention and provide missile supplies to Syria. Fourth, Iran must stop supplying weapons to Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Gaza (Shaqiq 2019, 119).

There is another aspect Munir Shaqiq does not attend to, namely the problem of Iran's involvement in the Yemen conflict by supplying sophisticated weapons to the Houthi militia as Houthi does not deny the involvement of Iran in providing political support, military, and flush funds (Al-Daghsyi 2013, 85). However, the United States wants Iran to stop and immediately withdraw from its intervention in the Yemen conflict. the United States wants the Yemen conflict to end immediately with Saudi Arabia and its coalition winners. Then,

these points become the main trigger Trump withdrew from the agreement to return the nuclear talks to zero so that these points could be included in negotiations. Definitely, Iran rejected negotiation efforts beyond the nuclear issue, while the United States insisted on making the external aspects part of the negotiating material.

The dual political tendencies played by America in the region, on the one hand, it wants the stability of the region free from the threat of nuclear weapons, but on the other hand, it allows Israel to carry out nuclear development as free as possible without any supervision. This action exactly prevents the balance of strategic geopolitical interests among policymakers in the region. Indeed geographically, Israel's position is very vulnerable because this small country is surrounded by states and resistance movements, and without natural geographical boundaries either in the form of large mountains or wide waters providing sufficient defensive positions in depressed conditions (Burdah 2014, 144). This situation has undoubtedly silenced America and even supported Israel's nuclear program.

Even since the beginning of the process of initiating the

Israeli nuclear project, known as the Shimon Peres Negev Nuclear Research Center, or sometimes also called the Dimona reactor, the CIA has known it. Even the CIA itself submitted an essential document to the US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, in 1963, informing in detail that Israeli Prime Minister David Ben Gurion had released a document related to the nuclear reactor construction project in 1956. in secret, the US intelligence assisted Israel in ensuring that the Israeli nuclear reactor construction project is realized. Under the pretext of the 1967 War, which almost threatened Israel's existence due to the onslaught of Arab coalition forces (Salim 2001, 291–92), the United States fully provided support and assistance for Israel's nuclear program as a major bulwark for military threats and distress which could come at any time.

To answer the anomalies of the political attitudes of the United States, which always play double politics to realize its national interest, Iran is not motionless. Evidently, since RQ-A4 Global Hawk, the drone US military scouts dropped by the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps (IRGC) in the southern Persian Gulf, precisely at 19:44 GMT on Wednesday, June 19,

2019, or 00:14 Thursday local time (Jakarta Greater 2019), tensions in the region between the United States and Iran has reached the rare point of the many escalations in recent years. After the shooting, the United States, at Trump's instructions, had declared an open war with Iran, but shortly after the decision was made; Trump withdrew his statement because he received information from one of his generals that an attack on Iran's three main points would sacrifice 150 lives (Detik.com 2019).

Much speculation has been circulating among analysts regarding changes in Trump's attitude at the last minute as part of the upheaval between his military advisers who wanted war with Trump's commitment not to decide to open warfare immediately. It could be because Trump does not want to take risks difficult to reckon with since an open war with Iran will cause widespread tensions throughout the region where proxies will engage in this war and will automatically become a threat to Israel's security so vulnerable.

Besides, Trump is considering calculations for investment in the upcoming 2020 elections. If the war with Iran is fought in the last years of his leadership period, his votes will be seriously threatened when the war occurring cannot be resolved immediately. Therefore, he chose to ignore the input of his advisers who tended toward open war.

Post-Aramco Saudi Bombing

Indeed the complexity of the various tensions in the Middle East has a parallel chain connecting one problem point to another. When discussing the problem of the Yemen conflict, it certainly cannot stand alone without involving the parties involved in the conflict. Including when discussing the increasing escalation between the United States and Iran, it also can not be separated from various proxy wars throughout the region. These factors cause the complexity of the breaking of the embers in the Middle East.

As a country leading the fight against the Houthi insurgency in Yemen, Saudi Arabia must accept the harsh reality after years of bombarding Yemen. It is because the Houthi militia began to attack by targeting Saudi Arabia's vital objects, namely two of Aramco's biggest oil refineries in the Abqaiq and Khurais regions. This attack used several unmanned aircraft (drones) able to penetrate Saudi Arabia's air defense bases (Kompas, n.d.).

Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia's military defense base, especially its air defense, is increasingly being highlighted by the public. It is because Saudi Arabia is serious about maintaining its sovereignty, especially in the midst of vulnerable situations and conditions as it is today. Billions of USD have been spent on buying weapons and sophisticated defense systems from Europe and the United States. the weapons purchased from the United States include Avengers short-range missiles, I-Hawk mid-range missiles, and Swiss short-range missiles named Orelinkons (Kompas, n.d.). Moreover, the US-made Patriot missile defense system was also installed in various major cities and several other strategic facilities.

As if dissatisfied with the Houthis claiming responsibility for the incident, Saudi Arabia and the United States agreed to throw accusations at Iran, or at least, Iran was behind the attack on Saudi Arabia's oil refineries. However, Iran's Foreign Minister, Mohammad Javad Zarif, denied Iran's involvement in the Aramco refinery shooting and further stressed that if this tension requires military involvement, Iran firmly states that it will fight seriously (Schemm and Loveluck 2019).

Calculation of US Open War with Iran

Looking at various phenomena today, it is true what was expressed by Martin Wight that what distinguishes modern history from the history of the Middle Ages is the superiority of the idea of power over the idea of truth (Sahide 2017, 86). Determination of winners and losers is no longer measured according to a set of values and other social institutions, but by testing the extent to which power and hegemony can create a structured and systematic movement to control a country for its national interest. Therefore, the United States, as a superpower, exists without value or wants to surpass all values. Being above all existing order values, the United States, in its hegemonic projects, hid many reasons behind the pretext of human rights and democracy. However, these drives are never consistent. If it is truly consistent, inevitably, it will clash with its national interest.

It is true what Samuel P. Huntington said when addressing the issue of clashes between civilizations reflected by a particular interest and purpose by relying

on the legitimacy of identities intentionally made face to face:

People use politics not only for their interests but also to state their identity. We will only know who we are when we know who "we are not" and that can only be known through "with whom we are dealing with" (Huntington 2012, 8).

It is also seen in various nerve wars between American and Iranian officials, where both parties constructed each other as superior to others, either by relying on a particular identity to give legitimacy or even to bring down.

In the arena of international politics, a country will be thrown from a competitive global arena when it fails to realize its national interest properly. For Morgenthau, international politics is the same as politics in general, the arena of power struggles. Whatever is the ultimate goal of political power, power is always the most immediate goal (Morgenthau 2010, 33). in the context of its dispute with Iran, America wants to realize its national interest by grounding in the direction of policies formulated and then implemented through its foreign policy.

US foreign policy is often discussed in terms of the dialectical tension between two opposing poles: legalism-moralism and pragmatism-realism. Alternatively, in other words, American foreign policy goes back and forth between real politics and moralism. For supporters and practitioners, realism is a clear, orderly, straightforward, and firm understanding of policy formulation based on well-defined state interests. the essence of this realism is the national interest closely related to national security (Hastedt 2000, 28-34).

One of the most critical aspects of power capable of influencing a variety of hegemony projects is military power. According to Kabi Al-Khuri, from the Center for Arab Unity Studies, citing data from Global Firepower assesses that Iran, as one of the countries in the region, is indeed ranked 14th in the world's strongest military. Many researchers doubt the true strength of Iran because these calculations exclude nuclear power (Al-Khuri 2019, 165-66). If it is included, Iran's military might be above that rank. on this side alone, America is sure to calculate very well when it has to deal directly with an open war with Iran.

It is also important to see Trump's attitude, which, from the very beginning, was known to be aggressive in leading Uncle Sam's

country. Seeing from his sarcastic attitude, undoubtedly, many people assume that Trump is also among the US leaders who like to hunt for war. It is just that if observed in several cases, including cases of tension with Iran, he seemed to appear softened before the facts; that Iran cannot be compared to the weak countries in the Middle East because, since the beginning of the initiation of an open war with Iran, it was the primary option always encouraged by its military advisers. Although in the end, Trump chose to cancel the attack at the last second to cause tension between Trump and his National Security Adviser, John Bolton, who then ended with his dismissal by Trump (Kompas, n.d.).

At this point, it appears that Trump is experiencing symptoms of repression in which the ego mechanism relies on the defense of the subconscious to maintain its existence from feelings of anxiety or depression that always overshadow when panic, conflict, and threatened (Az-Zaghul 2004, 285). in the situation of facing various challenges both outside and inside, finally, John Bolton, as the main stumbling block in deciding policies, must be discarded, even

though both of them have a skeptical attitude toward multilateralism.

CONCLUSION

The tensions between the United States and Iran, as can be witnessed lately, have reached the rare point of several escalations in recent years, especially in the Middle East. Apart from the historical factors that began since Iran succeeded in carrying out a revolution by subverting the regime of Shah Mohamed Reza Pahlavi, another factor heightening the geopolitical dynamics of the region was the departure of the US under President Donald Trump from the nuclear agreement of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), followed by tighter economic sanctions on Iran. the escalation, which is increasing from time to time, cannot be separated from the series of sanctions imposed on Iran by the United States. There is intense pressure from America on Iran to immediately stop its nuclear program considered to have disrupted geopolitical stability in the Middle East.

Viewed from the perspective of national interest, America does not want a stable country influencing the political map in the region. If it happens, it will clash with its national interest. However, despite

the escalation of the firing points of rivalry between the two countries, even the shooting down of the Global Hawk RQ-A4, a US military surveillance drone by the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps (IRGC) south of the Persian Gulf at 19:44 GMT on Wednesday, June 19, 2019, or 00:14 Thursday local time, no serious signs were leading to open war, except only limited to curses and expletives of the American president, Donald Trump, who at first had given orders to wage war against Iran. However, shortly after, he withdrew his orders under the pretext of humanity.

America, under the quite sarcastic president in addressing the Iran problem, seems to choose a more rational option by not deploying the military to face Iran. If this option is taken by the stakeholders, the Middle East situation will face a big open war by involving various proxies in various countries, especially those under Iran's influence. Therefore, due to the huge risk, America chose another option by tightening sanctions on Iran to cripple it economically so that Iran experiences domestic turmoil. Furthermore, this option no longer requires an open war, which will be detrimental to both parties, especially for Donald Trump, who will step forward again to run for president for his second term in 2020. Trump is considering calculations for investment in the upcoming 2020 elections. If the war with Iran is carried out in the last period of his leadership, his votes will be very threatened. Hence, he chose to ignore the input of his advisers who tended toward open war. Besides, another important factor is that the Iranian military cannot be underestimated. Global Firepower data show that Iran is one of the most influential countries in the region and ranks 14th in the world's strongest military. Indeed, it is excluding nuclear power.

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Indonesia-Egypt Diplomacy: Darussalam Gontor and Al-Azhar University

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to describe the diplomatic strategy of Darussalam Gontor with Al-Azhar University in the educational sector. This research was descriptive qualitative and studied Darussalam Gontor at Ponorogo and Al-Azhar University at the Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt in Jakarta. in the data collection techniques, this research used interviews, observation, and proper documentation. the research found that Gontor has received an additional quota for the scholarship to their potential student who intends to study at the respective Al-Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt.

Keywords: Diplomacy, Al-Azhar, Indonesia, Egypt, Darussalam Gontor

Abstrak

Tujuan artikel ini adalah untuk menggambarkan strategi diplomatik Darussalam Gontor dengan Universitas Al-Azhar di sektor pendidikan. Penelitian ini adalah deskriptif kualitatif dan mempelajari Darussalam Gontor di Ponorogo dan Universitas Al-Azhar di Kedutaan Besar Republik Arab Mesir di Jakarta. Dalam teknik pengumpulan data, penelitian ini menggunakan wawancara, observasi, dan dokumentasi yang tepat. Penelitian menemukan bahwa Gontor telah menerima kuota tambahan untuk beasiswa kepada calon siswa mereka yang bermaksud untuk belajar di Universitas Al-Azhar masing-masing, Kairo, Mesir.

Kata kunci: Diplomasi, Al-Azhar, Indonesia, Mesir, Darussalam Gontor

INTRODUCTION

The formation of many states in the world, the principles, and rules in international relations between states through international law and diplomacy have developed. the countries have started sending their delegates to negotiate and defend their interests. the Indonesian state, in particular, is bound by the provisions of international law and customs, which are the basis for the association between relations to various countries. Egypt was the first African state to recognize Indonesia's independence in 1946. the two states opened diplomatic relations marked by the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cordiality on June 10, 1947, which was then followed by the opening of the Indonesian Representative office in Cairo, Egypt, in 1949 (Indonesia, 2015).

The State of Egypt and Indonesia always provide mutual support for each other based on the principle of reciprocity of the mutual relations between the two in the nomination to become members or in occupying certain positions in international organizations. An indicator of a good relationship between the two states was also proved by the recognition of De Facto by Egypt towards Indonesian independence on March 22, 1946, by the Secretary-General of the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Kamil Abdurrahman Bey (Fachir, 2009).

Besides, diplomatic visits by both countries have also existed. For the first time President Soekarno's inaugural visit to Egypt on July 18, 1955, Prime Minister Gamal Abdul Nasser's visit to Indonesia to attend the Conference Asia Africa in Bandung, 18-24 April 1955, visit of Egyptian First Lady Jihan Sadat to Indonesia on 31 October-4 November 1976, President Soeharto's visit to Egypt on 16 October 1977, visit of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to Indonesia on 9-11 April 1983, President Abdurrahman Wahid's visit to Egypt on June 17, 2000, and on February 24, 2001, President Megawati Soekarno Putri's visit to Egypt on September 12, 2002, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's visit to Egypt on October 20, 2004, and the visit of Egyptian President Abdel Fattah Al Sisi to Indonesia on September 4, 2015. (Fachir, 2009).

RESEARCH METHOD

Darussalam Gontor is an educational institution in Indonesia established for a long time in 1926. It has played an active role in

conducting international relations with other educational institutions around the world, for instance, Al-Azhar University, Cairo, Syanggit University in Mauritania, Santiniketan University in India, and Aligarh Islamic University in India. Darussalam Gontor has a foundation of the above educational institutions. Since its establishment, a significant role is in the matter of cooperation and networking with Al-Azhar University, Cairo. the Egyptian government, through Cairo's Al-Azhar University, annually offers scholarships to Indonesian students. the scholarship has been available since the 1960s until now. This research wants to study the success of diplomacy in the field of education that has been carried out by Darussalam Gontor as an Islamic boarding school in Indonesia with Al-Azhar University, Cairo. So that way, the researchers took this research Diplomacy between Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor and Al-Azhar University as a non-state actor in international relations.

THEORY AND CONCEPT

The Concept of Bilateral Cooperation

The term bilateral itself comes from the word «bi,» which means

two. the origin of the member countries in this collaboration is not specified because the nature of bilateral cooperation is far more private than other cooperation. After all, it only involves two states. (Fatma, 2017).

Regarding the content of bilateral cooperation in practice, it cannot be standardized because the contents of the cooperation agreement are the rights between the two bound parties. Usually, bilateral cooperation contains several points, which are the objectives of cooperation between countries. These points cover the fields of economics, politics, military and technology, and transportation. Indonesia and Egypt have established cooperation in various fields, including politics.

Participation in politics is closely related to the governance of a country. Indonesia has cooperated in politics with Egypt marked by the opening of Indonesian-Egyptian diplomatic representation in Cairo and followed by the opening of the Egyptian Embassy in Jakarta. Also, the two countries have signed cooperation in the field of culture, which includes the exchange of lecturers and teachers between Indonesia and Egypt, student exchanges, and the implementation

of similar study programs of education, culture, and arts. By conducting cooperation, the two countries can establish friendships and can strengthen relations between the two. Besides that, the two countries can also learn from each other.

Multitrack Diplomacy

In terms of diplomacy, there are several definitions of diplomacy. When referring to an extensive Indonesian dictionary, diplomacy is the affairs of the organization of official relations between one country and another. It can also be defined as a matter of the interests of a country by the mediation of its representatives in other countries (Setiawan, 2012), while the definition of diplomacy in general, can be interpreted as regulating a matter for particular interests through its representatives. Usually, diplomacy is closely related to the state as one of the essential instruments in the implementation of foreign policy. Diplomacy is to establish, strengthen, and improve relations between one country and another to achieve common interests, by sending a diplomat who controls many matters related to the government / other countries as his representatives. (Arudam, 2015).

Along with the times, diplomacy itself has developed with the addition of new actors in international relations. New actors in international relations exist beside the main actor, namely the state. the birth of a new theory in diplomacy as Multi-track Diplomacy then followed this development. According to Dr. Louise and Ambassador John McDonald in a Thesis written by Rudi Candra, Postgraduate Study Program in International Relations, Gadjah Mada University, explained that Multitrack Diplomacy is a system that aims to create peace in international relations. This system is referred to as multi-track because there are several related elements, including individuals, groups, institutions, and communities. Some features will cooperate and support each other for the goals and the sake of peaceful and harmonious world life. Furthermore, the concept of Multi-Track Diplomacy requires unity between the main actors, namely the state and non-state actors. (Candra, 2013)

In his statement, Dr. Louise and Ambassador John McDonald explained who state actors and non-state actors were. State actors are diplomats explicitly sent by the state. in contrast, non-state actors

are all elements of a country's society that can interact and communicate with other governments or non-government parties. This interaction process has a positive impact on the sustainability of relations between the two countries. in the multi-track diplomacy concept delivered, there are nine channels, namely government agencies, professionals, business people, the general public, research/education, activists, religious groups, funding providers, and information media. (Diamond, 1996).

In this study, the authors explain following the theory conveyed above that Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor is also an international relations actor. Although not as the leading actor/government, this pesantren institution has shown a significant role in interacting and establishing cooperative relations with Cairo's Al-Azhar University, where diplomacy has given birth to extraordinary success, and the Indonesian government should emulate it.

The History of Diplomatic Relationship between Indonesia and Egypt

Speaking of the history of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Egypt, the historical evidence shows that in the period after Indonesia's independence precisely in 1945, the de-facto Indonesian state at that time needed support from various countries in the world. Recognition from other countries is an absolute requirement for the sovereignty of a nation. As in the theory of state administration, the obligation to become a sovereign state is the recognition of other countries. Precisely on March 22, 1946, through the Secretary-General of the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Kamil Abdurrahman Bey, Egypt became the first Arab country to recognize Indonesian independence. the two countries agreed to open diplomatic relations marked by the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cordiality on June 10, 1947, then followed by the opening of the Indonesian Representative Office in Cairo in 1949. (Indonesia, 2015).

After the two countries officially opened diplomatic relations, they always supported one another based on the principle of reciprocity of the mutual relations between the two countries in the nomination to become members or in occupying certain positions in international organizations. Relations between the two countries looked very closed, harmonious. There is no tension,

let alone the diplomatic severance of the two countries. (Fachir, 2009). the birth of support from the Egyptian state for Indonesian independence did not come naturally. However, through the significant role of the Egyptian society itself, the Indonesian people in Egypt, and students in Egypt have made efforts and lobbied and diplomatic to the Egyptian Government. in the post-independence period of Indonesia, the relationship between the Indonesian government and Egypt increasingly demonstrated its presence in the international world. the two leaders of the country, namely Soekarno and Gamal Abdul Nasser, became the leading figures who pioneered the birth of the Asian-African Conference (KAA) in Bandung in 1955. the closeness between the two leaders of these countries has reached emotional closeness and gave birth to good individual relations. From this good relationship, the name of President Soekarno became the name of a street in Cairo.

Diplomatic relations between the two countries have also been carried out in good faith, professionally and guided by the values shared by both countries. Where the two countries carry out state visits with one another,

this state visit is also a form of reciprocal visits that are never interrupted. From the beginning of Indonesia's independence, the state visit between the two has been going well. the forms of state visits between the two countries began with President Soekarno's inaugural visit to Egypt on July 18, 1955. Prime Minister Gamal Abdul Nasser's visit to Indonesia attended the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, April 18-24, 1955; Egyptian First Lady Jihan Sadat visited Indonesia on 31 October-4 November 1976; President Soeharto's visit to Egypt was on 16 October 1977. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's visit to Indonesia was on 9-11 April 1983; President Abdurrahman Wahid's visit to Egypt was on 17 June 2000 and on 24 February 2001. President Megawati Soekarno Putri's visit to Egypt was on September 12, 2002; President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's visit to Egypt was on October 20, 2004, and Egyptian President Abdel Fattah Al Sisi's visit to Indonesia was on September 4, 2015. (Fachir, 2013).

Other evidence showing that relations between the two countries went very harmonious until now is the closeness between the people of Indonesia and the people of Egypt who are always friendly

in meetings and relationships between them. Many Egyptians even say in Arabic, «Masri Ummu Addunya wa Indonesia Abuhu.» (Ahmed, 2019). Although it looks small, this is a fact that shows the people of Indonesia and Egypt are always warm in friendship wherever and whenever. in an interview conducted by the researchers during a visit to the Egyptian Embassy in Jakarta, the close relationship between the people and individuals of the two countries has created cultural acculturation between the two countries through marriage ties. Until now, there have been many mixed marriages between Indonesian people and Egyptian society. (Ahmed, 2019).

The Pattern of Indonesia-Egypt Relations

Community and state relations between the countries of Egypt and Indonesia have been for a long time. the long age of the relationship between the two countries has proceeded in harmony. Within the framework of bilateral cooperation, Indonesia and Egypt have collaborated in various fields, such as educational cooperation between various universities, counter-terrorism cooperation, mutual support in various international forums, visa-free cooperation for

diplomatic and service passports and bilateral cooperation political consultations, defense cooperation and finally, criminal Trafficking in Persons (Surya, 2019).

Educational Cooperation between various Indonesian and Egyptian Universities includes several things, including diploma equality, scholarships, teaching Arabic, and student exchange and cooperation in scientific activities and recognition of the IAIN Diploma with the Al-Azhar University Egyptian Diploma (Mualim, 2018). in addition to the above forms of cooperation, Al-Azhar University, Cairo, also collaborates with the Jatikarya Silaturrahim Education Foundation in Bekasi and Mandiri Individual Education in Cibubur.

According to the representative of Al-Azhar University in Indonesia, Sheikh Ahmad Aid stated that this collaboration would eventually lead to scholarship facilities for students at the Institute to continue their studies at the Al-Azhar University of Egypt. With this collaboration, it has automatically shown that the Muslim community in Indonesia has a rational understanding that can be accepted by Egypt. Not the other way round, which has the wrong understanding of Islam. (Joko, 2017).

In addition to cooperation in the field of Education, Indonesia and Egypt have also collaborated in counter-terrorism. the cooperation between the two countries is by the signing of an MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) conducted through the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior and the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). the signing of the memorandum of understanding of the two countries was within the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior, Major General Mahmoud Tawfik, and the Head of the BNPT of the Republic of Indonesia, Police Commissioner-General Suhardi Alius. Also present at the signing of the MoU at the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior was the Indonesian Ambassador to Egypt in Cairo, Mr. Heli Fauzy, and accompanied by the main Secretary of the BNPT young Marshal Asep Adang Supriyadi. (Marboen, 2019) This collaboration aims to tackle the problem of Terrorism, which has a global network. It enters Indonesia and in Asian countries such as Malaysia and the Philippines, originated from doctrines, propaganda, and ideological transfers, especially from the Middle East because radical terrorist networks in Indonesia have joined ISIS, and the influence of ISIS in Indonesia is quite significant.

Thus, the authors can convey that this is the right momentum for Indonesia and Egypt to cooperate in combating terrorism.

Relationship Between Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor and Al-Azhar University

Starting from the ideals of the founders of Darussalam Gontor KH. Ahmad Sahal, KH. Zainuddin Fananie and KH. Imam Zarkasyi or known by *Trimurti* that they wanted Darussalam Gontor to have a different concept in learning Arabic with salaf / traditional schools in Indonesia at that time. Where the teaching system used by the lodges in Indonesia still uses the *sorogan* method or the *bandongan* method and studies the yellow book. It is with the ideas and concepts promoted by *Trimurti* that Darussalam Gontor is guiding international educational institutions known as the Gontor synthesis. These include Al-Azhar in Egypt, Syanggit in Mauritania, Aligarh in India, and Shantiniketan in India. *Trimurti*, the founder of Pondok Gontor, studied these international institutions which have ethical values. So that in the founding of Gontor, the Arabic learning method and its education system integrated the processes, policies, and education of the four Institutions.

Also, the founders of Gontor did not rule out the values of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. He continued to implement several curricula carried out at Salaf Hut then used at Gontor. Like the Fathul Pole study conducted by students in Gontor. They within a week looked for problems of Islamic law and then looked for answers from the books provided. Relations between the two institutions have started from the beginning of the founding of Darussalam Gontor. At that time, Darussalam Gontor founders or also known as *Trimurti,* had aspirations to establish a boarding school with a waqf system so that the Pondok family did not own the cottage for themselves. Many Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia also had not implemented a waqf system yet. *Trimurti* was not in favor of Darussalam Gontor with the same fate as other traditional religious schools in Indonesia. Therefore, the Darussalam Gontor founders learned from Al-Azhar Cairo University in the field of *waqf* and sustainable development.

Implementation of the Value of Waqf from Al-Azhar

One of the reasons behind the relationship between Darussalam Gontor and Al Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt, is the *waqf* system

developed by Al-Azhar, where this waqf system has created sustainability in the development of the University. From the beginning of the establishment of Al-Azhar to the present day, the University can still stand firm and continue the process of Islamic education. Although Al-Azhar's age is already thousands of years, this system eventually became the example of the founders of Darussalam Gontor at that time, because in Indonesia at that time was still in the colonial period. It is where the implementation of ideas and ideals exist in Darussalam Gontor until now. on October 12, 1958, at the Gontor Ponorogo Pondok Modern Darussalam Hall, witnessed by the Deputy Prime Minister of Indonesia and his staff, the founders of Gontor (Trimurti) donated the land and buildings of the Gontor Modern Darussalam Cabin to the Pondok Modern Family Association (IKPM). (Nasrullah, 2016).

At that time, Gontor was also represented and did not belong to an individual or family. However, it belongs to Muslims. From there, the founders of Gontor imitated the Waqf system in Al-Azhar. For the Pondok to continue standing and not die because of its leadership, it is necessary to implement a

waqf system. At that time, the religious school in Indonesia had not implemented a waqf system, but Gontor had implemented it as Al-Azhar did. in its development, Pondok Gontor has added and completed buildings according to educational needs. Since the 1970s, an increase in the quantity and quality of the building has occurred. Means of transportation are also very much and quite diverse. Besides that, Darussalam Gontor also has several business units such as rice milling machines, bread makers, bottled water producers, bookstores, or printing companies. (Nasrullah, Historical Traces of the Darussalam Darussalam Gontor Cottage, 2016).

The development of Gontor's relationship with Al-Azhar from day to day is increasingly harmonious and closed. This relationship continues to be maintained by both institutions in the name of respecting one another. the establishment of this cooperative relationship began with Al-Azhar University, who sent two of its teachers to teach at Darussalam Gontor in the 1960s. (Dr. KH. Ahmad Hidayatullah Zarkasyi, 2019). Then, Darussalam Gontor also always sends cadres, students, to continue their education at Al-

Azhar University. the cadres and students went there to study starting from first, second to the third level. After their education period from Al-Azhar finished, they returned to serve at Pondok Gontor and also served at Darussalam Gontor University (UNIDA) Gontor. This process continues every year until now. Besides, Darussalam Gontor always plays an active role in sending students who have the advantage of attending training in Egypt for more or less within two weeks. (Zarkasyi, 2019).

Similarities in Education Ideology and Values

Egypt is famous for its Al-Azhar and has given birth to well-known figures and Islamic scholars in the world, such as Sheikh Yusuf Qaradawi, and Grand Sheikh Al-Azhar Ahmad Mal Thayyib. Especially the Grand Sheikh Al-Azhar of Egypt, who always made his visit to the country of Indonesia. the visit was an essential visit where Indonesia was the country with the largest Muslim majority population in the world and has been recognized by Sheikh Azhar himself that Indonesia is a pluralistic country or has a diversity of cultures and religions but has integrated into a nation. It was one of Grand Sheikh Al-Azhar's visits to (Koes 2018).

Besides that, Indonesia is a moderate country or Wasathiyysah where Muslims in Indonesia are Muslims with a middle ground view and a reasonable approach in Islam, not being extreme against other schools and upholding tolerance in religion. Thus, this statement is in line with what is taught by Cairo's Al-Azhar University, where Al-Azhar wants to re-enhance the views of Wasathiyah, which became Al-Azhar's teachings.

Gontor himself has a big hand in Indonesia in the field of education, such as implementing moderate Islamic culture or Wasathiyyah and instilling other Islamic values. Since its establishment until now, Pondok Gontor has scored its alumni having a Gontor world view and spread across all lines in Indonesia. the motto of Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor is «Gontor stands above and for all *goongan*» then «Above only the sky and below only the ground.» Gontor's role in educating and implementing Wasatiyyah Islamic values in Indonesia has become strategic for Al-Azhar because both have similarities and harmonious relationships in maintaining these values. Therefore, every time Grand Sheikh Al-Azhar visits Indonesia. He will visit Pondok Gontor.

The relationship between Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor and Al-Azhar Cairo University is very harmonious and very closed, as stated by Grand Sheikh Al-Azhar in his speech during a visit to Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor at the opening ceremony of 90 years of Gontor. He conveyed that Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor is a miniature of Al-Azhar Cairo University to form a generation of young Indonesians who hold fast to the teachings of Islam. Gontor has an essential role in shaping moderate soul and mind through education, teaching, and culture, where this business is the most strenuous business that some countries in the world have not been able to carry out until now (UNIDA Gontor, 2016).

The statement is in line with what has been said by Prof. Dr. Mustafa Dasuki Kesbah during a visit to UNIDA Gontor in 2019. Where he stated that Gontor, as an Islamic educational institution that has the principle of Islamic Wasthiyyah, these two institutions have also organized the Robitah Al-Islamiyyah Conference held in Gontor Darussalam. With the arrival of the International Conference, countries, especially in the Middle East, will become more

familiar with Gontor University and Darussalam University. Pondok Gontor comes from the values of sincerity, generosity by its founders to give birth to the soul, the spirit of the struggle of Islam. It teaches how Islamic values are implemented in our daily lives, starting from waking up to sleep again, and it becomes significant with the presence of Darussalam University Gontor, especially with the International Relations Study Program that studies international interaction.

Arabic Language Education

Arabic Language Education at Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor has become a fundamental thing to educate its students so that they can interact and communicate on an international level. Arabic in Gontor began to be taught from the beginning when becoming students' prospective until when they graduated from the cottage. in fact, in everyday life, the Arabic language becomes a compulsory language used by all students and teachers in communicating both in the classroom and outside the classroom. in the Arabic teaching method used in Gontor, in addition to learning from books, it also teaches the daily conversation, public speaking, and vocabularies/ *mufrodat* methods. This method

proved to be very helpful for students in learning Arabic more easily. It is different from the Arabic way of teaching in traditional Islamic boarding schools, where the students are only taught Arabic from books like Nahwu and Sharf by memorizing and interpreting texts without teaching the techniques of conversation and practice in daily life.

The Arabic language that Gontor has taught his students also much helps them in learning and working in Middle Eastern Arab countries. Likewise, for those who study at Al-Azhar University in Cairo, it is easier for them to receive lessons and study material / Madah Islamic Studies at Al-Azhar University. With the ability of Arabic owned by the students, it will help them in dealing with and communicating with people on the international scene. (Prof. Dr. Dasuki, 2019). It is what ultimately becomes an added value for Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Cottage in the eyes of Al-Azhar University, so it is essential as a collaborative partner. With the advantages and disadvantages of Gontor, Al-Azhar has given confidence and gratitude that have an impact on the addition of Gontor santri scholarships to study at Al-Azhar Cairo.

CONCLUSION

Egypt is the first country to recognize Indonesian sovereignty. the recognition of Egypt was beneficial for Indonesia when at the beginning of independence. Indonesia was in dire need of support from other countries in the world. the fact that both have a harmonious relationship is visible from both countries' interaction and collaboration. When Grand Sheikh Al-Azhar visited Indonesia, he always made time to visit Pondok Gontor. Gontor has the same ideology and educational value, namely the implementation of *waqf*, teaching about Islamic principles, and their application in daily life where these are the principles taught by Al-Azhar. Besides, Gontor as an educational institution that is concerned about Arabic.

Therefore, many alumni, when continuing their education in the Middle East, especially in Al-Azhar, can follow what the Azhar Community teaches well as well as the many Gontor Alumni who take part and become prominent figures in Indonesia. It is what makes Egypt design to give scholarships to Gontor and provide additional scholarships to students and cadres of Gontor.

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Paradiplomacy Practice in Indonesia: a Lesson From West Nusa Tenggara Province in 2013-2018

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Abstract

This article attempts to reveal the factors inflicting the decision-making process of paradiplomacy in West Nusa Tenggara within six years between 2013 and 2018, including the problems faced by them under the administration of two governors, Tuan Guru Bajang and Dr. Zulkieflimansyah. Utilizing rational choice theory in the form of qualitative-descriptive research, various field findings and kinds of literature indicate one primary matter. It is that external and internal factors consisting of a combination of individual and bureaucratic rationalities and influence play significant roles in driving the trend of halal tourism-based paradiplomacy by Tuan Guru Bajang and education and investment-based one by Dr. Zulkieflimansyah. There are attempts from both governors and their administration to achieve the full potential of both paradiplomacy policies. the policies, however, are not flawless as errors and issues due to economic disparity, development rate inequality, and lack of proper management of information systems become points of critics by many parts of the society, both public and official.

Keywords: *Dr. Zulkieflimansyah, Education, Halal Tourism, NTB, Paradiplomacy, Tuan Guru Bajang*

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap faktor yang memengaruhi proses pembuatan kebijakan paradiplomasi di Nusa Tenggara Barat dalam kurun waktu enam tahun antara 2013 dan 2018 termasuk masalah yang dihadapi

dalam administrasi dua gubernur, Tuan Guru Bajang dan Dr. Zulkieflimansyah. Melalui teori pilihan rasional dalam bentuk penelitian kualitatif-deskriptif, penemuan lapangan dan literatur menunjukkan bahwa faktor eksternal dan internal yang terdiri dari gabungan rasionalitas dan pengaruh individu dan birokrasi memengaruhi tren paradiplomasi pariwisata halal oleh Tuan Guru Bajang dan pendidikan dan investasi oleh Dr. Zulkieflimansyah secara signifikan. Meskipun usaha untuk memaksimalkan potensi kebijiakan telah dilakukan oleh kedua gubernur beserta administrasi mereka, kebijakan yang diterapkan belum sempurna dikarenakan kesalahan dan isu yang terkait dengan ketimpangan dan kurangnya manajemen yang mumpuni menjadi poin kritik oleh banyak orang, baik dari kalangan publik maupun pejabat.

Kata Kunci: *Dr. Zulkieflimansyah, NTB, Paradiplomasi, Pariwisata Halal, Pendidikan, Tuan Guru Bajang*

INTRODUCTION

The term "paradiplomacy" is indeed unpopular but not without reason. At first, the term paradiplomacy is not a common term in public. It is mainly used by social and political science academicians and researchers to mention foreign relations conducted between sub-state actors across national borders (Mukti, 2013), which becomes the initial focus of this research. Secondly, the public, especially in Indonesia, tends to be more familiar with the word "diplomacy" and as "meant to be coordinated by the central government by any means" as the classic form. Thirdly and presumably, lastly, there has been a limited number of researches conducted by scholars in Indonesia, explicitly pointing "paradiplomacy" as their concern of analyses. These situations challenge the author to further introduce this term to the public and policymakers and possible lessons from the already existing practices worldwide, including those nearby.

With the rise of various new actors in the realm of international relations along with new issues to tackle, central governments worldwide start to open their tables for options to enforce their interests further while guaranteeing others' and paradiplomacy is among them. Indonesia is arguably among the latest to include paradiplomacy in its foreign relation options aside

from the traditional state-to-state relations with the first being the sister city agreement between Bandung and Braunschweig, Germany, in 1960. Under the principle of regional autonomy, Indonesian central government guarantees the rights of local/provincial governments to arrange, manage, and oversee various aspects of domestic affairs without significant intervention from the central government with a general assumption that local governments "recognize" their area the most (Rasyid, 2007). Initially, paradiplomacy serves one of or all three primary purposes: purely commercial purposes (open market and investment), multipurpose (economic, social, culture, technology, and education), and regional identity and political interests (expressing autonomous, specific, and different characters (Mukti, 2015). Based on these purposes, provinces across Indonesia begin to view more possibilities for cooperation with regions and cities worldwide. One of them is West Nusa Tenggara or Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB).

The focus of paradiplomacy of West Nusa Tenggara province profoundly depends on the two main factors: the maximum utilization of natural and social advantages

of NTB (Herbawati, 2018) and the influence of ruling governor at the time which the society continuously expects to be the "agents of change" (Fitriani, 2016). the course of six years displays the rise of NTB as a new powerhouse of tourism as the government of NTB initiated the "halal tourism" project to boost NTB's economy further. It is through the reforming of tourism aspects in NTB fitting to the concept of Sharia law and other elements belonging to Islamic faith (Subarkah, 2018) under the leadership of Tuan Guru Bajang as the governor of NTB. He popularizes the new NTB in the image of "Muslim tourists-friendly tourism sites." the government of NTB also continuously welcomes foreign governments and companies to invest in various construction projects supporting NTB's initial halal tourism project and other projects with excellent results. the local government of NTB receives awards worldwide for its achievements, the massive increase of domestic and foreign tourist visits per year. A slight difference happened in mid-2018 as the paradiplomacy focus of NTB adding education to be a new sector along with the change in the government: a new governor named Dr. Zulkieflimansyah elected.

This paper investigates the factors driving both governors, Tuan Guru Bajang and Dr. Zulkieflimansyah, to direct the trend of paradiplomacy as it is and the problems and critics each other face during the implementation. the underlying assumption the author adopts is that each governor belongs to different backgrounds and experiences, and each period presents its challenges, later with various criticism from the public over their rather unorthodox policies. This paper also attempts to take a neutral stance regarding the view of paradiplomacy trends between the governor and the people of NTB by comparing both governors' paradiplomacy policies and how the public views them.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This paper is the first to study paradiplomacy practices in West Nusa Tenggara (Nusa Tenggara Barat- NTB) province is an overstatement as studies on this topic in forms of journal articles and thesis from Indonesian scholars and foreign researchers collaborating with Indonesian ones. Despite not directly mentioning "paradiplomacy" in the titles, terms "foreign investment," "tourism," and "sister cities/provinces" by the

articles mentioned above and thesis already indicate that scholars have studied paradiplomacy practices in NTB. This article explores the problems the governor's face that drives their paradiplomacy policy trends and the issues during the implementation, which becomes the novelty of this paper.

Paradiplomacy projects of West Nusa Tenggara government are to enhance regional economic conditions through building relations with foreign institutions and the government conduct so by reaching several provinces in foreign countries, such as Zhejiang province of the People's Republic of China, and other countries. Paradiplomacy practices are mainly in forms of sister cities of sister provinces and foreign investment agreements, as stated by Sibawaihi (2016) and Utami (2017). Those options are the most applicable for the region and arguably the simplest despite the process not being as simple as it seems. the power of city and province branding should be into vital account as without proper objects to be promoted to the international community (Subarkah, 2018), the attempt to attract collaborators and investors will be more difficult.

Aside from the challenge to create the desired image through the branding, the existing social, cultural, political, and geographical conditions, West Nusa Tenggara province shall be for the success of every project initiated by the local government. the geographical situation of NTB province alone is already challenging, with the existence of two main islands (Lombok and Sumbawa) along with a wide variety of landscapes (Laplaza, Tanaya, & Suwardji, 2017). Three major ethnic groups are dominating the province (Sasak, Samawa, Mbojo) inhabiting the islands complete with their traditions. the differences between one another can sometimes conflict due to different understanding on an issue and the tendency to promote ethnic superiority over provincial unity (Zulkieflimansyah, 2019), something the government is continuously fighting against through time. Further, Laplaza, Tanaya, and Suwardji (2017) indicate the long-living, rigid, and top-centered development pattern of West Nusa Tenggara province frequently causes poor coordination and uncertainty. It becomes a bitter pill for the local government as, despite the leader promoting decentralization on some sectors

from the central government, the lower-level officials have yet to adapt to the demand.

RESEARCH METHOD

This paper intends to describe paradiplomacy trends belonging to each governor, Tuan Guru Bajang, and Dr. Zulkieflimansyah, and create a trend comparison on the trends along with the problems during implementations, doing this paper qualitative-descriptive research with inductive analysis. the data collecting methods of this paper utilized both primary and secondary sources as the information required in either official publications and autobiographies or the talks with government officials, which could only be through interviews to maintain eligibility.

RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY

The definition of "rational" or "rationality" may vary between one scholar and another along with their disciplines and despite being initially a term commonly used in economic studies, "rational" or "rationality" finds its position in the studies of social and political science and policymaking process in various levels. Warsito (2017) suggests that rational analysis is logical, valid, and efficient

assessment tested empirically and, most importantly, based on fact; further explanation also recommends that rationality may differ in the condition of different contexts and situations. Despite the difference of interpretations between scholars and disciplines, they find one common ground on one aspect: it is indeed the ideal nature of the human mind (Tillyer, 2011) when concluding a decision based on intentional considerations.

Rationality in political science is "rational choice theory," which focuses on the condition of human minds "wanting more" out of something; this term is as the attempt to gain maximum benefits out of a decision without in-depth good-bad consideration. in considering an option based on rational choice theory, three aspects should be the consideration. They are completeness (all alternatives/options listed based on priorities), transitivity (all options can be compared, such as A is better than B, while B is better than C.

Thus, A is better than C, and on), and independency from relevant alternatives (when option A is to be better than B, despite later emergence of option X, B will never be better than A) (Warsito, 2017). Warsito suggests that rational

choice does not necessarily involve one person only (single charismatic individual) in the policymaking process or the decision-making process (DMP) with some occasions of rational decisions made by bureaucratic organizations along with a specific set of characteristics.

In the case of the charismatic individual entity of DMP, the leader possesses certain "charisma" influencing his/her followers to voluntarily follow the lead of the leader and support any of his/her decisions. Past examples indicate the existence of charismatic individuals often related closely to theological (religious) figures such as prophets, messengers, saints, priests. Other religiously influencing characters may have closer ties with God and possess features normal humans are unable to maintain as God gave those features. Further development indicates that charismatic leaders may also have links to genetic backgrounds, educations, social contributions, and more as what modern charismatic figures display when leading his/her people. Weber, in Warsito (2017), considers that becoming overestimated frequently, bureaucratic organizations are "the more efficient, systematic, and predictable" option available to a longer extent of time compared to

the single counterpart. It is often full of secrecy, personal and family-tied, and short-term execution. However, bureaucracy is not flawless; in fact, Tocqueville in Elster (1986) described these flaws as follows: inability to coordinate specific details of a plan, the lack of secrecy, and the lack of courage during execution in time of crisis.

In answering the debate of individual and bureaucratic effectiveness in deciding a policy rationally, scholars suggest the combination of both entities in one system.

The author considers a useful practice in many democratic countries by eliminating any "we often do this" or "it is often done this way" mentality. This strategy seeks further reach of available options in experiments to find suitable alternatives to policies for solving specific issues without creating broader issues or crippling each other's credibility. in this situation, Weber, in Warsito (2017), mentions five importances of the rule of law specified. They are standard norms formed by agreement. the law is a consistent system consciously constituted from basically abstract rules, obedience to law obligated for all entities, decision making based on the *rule of law*, and obedience to

the leader is virtually an impersonal order. Bureaucracy is the definitive form of law domination.

On many occasions, studies regarding rational choice theory in international relations discipline often carefully refer to how national-level entities (central governments) decide a foreign policy to be imposed towards other objects at the same level. in this article, the local government-level approach of rational choice theory by Merrilee S. Grindle (2009) is presumably the most suitable in answering the research question provided previously. the application of rational choice theory in local government-level stresses on the influence of decentralization of power by the central government for the local governments in affecting the entrepreneurship capabilities and capacities of local elected rulers (governors, regents) to manage and utilize available resources and range of connection in competing against other regions within the state and beyond. Grindle in Wibawa (1994) later continued with the explanation. the final decision from the decision-making process shall focus on five aspects. They are types of benefits, desired degree of change, the position of decision-makers,

programs' executors, and resulted in resources.

As for final implementation, four aspects shall also become a consideration: power, interests, strategies of involved actors, and obedience and response capability.

Research Findings

Each leader in all systems ideally believes that every decision he/she makes must serve the betterment of the public based on his/her vision, thus making the policy "different" to his/her predecessor. This situation regularly happens in the policymaking process of West Nusa Tenggara or NTB. It considers the rate of congeniality between each governor's background, vision, and policy. It is safe to assume that the role of charismatic individual influence significantly in the policymaking process of NTB government, but the statement does not necessarily discard the part of the representative council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*/DPRD) entirely in the process (Mahdi, 2019).

Halal Tourism as the Foundation of TGB's Paradiplomacy

Between 2013 and 2018, a governor named Muhammad Zainul Majdi ruled the province of West Nusa Tenggara. He was also the previous governor of NTB in the 2008-2013 period. Muhammad Zainul Majdi, who is famously known as Tuan Guru Bajang or often abbreviated as TGB, ruled NTB for ten years. He is also the grandson of *Nahdlatul Wathan* founder, Muhammad Zainudin Abdulmajid. It is the most significant Islamic movement in West Nusa Tenggara based in Pancor, East Lombok regency, and an alumnus of Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt.

He becomes a significant influence on how Tuan Guru Bajang formed his policies. He primarily mobilized the support of the people by utilizing the three fundamental identities of the people of NTB (Indonesia-ism or Pancasila, NTB-ism, or the harmony of people of NTB despite the ethnic and religious diversity, and Islam-ism or the belief in Allah and Muhammad. Mentioning TGB's success in improving West Nusa Tenggara's economic problems, most of his achievements (TGB. id, n.d.) focused on the sector of halal tourism, infrastructure, and relations with the Islamic world.

Furthermore, his vision for the 2013 governor election of NTB, *Religious and Cultured, Prosperous, and Competitive NTB* (Maga, 2013), already annunciated the

influence of Islamic value in his programs and created a distinction to prior governors' plans and other governors in Indonesia. Neneng Herbawati (2018) went as far as putting TGB's development principle side-to-side with Obamanomics by US President Barrack Obama, Widjojonomics by Prof. Dr. Widjojo Nitisastro, Habibienomics by Prof. Dr. BJ. Habibie, and other economic experts and leaders, by naming TGB's principle "TGBNomics" in her autobiography book entitled *TGBNomics: Ikhtiar NTB Untuk Indonesia*. Through TGBNomics (Herbawati, 2018), Tuan Guru Bajang attempted to create a system of politics and economy in NTB friendly to lower-class community, investors, tourists, and supporting the national development program based on Islamic values as well as nourishing the pride and confidence of NTB people from the negative image *Nanti Tuhan Bantu* (roughly translated into May God Helps) caused by prolonged high poverty rate. Furthermore, the role of the Indonesian government should be accounted for as the *10 Bali Baru* (10 New Bali) project by the central government transformed into an excellent opportunity for NTB's policy options.

In terms of paradiplomacy, the focus of Tuan Guru Bajang administration in developing NTB's economic condition through foreign relations is the promotion of halal tourism brand. Halal tourism in the definition is an attempt to create a tourism system based on the Islamic Sharia law in which the food and drink consumption, accommodation, and other facilities are standardized based on the need of Muslim tourists (Hariani, 2016). Still, it does not necessarily designate to Muslim tourists only as non-Muslim tourists are also guaranteed to enjoy the leisure provided by the halal tourism system. the positive impact of the development of halal tourism in NTB aside of the increasing number of tourist visits and the amount of national and international awards is the increase of working field in the tourism sector for the people of NTB and the nourishment of friendship between NTB with Islamic countries across the world (Busaini, 2017). Attempting to unleash NTB from the "shadow" of Bali as Indonesia's iconic tourist destination of Indonesia, the halal tourism project instigated by Tuan Guru Bajang served not merely as one of the policies promoted by his governance but also the *flagship*

leading almost all his strategies by focusing regional development through infrastructures supporting halal tourism. Further observation indicates the building of relations with local and foreign governments and institutions such as the Australian government and the states included as "Muslim-majority states" in assisting the realization of NTB's goals through various training of foreign languages and tourism management, constructions projects, and fairs. the result is arguably fruitful as NTB received multiple awards from national and international communities successfully applying halal tourism to such extent that it becomes a continuous program for the following periods.

Dr. Zul, Education & Investment, and Paradiplomacy

The rise of Dr. Zulkieflimansyah as the new governor of West Nusa Tenggara province since mid-2018 is a further step in the politics of West Nusa Tenggara. Dr. Zulkieflimansyah or famously known as Dr. Zul or Bang Zul becomes one of few Sumbawanese (one of three majority ethnic groups in NTB aside from Sasak and Mbojo) becoming a governor after a few decades. Another matter deserving attention is that how Dr. Zul, with his

vice governor, Sitti Rohmi Djalilah, the sister of Tuan Guru Bajang, muster public support throughout the province by harnessing both educational background and public contribution before the election period. Among the most perceivable feat by Dr. Zul reasonably boosting his reputation is by being the founder of *Universitas Teknologi Sumbawa* (UTS), one of the most recently established universities in Sumbawa regency (Universitas Teknologi Sumbawa, n.d.).

Dr. Zul is an alumnus of the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow, United Kingdom (UK) graduating from Doctoral Program of International Marketing and Business of Department of Economics in 2001, along with several non-degree programs attained in various universities across Australia, Japan, the Netherlands, UK, and the United States. He eventually delivers a significant influence on how issues of his administration's policies: focusing on the regional economic development by enhancing the quality of human resources through education. the situation presumably goes as far as his entire plan generally guided by his experience as an Indonesian student studying abroad and various reputations

as a lecturer and a member of the national representative council (DPR), and all of them achieved within a period less than fifteen years. Dr. Zul (2019) frequently admits that his policies receives an influence from his experience and his vice governor's desire to build NTB on their vision, becoming the driving force of the formation of NTB Gemilang five-year development plan which consists of six fundamental pillars (Pemerintah Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat, 2019): *NTB Tangguh dan Mantap* (reinforcing disaster mitigation and development of infrastructure and regional connectivity), *NTB Bersih dan Melayani* (transformation for integrated, high-performance, corruption-collusion-nepotism-free, and dedicating bureaucracy), *NTB Sehat dan Cerdas* (enhancement of quality of human resources as the foundation of regional competitiveness), *NTB Asri dan Lestari* (management of natural resources and environment), *NTB Sejahtera dan Mandiri* (poverty eradication, reduction of economic discrepancy, and inclusive economic development relying on agriculture, tourism, and industrialization), and *NTB Aman dan Berkah* (realization of religious and characterized

civil society and law and justice enforcement).

Several findings suggest that Dr. Zulkieflimansyah has developed a set of a rather unorthodox form of paradiplomacy for fulfilling the goal of enhancing the quality of human resources through education. It is utilizing a local-established non-governmental organization in providing support for the regime and its goals. Such policy is visible through the establishment of a sister province plan between NTB and Kujawsko-Pomorskie *voivodeship* (province) in Poland. Appearing like other typical forms of inter-regional paradiplomacy, *Lembaga Pengembangan Pendidikan* (LPP) NTB serves a supporting role by establishing relations with universities in Kujawsko-Pomorskie before the exploratory phase of the official sister province plan's establishment started in October 2018 (Imansyah, 2018). Based on the Letter of Intent (LoI) signed by the governors of both provinces in April 2019, both regions intend to cooperate in sectors such as economy, art and culture, science and education, tourism, and sports (Aulia, 2019).

Regarding the relation between Dr. Zulkieflimansyah's administration and LPP NTB, the information retrieved from

the Bureau of Cooperation Administration of Governor Office of NTB and LPP NTB suggests that LPP NTB is established by Dr. Zulkieflimansyah himself outside the administrative system of the Governor's office (Aulia, 2019). It serves as a means to accomplish one of the administration's mission: the *1000 Cendikia* (Rahadi, 2019), a continuation of one of Dr. Zulkieflimansyah's campaign promises to send 1000 NTB students to study abroad. A non-governmental organization means that LPP NTB's funding undoubtedly sources from funding outside the official budget (APBD). It relies on corporate social responsibility (CSR) of companies operating in NTB, donors of the sympathizers, and scholarships from universities agreeing to cooperate in succeeding in the program (Rahadi, 2019), particularly those outside Indonesia. in many negotiations conducted between the Governor's office with regions outside Indonesia, negotiators from LPP NTB are also present in the meeting along with Dr. Zulkieflimansyah himself, thus revealing the pivotal role of LPP NTB in the process. As per 2019, as this article was in the making, the awardees of the LPP NTB's scholarship ranging around 250 with details provided below:

No.	Type(s) of Scholarship	Host Countries	Program Batch	Grade	Awardee	Study Intake
1	Category A (Fully Funded)	Poland	Batch 1	S2	20	October 2018
			Batch 2	S2	26	February 2019
			Batch 3	S2	26	October 2019
		Malaysia		S2	141	September 2019
2	Category B (Partially Funded)	China		S1	21	October 2019
				S3	16	October 2019

Table 1

Awardee of *Beasiswa NTB* Year 2018-2019
(https://lppntb.com/)

Another purpose of the establishment of LPP NTB is to outmaneuver the "complicated" bureaucracy required for the establishment of formal paradiplomacy cooperation

with regions (Aulia, 2019). Dr. Zulkieflimansyah (2019) argued during an interview that education-based cooperation through LPP NTB serves as a "stepping stone" for more structured and formal cooperation between the Governor's office of NTB and other regions potentially welcoming NTB as their partner. With twelve procedures, the Governor's office has to accomplish to establish formal cooperation based on Regulation of Foreign Minister (Permenlu) Number 3 the Year 2019 regarding the General Guideline on Foreign Relations by Local Governments. the considerable amount of time expended on coordination with DPRD, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and External Affairs included in the twelve procedures respectively has driven Dr. Zulkieflimansyah for another alternative requiring less bureaucratic procedures and time to establish. Tasking a non-governmental organization, creates an early start for the Governor's office of NTB.

Such a form of cooperation received immediate approval from the central government (Liputan6.com, 2018), particularly Indonesia, for the central governments of both Indonesia and Poland attempt to fulfill their interests in NTB. As

NTB's local government attempts to benefit from the sending of students to Poland, Polish corporations invest in various sectors, including tourism and construction, by cooperating with national companies with one recent example being the construction of Sambelia Power Plant (Suara NTB, 2019). Under President Joko Widodo's administration, foreign investment has become a priority for the government to enhance national and regional economy and, with regional leaders authorized to de-bureaucratize investment-related regulations (Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal, n.d.). the Governor's office of NTB adapts with the system by promoting cooperation with governments and organizations on education with an opportunity for investment in return.

DISCUSSION

Based on discoveries related to paradiplomacy practiced by Tuan Guru Bajang and Dr. Zulkieflimansyah, several points are taken into account, particularly the reasoning behind the focused sectors of paradiplomacy in each period and how the public of NTB views the policies of each governor. in the case of paradiplomacy policies issued by the two governors of

NTB between 2013 and 2018, both legislative and executive may have different reasonings on enlisting halal tourism in TGB's era and education and investment in Dr. Zul's era as an option for paradiplomacy aside with the afore-existing tourism and investment options. Further investigation reveals that the factors why the two governors alongside the representative council decide to select the two options: external and internal.

Factors and Rational Considerations

External factors of such paradiplomacy options mainly refer to situations occurring outside the national jurisdiction and border of NTB's government and Indonesian government entirely, thus leaving NTB's government, particularly both governors, with the option to adapt to the situation. Two of the most prominent and repeatedly discussed factors is the emergence of ASEAN Community as a new integration platform of Southeast Asian countries included in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN consisting of economic, socio-cultural, and politics-security integration agreements signed by presidents and legal representatives of each member state. the integration plan for both governors and the local

representative council (DPRD) serves as both an opportunity and threat to NTB's economy as the loosening of regulations on the flow of people, goods, services, and technology between member states. At the same time, it benefits NTB as the trade road becomes wider and more flexible, are also vulnerable to domination as the free market model of ASEAN is a competition. Those unable to compete will experience an unintended overflow of such goods, services, and more, thus leading both governors to be creative in handling such issues. the second issue is the fulfillment task of United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which Indonesia signed in 2015 and, along with the other 189 UN member states, plan to gratify in the year 2030. the SDGs' fulfillment aims for global mutual prosperity consisting of 17 goals and 169 targets.

The third factor emerges from the demands of cooperation initiated by foreign governments and other institutions, which undeniably intend to fulfill their own previously mentioned three goals (purely economic, multipurpose, and regional identity/political interests). in the practice of paradiplomacy agreements between NTB and foreign institutions (governments,

companies, and universities), the agreement regularly involves two paradiplomacy sectors or more with the expectation that when one side does not receive a direct benefit from one sector. the other included sectors may assist. For instance, the agreement between NTB and Kujawsko-Pomorskie, Poland, involves the Polish government's and companies' investment in Special Economic Zone (*Kawasan Ekonomi Khusus* or KEK) Mandalika, Lombok in exchange of NTB students studying in Toruń and other cities across the Kujawsko-Pomorskie. However, foreign direct investment (FDI) in Indonesia is a national-level issue, and the sustainable energy facilities investment is a continuation of the Indonesia-Polish central government agreement.

Internally, the first factor to consider is the demand of people and the governors' vision to moderate a "change" in the system, demanding it to improve on sectors previous governments missed continuously. in other words, while the governors insist on creating a distinct vision, missions, and policies to their predecessors, the people simultaneously request "better government" than before, based on the desired conditions

backed by experiences. As TGB intended to build NTB through a religious-based tourism concept, Dr. Zulkieflimansyah intended to build NTB through developing human resources and economy through education (Zulkieflimansyah, 2019) and investment.

The second factor is the condition of NTB's Human Development Index (HDI) being "lower than the national average rate." the latest calculation of HDI issued by *Badan Pusat Statistik* (BPS) indicated that the HDI of NTB experienced a gradual increase for eight years by starting at 61,16 in 2010 and ending at 67,30 in 2018. Despite the increase, such numbers are still below the national means ranging from 66,53 per 2010 to 71,39 per 2018. the HDI Growth per year for the province is also relatively inconsistent, with the lowest laying at 0,88 percent in 2014 and 0,95 percent in 2016. Still, the numbers indicated signs of improvement with average growth being higher compared with the national mean every year with graphics designated below:
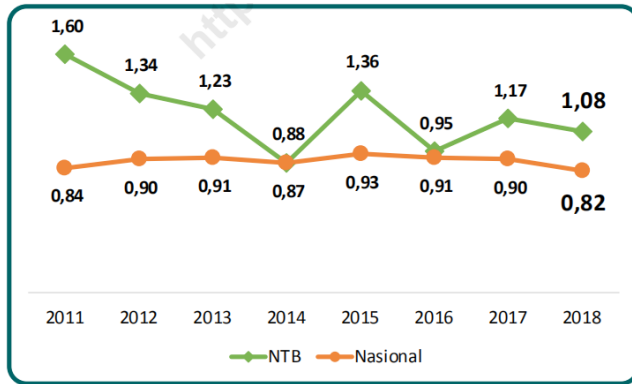
Graphic 1

HDI Growth Percentage of NTB Province Year 2011-2018
(*Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat* (2019))
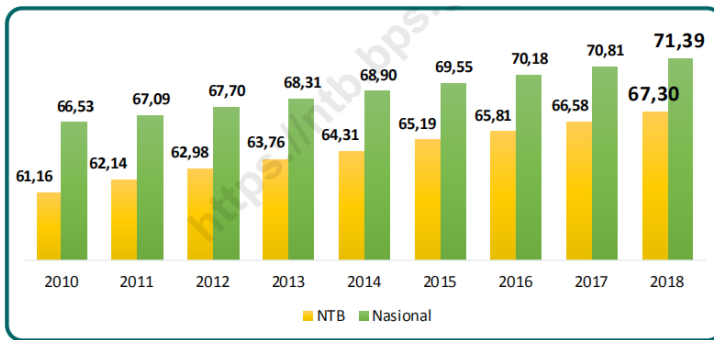
Graphic 2: HDI of NTB Year 2010-2018

(*Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat* (2019))

Lastly, the desire of each governor to "globalize" NTB in their plan is influencing the paradiplomacy trend. If Tuan Guru Bajang "globalized" NTB through the introduction and massive promotion of the "halal tourism" brand to the global Muslim community, Dr. Zul focuses on granting a chance for NTB students to promote their country and province through diaspora for the same purpose. Furthermore, both governors fulfill the goal by increasing the reach of their policy and flexibility of the application. One example is the determination of Dr. Zul to exclude "obligatory dedication" to a governmental institution for the scholarship awardees and allow them to "seek their career" while building the

image of NTB in the international community. Another example is the continuous deregulation of NTB's bureaucratic and licensing system in TGB's era, responding President's Joko Widodo's mandate to create an investor-friendly ecosystem, particularly in the newly established KEK Mandalika (Herbawati, 2018).

Public Opinion and Critics

A dubbed good and applicable policy is not completely perfect nor necessarily pleasing everyone within the society, either those belonging to the civilian or government officials. At some moments, critics are inevitable as a systemized policy is regardless prone to flaws at some points, particularly executions. the same rule frequently happens in the last two periods of government within the scope of West Nusa Tenggara province, where, despite various innovative policies issued with such deemed-perfect planning, they still display flaws, thus triggering critics from the society.

Responding to Tuan Guru Bajang's "halal tourism" paradiplomacy policy, the author admits that executing such a publicly unfamiliar policy, arguably the first in Indonesia at the time, requires lots of courage and systematic planning thus enabling the policy

to extract the desired output. However, the development of "halal tourism" in NTB almost entirely focuses on Lombok island with considerably little-to-no attention to potentials Sumbawa island might provide (PSnews, 2016). For people residing in Sumbawa, this condition frequently leads to the "jealous sentiment" of Sumbawanese, which ironically has been a long-living sentiment even before the period Tuan Guru Bajang became the governor of NTB firstly in 2008. the author realizes TGB's plan to exploit the *Pulau 1000 Masjid* (1000 Mosques Island) identity of Lombok island, indicating the majority of the Lombok population being Muslim (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat, 2019) in building "halal tourism." Despite so, such a situation may lead to other sectors receiving less attention, and the Sumbawanese are considerably anxious that such a condition possibly turns into a reality. Another issue that often emerges and purposively aimed towards the "halal tourism" paradiplomacy is the fear that TGB systematically ignores the economic role of other religious groups residing in NTB, particularly Lombok island as the center of "halal tourism" policy. Maintaining harmonious relations

between ethnoreligious groups and having Balinese ethnic embracing Hinduism as the second-largest community in NTB serve as both a unique trait a challenge to NTB regardless of the time and place. Fortunately, research by Setiawati (2019) indicated that the Hindu community involved in the halal tourism project is generally pleased and positive with the economic prospects potentially emerging from halal tourism. However, lack of proper socialization and training to the society, particularly the workers at various tourism facilities (hotels, restaurants), and the tourist often led to misunderstandings, thus reducing the effectiveness of such a perfectly-planned policy.

The next administration also appears to be struggling with the same issue (Baihaqi, 2019) despite the routine visits and monitoring conducted by the governor. the desired executions are considerably patchy and hasty (Talika News, 2019), thus triggering critics from the public and government officials. Officials and political parties often become one of the first to respond and criticize the policies of the local government in NTB. For the Chief of *Fraksi Bintang Perjuangankan Nurani Rakyat* (FBPNR) for DPRD NTB, L. Budi Suriyata (Talika

News, 2019), the policies of Dr. Zulkieflimansyah's administration, including the education and investment-based paradiplomacy, are prone to mal-administration due to the hurried implementations but able to be tackled through proper planning and information system. Another issue commonly discussed is the inequal treat the government laid on the revitalization of Lombok island following the earthquake in mid-2018, stated by *Koalisi Masyarakat Sipil NTB* and *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia – Perjuangan* (PDI-P) NTB (Hidayat & Zulfikar, 2019).

For the public, the critics on Dr. Zulkieflimansyah's policies, education, and investment-based paradiplomacy, in particular, mostly aim at how the lack of proper information and contact system of the Governor's office on the scholarship during first months of application. Due to this issue, applicants often found themselves ignored by LPP NTB as the committee with uncertain requirements and the inability of the committee to respond immediately and later refrained their intentions to enlist (Fahriza, 2018). For worse, the inability for proper information and communication system also causes suspicion among society. the

awardees are "close" to the governor, causing what the author describes as "a waste of potential talent." Another issue is as stated by the Secretary of Education and Cultural Department of NTB (Disdikbud NTB). Sukran (2019), mentions the necessity of improvement of the capability of all students of NTB, especially those participating in LPP NTB's scholarship, namely *Beasiswa NTB*, to speak, write, and read in foreign languages (i.e., English, Mandarin) to improve their study abroad. the author suggests that the improvement of the capability of students of NTB in communicating with foreign languages may also elevate NTB's reputation towards the host countries.

The last issue appearing during the implementation is the presence of unnecessary fear of the NTB society that is known to be religious, particularly the parents, that studying abroad may lead their children into ideologies contradicting religious teachings (Fahriza, 2018). While appearing trivial, such issue shall be the attention for fear of communicating with the outside world will hinder the progress of the government and the society to improve. in tackling the issue, the task of the government mainly centers on educating the society that ideologies adopted in any states are not necessarily affecting the ideologies of the students, and character-building at home is the primary task of the parents to guide and strengthen their children's principles. With such effort, the knowledge and experience retrieved by the students can open the minds of people fearing to face the outside world.

CONCLUSION

NTB's paradiplomacy trends for the last five years rely on the initiative of the governors as the leader of the movement and their capability to exploit available resources and connection to improve the regional competitiveness in the middle of competition between regions within the same state and outside. With various available options, the governors should experiment and expand the region's capability in challenging the continuously changing and demanding global economy. Frequently relying on regional identity, personal experience, and the current trend, the two governors ruling between 2013 and 2018 exactly committed so by introducing halal tourism paradiplomacy initiated by Tuan Guru Bajang and education and investment-based paradiplomacy by

Dr. Zulkieflimansyah. the reasonings may vary depending on the situation at the time, but the mutual line is drawable, thus dividing the influential factors into external and internal. Externally, the influence of ASEAN Community, United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and the demands for cooperation expressed by foreign institutions, being governments, companies, and organizations, play significant roles in driving the trend of paradiplomacy in NTB these years. Internally, an attempt to increase the province's HDI, realization of creating a "different" policy from the predecessors, and "globalizing" NTB considerably play the role to a certain degree.

However, such policies are not invulnerable to flaws, particularly in the implementation. For instance, Tuan Guru Bajang's halal tourism plan lacks full-scale socialization to the locals and tourists, thus frequently causing misinterpretation of the whole halal tourism idea. Another issue is that while Lombok island is prosperous for the halal tourism paradiplomacy, Sumbawa island is not exactly benefited from it, thus further prolonging the economic "jealous sentiment" between people of Sumbawa and Lombok island. Dr.

Zulkieflimansyah's paradiplomacy plan is as brilliant in many ways as there have been reports of mal-administration, poor information system management in its early days, and parents' fear of their children "contaminated" by foreign ideologies.

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Reframing in Conflict Mediation: Empowering Parties or Manipulating Decision-Making?

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Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan bagaimana mengkonstruksikan kembali bentuk mediasi melalui suatu analisis framing. Konsep framing dalam sebuah mediasi adalah sebuah bentuk komunikasi yang dibingkai secara konstruktif. Dalam dinamika konflik, proses mediasi menjadi bagian yang paling menentukan dalam proses pemecahan masalah. Bagaimana seorang mediator mampu membingkai ulang konsep mediasi ini dengan memberdayakan pihak-pihak yang berkonflik untuk dapat keluar dari masalah tanpa harus memperburuk situasi. Adapun metode yang digunakan dalam penulisan ini adalah bersifat kualitatif dengan pendekatan sebuah analisis freming yang menjelaskan bahwa seorang mediator bukanlah pengambil keputusan dari proses negosiasi, akan tetapi seorang mediator mampu mencari solusi terhadap permasalahan yang bersifat konstruktif dan kooperatif sesuai dengan kemampuan mediator.

Kata Kunci: *Framing, Konflik, Mediasi, Pengambilan Keputusan*

Abstract

This study aims to explain how to reconstruct the form of mediation through a framing analysis. the concept of framing in negotiation is a form of constructively framed communication. the dynamics of conflict, the mediation process, become the most decisive part of the problem-solving process and how a mediator can reframe the mediation concept by empowering conflicting parties without worsening the situation. the research method used qualitative with a framing analysis approach. It explains that a mediator is not a decision-maker in the negotiation process. A mediator can find solutions to constructive

and cooperative problems following the mediator's abilities.

Keywords: *Framing, Conflict, Mediation, Decision Making*

INTRODUCTION

One of the beneficial skills that have to be mastered by mediators is the technique of reframing. Reframing here refers to the communication skill utilized by the mediator to change the parties' thoughts to a more affirmative meaning to support parties in gaining resolution (Mayer, 2000:132). in other words, reframing means to shift the frame that is fabricated by parties to describe the problem or conflict into another more constructive frame.

Given the importance of the skill in determining the settlement in a mediation process, this paper will examine whether reframing skills could empower parties. It eventually brings them to an agreement, or rather this skill is a form of manipulating the issues and decisions conducted by a mediator, which might consequently exacerbate the dispute. It will argue that reframing can be regarded as both empowering parties and manipulating choices in mediation. Empowering parties means that the mediator uses his/her communication skills to support parties in finding ways to resolve (Sharland, 2007) by reframing the negative frame delivered by parties. Whereas manipulation here refers to, using the Robert Benjamin's term (1995), as a positive deception that could encourage parties to gain a resolution as well, despite the potential risks that might be counterproductive with the principle of mediation itself.

This paper, thus, will be divided into four parts to substantiate the argument. the first part will be discussing the reframing skill in general and as well as its application in the process of mediation. the idea of this part is to explore what is reframing itself in general, including its purposes and methods. the next section will be analyzing the concept of empowerment in mediation. It will then have an elaboration through the discussion of reframing. Afterward, it will be discussing on how reframing is in a more negative term as a form of manipulating decision-making. It will explain whether or not reframing is genuinely a form

of deception. the last part of the paper will then conclude that while reframing could empower parties to reach an agreement, it is also manipulative in specific ways.

RESULT AND EXPLANATION

Reframing in Mediation: General Introduction

The mediator needs to have competence or skill of communication when dealing with parties in conflict or dispute. By having specific knowledge of communication and the ability to use it in the mediation process, it could facilitate parties to progress and to reach an agreement. For instance, when dealing with an interpersonal dispute such as a divorce dispute, the mediator should understand how the emotion of parties when responding to issues related to divorce. in this situation, what mediator should do is that he/she has to utilize his/her communication strategy in facilitating parties to get accurate and positive information exchange among them. Failure conversely creates a tough situation in which parties insist upon their position due to the unclear information delivered by the mediator. Hence, the agreement is consequently challenging to reach (Donohue, Allen & Burrell, 1985: 76-77).

'Reframing' is one of the communication skills that equip mediator in facilitating parties. It is perceived as crucial since the mediator in the mediation process frequently encounters a situation in which parties came with their frame of interpretation to describe or to behave in the dispute they are involving. the concept of 'frame or framing' itself has been offered by Bateson (1972) to refer to a psychological idea where conversations or social actions have a construction within restricted meaning based on the interpretation of each party. It is as a result, including particular messages and disregarding others (Benjamin & Irving, 2005:478; Bodtker & Jameson, 1997:238). These frames might consequently not only create misinterpretation and misunderstanding by the other party but also make each party remain to insist upon their position that might bring the mediation to an uncomfortable atmosphere. Hence, the mediator in this circumstance should 'reframe' the statements that tend to be misunderstood by or to insult other parties into a new frame containing neutral or positive meanings.

Tracing back the historical experiences, the technique of reframing is not new in human history. in dealing with their internal conflict, for instance, humans frequently and automatically reframe specific issues that have put them in a complicated situation into a frame that make them feel better. When encountered with the problem of losing someone who they are loved, individuals would tend to think, "I am sure she wouldn't have wanted me to cry or be sad if she were here." This kind of reframing is simple yet successfully to convince the reframer that they could still "move on" and do not occupy their sorrow (Zaffar, 2008).

The application of reframing strategy in current practice has been developed well and is in a particular situation. the method of reframing conducted by a psychiatrist, Milton H. Erickson, shows that reframing can create significant changes in the thought and behavior of the patient. Erickson encountered a problem where his patient, a teacher, and a pious Catholic, were feeling under pressure because of her bad behavior that frequently passes her flatus loudly in her teaching activity in the classroom. She then locked herself in her room, avoiding interaction with the people around her. in this situation, Erickson constructed a new frame for his patient by saying (Rosen, 1974, in Zaffar, 2008),

"*You say that you are a good Catholic. Then why do you insult the Lord; why do you make a mockery of him? You ought to be ashamed of yourself - making a mockery of God and calling yourself a good Catholic.*" Erickson continued to state, "*[I] hauled out my anatomy book, an atlas showing all the illustrations of the body. I showed her a cross-section of the rectum and anal sphincter. I said, 'Now, man is very skillful at building things. But, can you imagine a man being sufficiently skillful at building a valve that contains solid matter, liquid matter, and air- and emits downward only the air?' I said, 'God did. Why don't you respect God?'*"

At the final stage, Erickson suggested a behavioral prescription towards his patient. As restated by Zaffar (2008), "He ordered her to eat some baked beans flavored by garlic and onions (a great stimulant for the colon) and then dance around her apartment naked, "emitting loud ones, soft ones, big ones, little ones … and enjoy God's work." Finally, that woman had successfully overcome her problem and involved in any social activities. This experience showed how Erickson shifted the

underlying frame of his patient by using her religious worldview as a way to justify her awkwardness and turn it as an acceptable matter in social life.

Through the example experienced by Erickson, the purpose of reframing is to shift the context situation faced by a patient to another better context. This technique, as stated by Zaffar (2008), is called "Reframing by Recontextualization." It is how a new frame/context created through the previously factual background of the patient itself (religious belief, or socio-economic status). Despite changing into a modern context, reframing is also to persuade parties, that is, moving out from the current circumstance and *status quo*. Here, the mediator helps parties to open their minds upon a higher possibility of achieving settlement in the future by exploring parties' creative solutions.

There are many ways to do reframing in dispute. For instance, Fisher and Ury (1991) suggested the technique of "agree to disagree." Mediator using this technique to facilitate people intolerant with homosexuality, for example, is likely challenging to persuade them, and they believe in that position into a change after mediation. the mediator

should try to convince parties to the point that might be able to realize them upon the different believe they have, yet it is not to falsify the belief. Instead, it focuses on finding the core mutual values that might assist parties in reaching an agreement. Nevertheless, the use of this technique is widespread in mediation. It, too, focuses on values on future problems instead of the immediate one.

Another method that is more practical in reframing conflict is, as advocated by Jennifer Fisher, Coben & Love, the practice of rituals and symbols. By bringing foods, drinks, and eating together at the same table will much reduce the level of tension between disputants and create a comfortable atmosphere so that they could be more cooperative. Also, a technique such as active listening is necessary to reframe conflict. Active listening requires mediator not only to listen carefully and actively but also to give a constructive reflection of his/her thoughts in responding to parties' issues without making any judgments. This constructive thinks that permeates into the words, sentences, and conversation done by the mediator is used to reframe the specific problems that might bring positive meaning to parties and ignore other issues that might

negatively affect the mediation and parties (Phillips, 1999: 170).

Furthermore, reframing is also a tool to exercise the mediator's power in intervening parties. Intervention here means that the mediator uses his/her ability to reshape the structure or content of language, proposal, discourse, or utterance delivered by parties. It is a part of evaluation towards the appropriateness of parties' recommendations whether or not it will bring a solution to the dispute. Intervention through reframing moreover functions to provide alternatives to parties and bring them to a single shared-view perspective in which common elements of their proposal are reconstructed by mediator so that it will help parties to achieve mutual understanding and desirable solution. By doing useful reframing, it will change the way conflict being represented by parties through language and discourse into a constructive discussion (Donohue, Allen, & Burrell, 1985:80; Gerami, 2009:443).

Reframing: Empowering Parties

One of the underlying purposes of mediation is to empower parties, meaning that through mediation, practice parties initially unable to

find a way to solve the dispute are facilitated and supported in finding and developing their solution to settle their dispute. Cobb (1993) asserts that mediation is to empower parties, and Mayer (2000) has argued that the essence of mediation itself is to provide an empowering approach to solve serious conflict and dispute. This part of the paper then attempts to investigate whether the practice of reframing by the mediator is empowering parties and supporting the mediation process as a means to facilitate parties to achieve resolution.

To understand and determine whether reframing is a form of empowering parties, it will be necessary first to discuss the concept of empowerment in mediation. Many authors, researchers, and practitioners in mediation agree that 'empowerment' is an important aspect of mediation. However, there is no single agreed-upon what exactly the concept is (O'Reardon, 2011), and it is indeed an ambiguous and indefinable concept (Sharland, 2007). Apart from that matter, empowerment itself is the core principle within the philosophy of mediation, and this is one of the reasons why mediation is a global method of dispute/

conflict resolution in various sectors (Doherty & Guyler, 2008: 173).

The essence of empowerment in mediation is an attempt at supporting parties through certain strategies conducted by a mediator to facilitate parties to find their way to reach an agreement. It is as emphasized by Cobb (1997) that " … empowered parties experience increased self-esteem, improved control over decision making, an increased sense of their power, and the reduction of painful emotions". What Cobb has stressed reflects that empowerment is precisely one of the core functions of mediation, that is, to merely facilitate parties to solve their dispute in their ways in a constructive manner. As the dispute that emerged from the parties' interactions, the mediator only functions to guide and facilitate them in which there should be a solution to the dispute from the disputants or parties' initiatives. Doherty and Guyler (2008) point out factors that make empowerment rests within the process of mediation, such as the decision to involve in mediation is based on the parties' decision without any coercion from any other people. Parties themselves determine the issues and topics discussed in mediation. Parties decide the decision and the

content of agreement without any intervention from the mediator. the faithfulness of the agreement is up to the disputants or parties themselves (2008:173). These factors clearly show a simple set for and by the conflicting parties, and they accordingly need to be empowered throughout the mediation process so that there should be desirable solutions.

Why parties need to be empowered and how by empowering parties in mediation might help them to find the solution upon their dispute could also be well understood by exploring the main aspect of the empowerment itself. O'Reardon (2011) pointed out three important aspects of empowerment: cognitive, linguistic, and emotional. the cognitive aspect in empowerment describes the persons' ability to see new alternatives or choices that they did not see beforehand. It does not mean that the persons do not have the choices or options before, but it gives persons a new perspective in seeing that they have choices to solve their problem and dispute. in another way, it also constructs a person's belief and gives awareness upon a new believer or norm. For instance, a person who believes that persons from certain ethnicities, says ethnic B, is rude. It would influence

someone's behavior in interacting and interpretation in seeing the problem. the critical question is whether or not these beliefs could help us to find ways of solving the problem. Empowerments then function to reshape this belief to a new belief that is more constructive in seeing the relationship.

The aspect of linguistic in empowerment means that empowerment could help a person to provide a new language to express self-feeling. Imagine that if we could only express the feeling of down and low by 'sad,' it will make us see that all emotional feeling is only described by the word 'sad.' the consequence of it is that it would difficult to address the deep source of emotion specifically. It would be different if we could have words such as 'depressed,' 'melancholy,' 'disaffected,' and 'alienated,' which through these words could reflect a specific source of the emotion and enable us to respond properly. Empowerment thus helps the person to express feelings and emotions through languages.

The last aspect is emotional. in expressing their emotion, disempowered people do not know how to express it and tend to behave in unhealthy ways appropriately. in a discussion or mediation, a disempowered party does not know how to choose the right decision, being aggressive, or do not focus on the core problem of dispute. Empowerment enables disempowered parties to manage their emotion appropriately. Thus, this emotion could be more positively and productively.

With the discussion of the empowerment above, the essence of mediation itself is to empower parties. of course, for enabling parties, the mediator needs to develop and utilize specific skills and strategies. They are the main topics of the paper, 'Does reframing skill and strategy empower parties?'

It will argue that reframing is a skill that serves to empower parties in mediation. the idea of empowerment, as discussed above, is enabling parties that they are authorized or encouraged through specific skills and strategies of the mediator to find and explore their potential personal capacity for solving their problem and eventually reaching an agreeable solution. Reframing accordingly, as argued by Mayer (2000), functions to empower parties throughout its practices and principles. Livingood (2002) points out some reasons for using reframing in mediation to illuminate the empowering aspect

of reframing, and these reasons reflect the tradition and policy of reframing as a way of empowering disputants/parties. Firstly, through reframing, a mediator can help parties to understand, and clarifying issues reviewed. By reframing, a mediator may help parties to narrow the complex problems and guide them in determining the essence of the problem. As suggested by Livingood, reframing statements from parties means clarify which issues to include in the process of mediation or by asking parties questions leading them to reframe their original statements. For example:

"*Original Statement*: "Our members are highly skilled and deserve to be paid for their skills."

"*Request to Frame*: "Are you saying that all your members are highly skilled and all deserve higher pay?"

"*Reframed statement*: Our mechanics and technicians are the ones I am talking about; they deserve higher rates." (Livingood, 2002: 45).

The example of reframing above shows that the mediator asks questions to a party so that the issue becomes narrower and help the party to identify his underlying interests. Furthermore, it might also open

parties' minds and perspectives to think constructively in responding to their problems.

Secondly, reframing may create a new alternative perspective. By proposing a new alternative so that an old viewpoint can change. Parties are to see and understand the issues through a different light. It can be by using neutral or positive language and statements. Reframing through proper and positive communication might persuade parties to avoid certain words and comments that might trigger other parties' emotions and make them listen to their statements or their opponent. By hearing and understanding each proposal and issue through positive feedback, it would make parties think about their issue more constructively.

There are many more reasons to show that reframing is a form of empowering parties, but this will be the last point here, that is, by reframing it will assist parties to obtain their common problems and goals. Mayer (2000) and Livingood (2002) outline through their work that by reframing parties' paradigm and worldview also helps them to see not only the issues but also their position within the conflict system they have built through different light and perspective. the mediator

needs to engage parties to change their storyline, alter their dramatic view of the conflict, hear each other, and encourage parties to work together in establishing common-shared story taken from their every element of the story. Then, they could find their common problems and goals (Mayer, 2000: 137-138; Livingood, 2002:48). It eventually will bring parties to be cooperative and help them to reach an acceptable agreement.

Reframing and its manipulative aspect

Despite its function to empower parties, reframing also serves as to manipulate parties. Some authors, such as Bernard Mayer, James Coben, Lela P. Love, and Robert Benjamin, acknowledge the manipulative aspect of reframing practice. For instance, Mayer (2000) argued that "…reframing can also be manipulative. It can be for people to talk out of their concerns or feelings or to water down a conflict or an issue" (2000: 139). Likewise, Coben and Love contend that mediator frequently uses reframing as manipulation and deception so that parties could consider issues and proposals through different perspectives, and that could promote settlement (in Coben, 2000: 4; and Coben & Love,

2010: 20). Benjamin (1995), also considered that reframing in the form of deception could "…create an opportunity for the disputants' current unproductive worldviews to discard so that newer and more productive frames can emerge" (in Blanciak, 2002).

While reframing as manipulating parties' decisions and issues are common in the practice of mediation as to some extent it could foster the settlement, it is not recommended by some authors and practitioners in the field to frequently apply it. Benjamin (1995), a proponent of manipulative reframing, argues, as restated by Blanciak (2002), in a complicated situation, utilizing logic and reason is unlikely to convince parties to move out of their position. It is, therefore, by reframing in a manipulative way justified as an attempt to help parties in finding a solution. Instead of using the term 'manipulative,' the word 'deception' is seen to be more appropriate for Benjamin to describe this matter. the deception through reframing in Benjamin's account requires a mediator to sync with the worldview of each party. Mediator then should accept the "truth" of this worldview and use it to reframe the context. For Benjamin, this is "tricky . . .

because the mediator must be able to synchronize with each party's construction of reality in a manner that does not appear to invalidate any other party to the dispute". Adding Benjamin's account, Blanciak (2002) argues, "The deception involves the mediator working in a very indirect manner so as not to make a rational argument but to reframe." Moreover, Blanciak describes how Benjamin claimed to reframe as productive deception to resolution.

"Benjamin gives an example of reframing a dispute between parties who are actively fighting. First, he joins their worldview by complementing them "on how well they fight."He then continues by reframing the fighting into something positive. He tells them that "people who fight well can negotiate well." This technique is similar to what the deceptive trickster does in "twist[ing] their words and shift[ing] the context of the discussion" to a more productive frame. He continues in stating that "[r]eframing provides a technique by which resistance can be surreptitiously bypassed."

The goal of all of this is for the mediator "to reposition each of the antagonists so that the dispute is amenable to a resolution."

Taking the same position as Benjamin, Matthews (2011) has

also argued that manipulation in reframing can always be allowed as long as it is applied at the right time and for a definite end. He emphasizes that there is no something wrong to be manipulative as the aim of it is to stop parties to regard themselves as internally bad and to help them in enhancing their capacity to solve a problem through their creative solutions (2011: 2).

However, authors such as Mayer, Coben, and Love have informed that this strategy (manipulative/deception) might work to bring parties into an agreement and to give parties different perspectives in seeing their proposal. It may bring many risks to the parties and mediator as well. Mayer (2000: 139) has argued that "Manipulative reframing leads to disputants' mistrust of the process of resolution and of the third parties who are involved." Similarly, Coben and Love stress the risk of manipulative reframing by arguing that, "A major concern is a possibility that sophisticated mediation consumers are more «immune» to these types of mediator moves than are one-time participants" (2010: 20).

CONCLUSION

The essence of mediation is to empower parties. Empowering

parties means that through mediation, parties are facilitated and helped to find their solution upon the dispute they are involving. A mediator is not the one that determines the decision-making and the agreement in the mediation. Instead, parties are encouraged constructively and cooperatively through their capacity and creativity. To establish a mediation process in which parties are working together constructively, the mediator needs specific skills in assisting his or her role. Reframing is one of the communication skills in mediation that should be mastered and utilized by a mediator. This paper argues that the principle and practice of reframing is similar to the mediation philosophy to empower parties.

Reframing enables parties in terms of its methods which assist parties to shift their negative frame, help them to obtain and explore their potential and capacity to create their accepted solution, and to engage them in fixing their relationship. All these matters are the principles of empowering parties advocated during the process of mediation. However, reframing can be in manipulative ways. the proponent of this technique argues that it is ethically justifiable as long as its goal is to help parties to find

their capacity to achieve agreement. Nevertheless, some risks should be suggested by Mayer and Coben, that it might create distrust between parties, and it could make parties more 'immune' in particular cases.

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The Effort of, NGO, BOS, in (Borneo Orangutan Survival) Foundation in Saving Orangutans in Central Kalimantan (2016-2019)

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Abstract

This paper will describe the BOS (Borneo Orangutan Survival) Foundation's effort as an NGO in saving Orangutans. Orangutan is one of the endemic animals of the island of Borneo, which currently lives in threatening conditions. Bornean Orangutans are in the endangered category, and there are 57,000 individuals left. Even in the last 20 years, the population of Bornean Orangutans has decreased by 55% due to illegal logging, clearing of oil palm land, and poaching. Through the Convention on International Trade in wild plants and animals or the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES), orangutans are one of the endangered primates and animals to protect. the author used advocacy theory in explaining BOS efforts. To face this situation, the BOSF is implementing an effort or way through social media campaigns with the #ClimbForOrangutan, #OrangutanFreedom, and #SaveDodo strategies. Another effort undertaken by the BOS Foundation to continue to fight in saving orangutans, including their habitat, is to work with overseas partners and organizations that also focus on animal rescue and conservation.

Keywords: BOS, Orangutan, NGO, Advocacy

Abstrak

Tulisan ini akan mendeskripsikan bagaimana upaya BOS (Borneo Orangutan Survival) Foundation sebagai NGO dalam menyelamatkan Orangutan. Orangutan merupakan salah satu hewan endemik pulau Kalimantan yang saat ini hidup dalam kondisi terancam. Orangutan Kalimantan masuk dalam

kategori terancam punah dan tersisa 57.000 individu. Bahkan dalam 20 tahun terakhir populasi Orangutan Kalimantan berkurang hingga 55% hal ini diakibatkan karena adanya penebangan liar, pembukaan lahan kelapa sawit dan perburuan liar. Hal ini juga disepakati melalui Konvensi tentang Perdagangan Internasional tumbuhan dan satwa liar atau Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) bahwa Orangutan adalah salah satu primata yang terancam punah dan merupakan hewan yang harus kita lindungi. Penulis menggunakan teori advokasi dalam menjelaskan upaya BOS. Menghadapi situasi ini, BOS Foundation melakukan sebuah upaya atau cara melalui kampanye di media sosial dengan hastag #ClimbForOrangutan, #OrangutanFreedom dan #SaveDodo, upaya lain yang dilakukan BOS Foundation agar terus berjuang dalam penyelamatan Orangutan dan habitatnya ialah bekerjasama dengan mitra-mitra luar negeri maupun organisasi-organisasi yang juga berfokus pada penyelamatan hewan dan konservasi.

Kata Kunci: *BOS, Orangutan, NGO, Advokasi*

INTRODUCTION

Orangutan is one of the endemic animals of the island of Borneo, which currently lives in an unsafe condition. the existence of illegal logging and illegal burning of forests makes the Orangutan population increasingly decreases. the rescuers have made various efforts. One of them is building captive breeding due to the current condition of the orangutans so that they can live comfortably and without threats. in Indonesia, there are two types of orangutans, namely Sumatran Orangutan (Pongo Abelli) and Kalimantan orangutan (Pongo Pygamaeus). Kalimantan's orangutans alone are estimated at around 54 thousand individuals and grouped into three types of children. First is Pongo pygmaeus, which is north of the Kapuas River (West Kalimantan) to the northeast of Sarawak (Malaysia). the second, Pongo pygmaeus morio, lives in Sabah (Malaysia) to the south of the Mahakam River, East Kalimantan. the third is Pongo pygmaeus wurmbii, seen from the southern part of the Kapuas River (West Kalimantan) to the east of the Barito River (Central Kalimantan) (Teroka Borneo, 2018).

Orangutan population is increasingly decreasing. Even in the last 20 years, Borneo's orangutan population has reduced by 55%. Sumatran and Kalimantan orangutans have critically endangered because of their population of 7,500 living in nature while the remaining Borneo Orangutan 57,000 species. Some of the causes of the decline in orangutan populations include the practice of poaching and illegal burning, the conversion of forests into oil palm plantations, climate change, and forest fires (WWF, 2018). Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) has agreed that orangutan is one of Indonesia's endemic endangered species and needs significant attention so that its population is maintained. Bornean, Sumatran, and Tapanuli Orangutan populations are about to extinct due to habitat loss due to poaching. Bornean Orangutan population has declined by more than 80% in the last three generations. the World Conservation Union (IUCN RED LIST 2007) classifies these three species as endangered species. It also puts them in Appendix I to the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) (BOS, 2018).

The government regulate the protection of animals and plants through Law Number 5 of 1990 concerning Conservation of Living Natural Resources and Ecosystems and Government Regulation Number 7 of 1999 concerning Preservation of Plant and Animal Species, and at the international level Orangutans occupy Appendix I status in CITES, which means Orangutans are not for sale (Nur, 2017). in dealing with the problem of Orangutans, of course, the role of government alone is not enough, and there is a need for cooperation from related organizations, the contribution, and participation of NGOs (Non-Government Organizations) greatly assist the government in the preservation and development of the Orangutan itself. in Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan, for example, there is an orangutan breeding site, the Nyaru Menteng Arboretum managed by the conservation organization BOSF (Borneo Orangutan Survival Foundation). According to BOSF, Orangutans at the BOSF rehabilitation center are threatened by their population and habitat due to illegal logging, forest fires, and oil palm companies. So this has

become a problem in itself so that the Orangutan population will not decrease (Rahmadi, 2016).

Borneo Orangutan Survival Foundation (BOSF) is a non-profit organization or NGO in Indonesia and was founded by Dr. Wille Smits in 1991 with the objectives of orangutan reintroduction, rehabilitation, and protection of wildlife habitat protected by law, especially Orangutans and providing information, outreach and education, community capacity building, community empowerment, and community awareness-raising. BOS manages the orangutan rescue, rehabilitation, and reintroduction program in East and Central Kalimantan. BOS Foundation has a vision of «Realizing the Conservation of the Orangutan of Kalimantan and its Habitat with community participation,» and its mission of Reintroduction, Protection, Community Empowerment, Research and Education, Collaboration, and Institutional Capacity (BOS, BOS Foundation Vision and Mission). the BOS Foundation's efforts to save Orangutans include conducting campaigns to the broader community both in Indonesia and internationally. the campaigns are like the #OrangutanFreedom,

#ClimbForOrangutan, and #SaveDodo on social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, the official website, and others.

Besides, BOS, as an organization based in Indonesia, has done many collaborations with several overseas organizations, universities, and palm oil companies. the presence of BOS Australia, BOS Germany, and BOS Switzerland marks the expansion of this organization. the BOS Foundation manages two reintroduction programs, namely Nyaru Menteng in Central Kalimantan and Samboja Lestari in East Kalimantan. Both BOS Foundation programs focus on rehabilitation and reintroduction activities, in line with national policies and international guidelines and criteria (IUCN). When an orangutan baby lives separately from its mother, they lose all learning time early. Therefore, rehabilitation aims to equip orangutans who have lost their mothers by providing them with skills in how to survive. After they are old enough and have the skills, they are ready to be released into the forest. To date, the BOS Foundation has rescued more than 12,000 Orangutans in Central and East Kalimantan and currently cares for more than 450 Orangutans

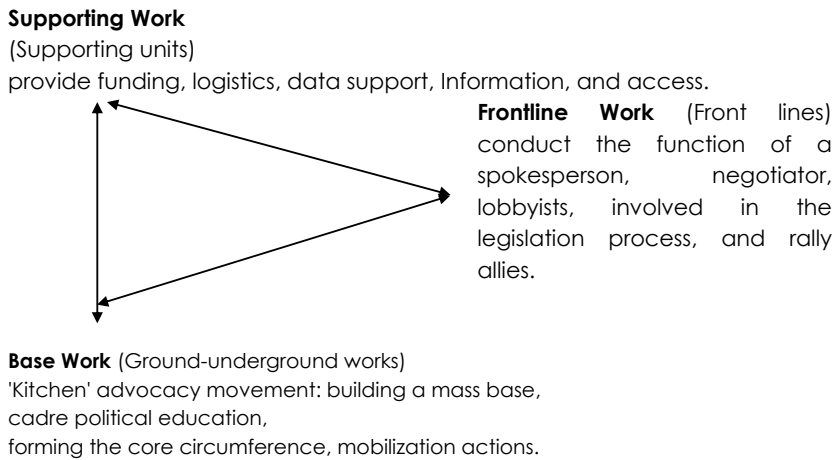in Nyaru Menteng (BOS, BOS Foundation's Vision and Mission).

Then how did the BOS Foundation's efforts in saving orangutans and their habitat succeed? Through this paper, the author will reveal how the BOS Foundation's campaign and cooperation with several international partners.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Advocacy is an effort to improve or change public policies following the wishes or interests of those who urge these changes. the word advocacy comes from the English word 'to advocate.' It can mean 'to defend' (a case in court) to advance or to promote, to try to create a new one that has never existed (to create) or can also mean making changes in an organized and systematic (to change) (Azizah, 2013).

Advocacy activities at the local, national, and international levels involve various parties/organizations described in the following coordination triangle:

Supporting Work
(Supporting units)
provide funding, logistics, data support, Information, and access.

Frontline Work (Front lines) conduct the function of a spokesperson, negotiator, lobbyists, involved in the legislation process, and rally allies.

Base Work (Ground-underground works)
'Kitchen' advocacy movement: building a mass base,
cadre political education,
forming the core circumference, mobilization actions.

Scheme 1. Coordination between actors involved in advocacy

Source: Tomatimasang et al., Nur Azizah, Advocacy for Women's Quota in Indonesia, 2013, LP3M UMY: Yogyakarta

In this journal, the author uses an advocacy framework. the main objective of advocacy is to change public policy. the purpose of advocacy activities specifically in the context of forming public opinion and raising time is not merely to make people just know

but how to get involved and act. Advocacy does affect not only the contents of people's heads but also the contents of people's hearts. Advocacy is not just changing one's cognition (knowledge, insight), but also influencing the affection (feelings, concerns, attitudes, and behaviors) of many people. Thus, advocacy activities are engaged in all types and processes of public policy formation targeted so that advocacy activities require the involvement of many parties with different expertise specifications but systematically organized.

From the explanation above, advocacy activities involve many parties/actors (action groups) who act as initiators/initiators of advocacy, parties who conduct mass mobilization, parties who act as data providers (usually research institutions), parties who act as providers of funds, those involved in the legislative process and those who act as spokespersons and lobbies who will form a network of advocacy movements (Azizah, Women's Quota Advocacy, 2013).

In its implementation, the work of supporting units become providers of funds, logistics. Others are those who partner and collaborate as well as BOS Foundation donors. Among them

are Swiss BOS, Australian BOS, Save the Orangutan, and many more. They are the ones who collaborate and provide information and access to the international community regarding saving orangutans and their habitat. As for the necessary work section, such as building a mass base, the mobilization of action is carried out by national and international communities who are involved and care for Orangutans. Through programs run by BOS, such as campaigns through social media and education about Orangutans to schools, this NGO helped mass gather and built small communities about the importance of saving orangutans and their habitats.

Meanwhile, the last one, front line work, is the BOS Foundation itself. BOS is involved in the process of saving and releasing orangutans in cooperation with BKSDA and KLHK. For example is the BOS Foundation, in collaboration with the Directorate General of Ecosystem Natural Resources Conservation (KSDAE), in the release of albino orangutans named Alba. the decision to return Alba becomes the only albino orangutan ever recorded in the wild. Supporting the commitment of the government, especially KLHK, is to protect all protected wildlife, especially

orangutans and their habitats. This release activity also received support from Central Kalimantan Governor Sugianto Sabran. the Head of Indonesia's Creative Economy Agency (BEKRAF), Triawan Munaf, and Director of Biodiversity Conservation Indra Exploitasia also conveyed their form of appreciation (Yulianto, 2018).

DISCUSSION

About the Borneo Orangutan

Orangutan population in the last 30 years continues to decline. This population decline occurred because of the ineffective efforts of the government to stop the rate of forest destruction as the orangutan's original habitat. Also, threats to the survival of Orangutans and their habitats are still rife due to illegal hunting, forest conversion for interests outside forestry activities such as plantations, agriculture, development, and industry. Orangutans are now on the verge of extinction due to habitat degradation and fragmentation. the rate of forest degradation and fragmentation as orangutan's original habitat is still difficult to stop. Besides, the protection of orangutan habitat inside and outside conservation areas is still shallow. in general, forest exploitation or illegal logging

activities do not meet the standards for sustainable forest management. Reduce Impact Logging (RIL), High Conservation Value Forest (HCVF), or Restoring Logged Over Land (RLOL) programs do not have a full implementation yet in forest exploitation. If forest degradation continues, the orangutans will become the first ape species to be extinct from the wild (Kuswanda, 2014).

Bornean orangutans are increasingly experiencing a decline due to high habitat destruction caused by human activities. Orangutans themselves belong to Endangered Species (IUCN 2014), and this status rose in 2016 to Critically Endangered (Ventie Angelia Nawangsari, 2016). Orangutan life is dependent on the condition of the forest, which is still good, and as primates, orangutans need fruits as their primary food source. the main factors causing it are hunting, conversion of forest land into oil palm plantations, and habitat destruction due to logging both licensed and unlicensed. Also, conflicts with humans and habitat fragmentation have caused an orangutan population decline of 25 percent in the last ten years (Nugraha, 2017).

Table 1. Current Number of Orangutans

General Names	Scientific Names	Population Estimation	Status
Bornean Orangutan	Pongo Pygmaeus	57.350	Endangered
Sumatran Orangutan	Pongo Abelli	14.470	Endangered
Tapanuli Orangutan	Pongo Tapanuliensis	<800	Endangered

Source: http://orangutan.or.id/orangutans-fact/

BOS Foundation as an NGO Focusing on Orangutan Conservation

The BOS Foundation saved more than 2,000 orangutans until 2016. BOS will continue to promise to protect the presence of Bornean Orangutans. One of the big problems is the status of Orangutans, who are now at a very endangered level. With efforts to release and maintain the location of the forest where the release will undoubtedly guarantee this species will continue to exist. Aside from that, to succeed in releasing Orangutans, the BOS Foundation certainly embraces various stakeholders. During the release process, BOS always establishes communication with the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, Central Kalimantan Provincial Government, Katingan Regency Government, Pulang Pisau Regency, Central Kalimantan BKSDA, and Bukit Baka Bukit Raya National Park Office. BOS also cooperated and received support from the people of Katingan Regency, the global partners of BOS Australia, BOS Germany, BOS Switzerland, BOS England, and Save the Orangutan. It is also donors from the business world, such as PT Sumberma Sarana Tbk and individual donors (Gazali, 2019).

The existence of BOS as an NGO that focuses on the environment and conservation in Kalimantan is the spearhead in solving various problems that occur in Orangutans. Orangutans are creatures that live among the trees, which means spending their entire lives under the tropical rain forests of Borneo. However, now, many of their natural habitats have changed to oil palm land. the risk of environmental threats is high for Bornean Orangutans living in parts of lowland forests or those located near peatlands.

As orangutan conservation, BOS certainly requires a large number of funds. Each orangutan usually costs IDR 35 million per year for food, nutrition, health, and other needs. BOS Samboja Lestari is working on approximately 114 employees to manage an area of 1,800 hectares in which there are Orangutans and Honey Bears. During the year, at least BOS needs a fund of around Rp 7 Billion for the conservation of Orangutans and Honey Bears (Gazali, BOSF Invites Stakeholders to Succeed in Orangutan Release, 2019). the BOS Foundation currently treats more than 750 orangutans with the support of 400 employees. Communities can participate in BOS programs in various ways. For example, giving donations, adopting Orangutans, or becoming a field officer (lifesaver). the BOS Foundation also sells multiple items that can be bought by the wider community, such as T-shirts, dry bags, and special edition Flazz Cards. Then the proceeds from the sale will be distributed to various Orangutan conservation activities under BOS foundation programs (Atmodjo, 2018). Besides, the need for support from partners or international organizations and donors for the smooth conservation program to save Orangutan habitat.

BOS Foundation's Efforts to Save Orangutans

BOS Foundation focuses on saving orangutans. It has several strategies or ways to save orangutans so that there is no continuous extinction. Among the ways undertaken by the BOS Foundation, it provides awareness to the broader community through orangutan care campaigns by using hashtags such as ClimbForOrangutan, OrangutanFreedom, SaveDodo. in collaboration with establishing relationships with international partners also focus on animal handling and conservation.

Climb For Orangutan

Through the #Climb For Orangutan campaign, the BOS Foundation opened an adoption whereby the community could contribute Rupiahs to help the Orangutans. However, orangutans are not pets. the community provides enough to help restore Orangutans. the adoption package has four categories, namely a monthly package in which the community can contribute Rp. 100.000,- per month, a six-month package that is Rp. 500.000,-, a 12-month package of 12 million

Rupiahs and a particular adoptee of 1.5 million Rupiahs. Besides, people can also increase public awareness of the existence of orangutans. One of them is with a photo of a self-climbing then spreading it through social media with the hashtag ClimbForOrangutan. This campaign idea was launched by the BOS Foundation, which aims to increase public awareness of the importance of saving Orangutans. Through this campaign, activists also want to spread the message that the current condition of Orangutans is increasingly marginalized and alarming due to the burning of forests for farming or clearing oil palm land (Linggasari, 2016).

OrangutanFreedom

In 2017, the BOS Foundation also officially launched the #OrangutanFreedom campaign. This campaign provides opportunities for people around the world through a competition given by the BOS Foundation and presents a rare prize and memorable trip. Lucky winners will get a chance to travel to Kalimantan. the winner will meet directly with Orangutans and be involved in the process of releasing into the wild. the BOS Foundation states that 2017 is a year of freedom, with the immediate target of giving freedom to 200

orangutans in the rehabilitation center. According to the CEO of BOS Foundation Jamartin Sihite, this campaign aims to provide a public understanding of the links between orangutan release and the preservation of this endemic Indonesian animal. So anyone can join using the #OrangutanFreedom hashtag. the more people involved, the higher the concern about the importance of protecting unique animals in their natural habitats (Fathurahman, 2017).

The #OrangutanFreedom Campaign successfully united BOS Foundation and partners in a globally focused campaign for the first time. in the context of this campaign, the BOS Foundation succeeded in providing freedom for 170 Orangutans, of whom 95 were moved from rehabilitation complexes to pre-release islands. At the same time, 75 orangutans were released into the forest. in 2017, the BOS Foundation also won an award, the World Branding Award Animalis Edition. It is an achievement for BOSF and the entire team in realizing the BOS Foundation as a trusted name in the fields of Orangutan welfare, rehabilitation, release, preservation, and long-term conservation and care. the BOS Foundation also found

an endangered species of orangutan, the albino orangutan in Tanggirang village, Kapuas Hulu district, Kapuas district, Central Kalimantan. Although Alba has useful life experience, it needs to require a well-planned rehabilitation strategy. Various symptoms of albinism, namely the lack of melanin pigment in her hair and skin, can cause health complications such as vision, poor hearing, skin cancer making Alba more susceptible to hunting or predators. After undergoing a year of rehabilitation at Nyaru Menteng, Alba was released into the Bukit Baka Bukit Raya National Park (TNBBBR), and monitoring continued until June 2019 (BOSF, BOS Highlights 2017, 2018).

SaveDodo

The population of Bornean Orangutans has decreased by 75 percent since 1990. the decline in the orangutan population is due to land clearing carried out in their natural habitat and illegal trade and poaching. Therefore, one of the strategies and ways to avoid or overcome this is the BOS Foundation together with Swiss-Belhotel International (SBI) and with support from QuickSilver Indonesia (QS) and Coca-cola Amatil Indonesia (CCAI) taking concrete steps to prevent their

extinction. Bornean Orangutans by taking concrete steps through the #SaveDodo campaign. Dodo is one of the orangutans saved from becoming an icon in this campaign. This initiative was to help people who want to participate in saving orangutans in Kalimantan (BOSF, Help Us Build New Homes for Orangutan Babies, 2016).

Swiss Belhotel International Chairman and President, Gavin M. Faull said, *"At SBI, we understand and contribute to the country, culture, and environment where we manage our property. Initially, we started this campaign to take a stand on environmental issues in Borneo (Kalimantan), one of the areas where we operate. However, we realize that this is not an easy step taken alone. the support of QS and CCAI allows us to strengthen the scale of this campaign so that it can create a greater impact."* (BOSF, Help Us Build New Homes for Orangutans, 2016)

Fundraising for the #SaveDodo campaign would be through the sale of the #SaveDodo T-Shirt designed specifically by QuickSilver and go on sale as of December 2015. the proceeds from the collected funds will be for the rehabilitation of Dodo and other Bornean Orangutans in BOS Foundation rehabilitation.

Jacqui Sunderland-Groves as deputy CEO of the BOS Foundation said:

«*Through the purchase of #SaveDodo t-shirts, everyone can help ensure Orangutans receive adequate care and rehabilitation and have the opportunity to return to their habitat safely. With the recent forest fires in Kalimantan, many Orangutans suffer, and their survival is threatened, so conservation must be done immediately. Now, more than ever, we need a helping hand from various parties to support orangutan conservation efforts.*" (CCA, 2016)

Meanwhile, Sammy Gosling as Marketing Executive of Quicksilver Southeast Asia said:

«*Quicksilver is a company that promotes a healthy board riding lifestyle, which relies heavily on the cleanliness of beaches, roads, and mountains. in Bali, together with Coca-Cola Amatil Indonesia, we are actively cleaning the beaches. As a result, we have seen how the turtle population significantly increases with the improvement of beach cleanliness. in this #SaveDodo campaign, we are proud to be working with organizations that share the same vision and mission in supporting the conservation of the Orangutan population. We hope to make a difference jointly.*" (CCA, 2016)

Kristy Nelwan said the same thing as Head of Corporate Communications of Coca-Cola Amatil Indonesia:

«*Being part of the #SaveDodo campaign is an important step in contributing to the conservation of our forests. For CCAI as a leading soft drink sales, producer, and distributor company that has been operating for almost 24 years in Indonesia, we understand the importance of participating and making changes for a sustainable future.*" With only Rp.145,000 - Rp.245,000 per t-shirt, the community can contribute and ensure Dodo and his friends can continue to survive for generations to come (CCA, 2016).

Partnership Program

In 2018, around May-June, representatives from the BOS Foundation and all International Organization partners attended meetings in Switzerland and Germany to coordinate a fundraising and communication activity, including a global campaign through a serial promotion strategy on television, namely the Orangutan Jungle School (OJS). Natural History New Zealand (NHNZ) produced this OJS containing documentation of the development of the Orangutan from the BOS

Foundation through the process of rehabilitation and reintroduction, and all activities at the rehabilitation center both in Nyaru Menteng and Samboja Lestari. the first season of 2018 from OJS was released in various countries such as Indonesia, Myanmar, Papua New Guinea, Australia, and Singapore. Version 3 of the series was broadcasted on British TV channels and received much attention and coverage in foreign media such as the USA, Italy, China, and Japan. Since the level of enthusiasm in these four countries was high, the OJS series would air in their country in 2019 (BOSF, BOS Highlights 2018, 2019).

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Through the campaign by the BOS Foundation and the parties involved in this program, the orangutan population will not be extinct. in addition to protecting orangutans, the habitat of the orangutan itself is critical, because the orangutan habitat provides many benefits and preserves the ecosystem. However, humans are still unaware of how essential Orangutans are in our lives. Orangutan is an umbrella species that can maintain forest regeneration so that they can keep the existing forests. Ignorance about Orangutans often creates orangutan and human conflicts. Humans perceive orangutans as pests that disturb their plantation areas and consider this a threat. Then how to manage this conflict? the best way is

to protect the habitat and population of the orangutan.

Through the efforts carried out by the BOS Foundation is one of the significant steps to campaign for Orangutans both nationally and internationally. This campaign strategy is the best solution provided so that people understand and begin to realize how vital orangutan habitat and population are. the hashtag #ClimbForOrangutan, #OrangutanFreedom, and #SaveDodo campaigns are useful in an era that is aware of technology like today. Campaigns can be through social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc. Besides, it does not escape the attention of the BOS Foundation, the community around the release area is also given education about feeding orangutans properly, and socializing the importance of Orangutans for human's lives.

CONCLUSION

Orangutan is one of the endemic animals of the island of Borneo, which currently lives in a threatening condition. the existence of illegal logging and illegal burning of forests makes the Orangutan population increasingly decreases. the rescuers make various efforts like building captive orangutan

after seeing the current condition of the orangutans that they can live comfortably and without threats. the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) has agreed that orangutans are one of the endangered primates and are animals to protect.

The government regulates the protection of animals and plants through Law No. 5 of 1990 concerning Conservation of Natural Resources and Ecosystems and Government Regulation No. 7 of 1999 concerning Preservation of Plant and Animal Species. in dealing with the problem of Orangutans, of course, the role of government alone is not enough, and there is a need for cooperation from related organizations, the contribution, and participation of NGOs (Non-Government Organizations) greatly assist the government in the preservation and development of the Orangutan itself. Borneo Orangutan Survival Foundation is an NGO that focuses on saving orangutans. There are two programs focused on saving Orangutans, namely Samboja Lestari in East Kalimantan and Nyaru Menteng in Central Kalimantan, which focuses on orangutan rehabilitation and reintroduction. Borneo Orangutan Survival

Foundation (BOSF) is a non-profit organization or NGO in Indonesia and was founded by Dr. Wille Smits in 1991 with the objectives of orangutan reintroduction, rehabilitation, and protection of wildlife habitat protected by law, especially Orangutans and providing information, outreach and education, community capacity building, community empowerment, and community awareness-raising.

As an NGO that focuses on saving orangutans, the BOS Foundation has many strategies, including through a campaign that aims to make people aware of the importance of orangutans and their habitat in our lives and to help protect these endemic native Indonesian animals. Campaigns are held, such as #ClimbForOrangutan, #OrangutanFreedom, and #SaveDodo. BOS also carries out cooperation/partnership programs with international partners, and donors are higher than those of existing and overseas-based organizations.

Through this BOS Foundation, the author sees how an NGO that is very structural and very focused in dealing with Orangutans and their habitat, has four programs, BOS Foundation has staff who are

experts in their respective fields. Collaborate with organizations that are focused on animal rescue and conservation and have official partners abroad, namely BOS Australia, BOS Switzerland, and BOS Germany. in its activities, BOS always receives donations for those who care about Orangutans, and BOS also sells various merchandise for sustainable orangutan life. Furthermore, the author sees a lack of financial support from the government because 80% of the funds come from official BOS Foundation partners.

This research has led to the conclusion that the strategy by the BOS Foundation in saving orangutans through campaigns and seeking cooperation with other INGOs was considered successful. Through the campaign, the global community knows and can participate in saving Orangutans. the development programs of the BOS Foundation, which provide education to rural communities and Orangutan Goes to School (OGTS), are also well implemented. the total BOS revenue reached more than seven billion seen from the many activities and programs carried out in 2018. It is to thank the support of BOS cooperation partners and donors who come from many

countries. Individual fundraising, such as donations, adoption, and purchase of Orangutan merchandise in 2018, has also increased thanks to a large number of new donors. Countries whose communities regularly provide financial assistance to BOS programs include the United Kingdom, Germany, Denmark, Switzerland, America, and Australia. Once the magnitude of the international community's concern for the population of Orangutans and their habitats. Indeed, as owners of these endemic animals, humans can care for and take care of how important orangutans are to lives.

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Modern Slavery in Indonesia :
Study Case of Maritime Slavery in Benjina Kabupaten Kepulauan Aru Maluku

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Abstract

The case of maritime slavery that took place in Benjina, significance unpopular, and isolated area in the easternmost part of Indonesia shook the world. Hundreds of foreign shipmen, seafarers, were found enslaved for years. Forced by the captains of Thailand ships vessels from PT. Pusaka Benjina Resources to work long and extra hours without being given any appropriate payments and food along the way. This paper is a qualitative type of research using secondary data from books, journals, articles, both online and paper-based, to gather all related information. This paper also used the theory of modern slavery as a management practice from Andrew Crane to analyze the pushing factors of this slavery case. Hoping that the same situation will no longer happen in the future. Since slavery in the fishing industry has happened in so many sea-based countries in the world, including Indonesia.

Keywords: slavery, maritime industry, foreign shipmen, Benjina

Abstrak

Kasus perbudakan maritim yang terjadi di Benjina, wilayah yang tidak populer, dan terisolir di bagian timur Indonesia mengguncang dunia. Ratusan awak kapal asing, pelaut, ditemukan diperbudak selama bertahun-tahun. Dipaksa oleh kapten kapal Thailand kapal dari PT.Pusaka Benjina Resources untuk bekerja berjam-jam dan ekstra tanpa diberikan pembayaran dan makanan yang sesuai di sepanjang jalan. Makalah ini adalah jenis penelitian kualitatif menggunakan data sekunder dari buku, jurnal, artikel, baik online dan berbasis kertas, untuk mengumpulkan semua informasi terkait. Makalah

ini juga menggunakan teori perbudakan modern sebagai praktik manajemen dari Andrew Crane untuk menganalisis faktor-faktor pendorong dari kasus perbudakan ini. Berharap bahwa situasi yang sama tidak akan terjadi lagi di masa depan. Sejak perbudakan di industri perikanan telah terjadi di banyak negara berbasis laut di dunia, termasuk Indonesia.

Kata kunci: perbudakan, industri maritim, kapal asing, Benjina

INTRODUCTION

Associated Press in March 2015 published this case regarding hundreds of seafarers who happened to be slaves in fishing ships from a company called PT. Pusaka Benjina Resources (McDowell, Manson, & Mendoza, 2015). the exploitation occurred both in the sea and land, the land of Benjina, a small village located in one of the easternmost parts of Indonesia.

According to the investigation of AP and extended interviews between the International Organization of Migration (IOM Indonesia) and all the slavery victims. the captain of the ship enslaved all foreign ship crews, and not just in one ship but in almost all the vessels owned by PT. PBR. the victims were all beaten by the big fishtail. They were in a cage where they only got curry to survive every day. They had to work 18-20 hours per day. Whenever they were tired and complained, the captain

would beat them. Some of them died in the Arafura Sea. Some of them were buried in Benjina, and to cover the trails. They changed the name of ship crews when buried to hide the death (McDowell, Manson, & Mendoza, 2015).

For the first time, AP found the case long before. There was an investigation held by LPN (Labors Right Promotion Network) and SAC (Seafarers Action Centre) in corporation with AP and Channel 3 Thailand regarding their fishing vessels, especially the ones which traveled to Indonesia. Due to deep suspicion about the human trafficking network, especially involving Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, and Indonesia (Tangprachyakul, 2015).

During 2006-2014, LPN accepted around 128 complaints about seafarers who left Indonesia. Thirty-nine people went back to Thailand, death, and two others

were disabled. There were neither payment nor compensation for those people (Tangprachyakul, 2015). For that reason, then LPN helped by AP, and other actors decided to have further investigation to Indonesian water regarding those fishermen. Finally, it becomes the starting point for a significant discovery in Benjina a year after.

In the maritime industry, laborers are fragile, trapped in slavery. Fishing labors cost 30%-50% of the total fishing costs. Then those costs tend to be cut to minimize total production costs. It makes the company tend to ignore the safety standards of crews or to decrease their payments or even eliminate it at all (Tickler, et al., 2018).

After the case was published, the Indonesia government reacted in specific ways. For instance, the Indonesian government represented by the Ministry of Maritime and Fisheries took the first step by sending teams to investigate further the verdict of slavery as well as helping all the victims, especially in terms of their documents supported by Immigration Ministry.

The second response from the Indonesia government would be extending the moratorium until October 2015 to hold long and detailed investigations throughout

the case. They also suspended foreign ships from Indonesia water, especially those who came from Thailand fishing companies (Dillon, 2015).

According to IOM, nearly 550 people were safe from the practice of modern slavery in Indonesia. Based on the Global Slavery Index 2016, Indonesia was in the first place as a country, having the most number of current slavery cases compared to other ASEAN countries (Sindo, 2018).

All the fish, shrimps, and different kinds of seafood captured by slaves come from Thailand. All the fish and shrimp are processed and become canned food sold in big markets in United States such as Wall-Mart, Kroger, and Sysco (Mendoza, US Lets in Thai Fish Caught by Slaves Despite Law , 2015). Hearing the issue of fish products produced by slaves in Indonesia, the US government then passed an act of banning all kinds of fish products captured by slaves and or forced laborers. President Barrack Obama signed House of Resolution 644 on February 24th, 2016 (Mendoza, Obama Bans US Imports of Slave-Produced Goods, 2016).

People probably wonder why the issue of slavery even exists in

this 21st century after a long time. After this practice of slavery banned all over the world since 18 century, but for the record even until the 20th century, chattel slavery still existed in Arabia. Slavery in these days has been quite modernized, meaning that it has many differences than chattel slavery that had happened in the past (Miers, 2011).

If chattel slavery was a possession of someone who can be bought, owned, and sold to another party. Modern slavery has many differences in a point where there is no legal ownership toward the slaves, and how the violence become an ultimate tight between the slaves and slaveholders (Bales, Understanding Global Slavery : A Reader, 2005).

Since the phenomena of slavery come back over time, the author is interested in exploring more, especially regarding the push factors of slavery even occur in the first place.

METHODOLOGY AND THEORY

This research used secondary data taking from multiple resources like books, journals, websites, as well as an online newspaper. Hopefully, it can give the closest pictures about what happened in Benjina and why it even happened. the author

analyzed the factors behind this phenomenon using the theory of modern slavery brought by Andrew Crane. However, the author did not use all five indicators; instead, only two of them. the author believes that those two indicators are enough to give the exact explanation about this new phenomenon in the maritime industry.

Theory of Modern Slavery

Andrew Crane (2013), with his theory of modern slavery, explains five different indicators enabling the practice of modern slavery as a form of management practice. Those five indicators consist of industrial context, socioeconomic context, geographical context, cultural context, and regulatory context. in this research, the author only will focus on two contexts, which are socio-economic context and regulatory context. the socio-economic context has several parts. They are poverty and relative poverty, education, and awareness, as well as unemployment (Crane, 2013). Meanwhile, the regulatory context consists of the strength of governance and issue attention.

The author will explain all indicators in the perspectives of the slaves and the Indonesian government to give a concise

yet comprehensive explanation regarding why the practice of slavery even happens in the east part of Indonesia, especially the kind of maritime slavery.

In his writing, Crane explains that poverty will always be the "push" factors that trap people into slavery. People who live under poverty create opportunities, especially for slave recruiters, where they can be very persuasive to influence the potential laborers. in contrast, the laborers themselves have no better options. Slavery will probably occur in one geographic location if it is perceived to have more extreme poverty compare to another area.

The next indicator will be unemployment, directly linked to poverty. Unemployment situation because of no skills and limited job opportunities, especially if it structurally happens. Those situations are going to make the offer seems so realistic as the family the only option as economic survival choices, specifically if they have no alternative job options and without adequate social protection. in most modern slavery cases, all slaves are victims of deceiving and coercing. They are not well aware of the working arrangements due to lack of education and illiteracy among the target population (Crane, 2013).

The second context will be regulatory, which regarding slavery laws, both national and international levels. in this context, Crane also emphasizes on governance system. How effective the system, how corrupt the system, or how low the maintenance of regional governance system. Thus, it creates the possibilities of slavery to appear quickly.

The two contexts of Crane about the theory of modern slavery could explain the situation in Benjina since 2015.

RESULT AND EXPLANATION

There are quite progressive developments of research, especially about modern slavery in general. Talking about modern slavery, Kevin Bales, in his book *Disposal People*, "*slavery means that total control of one person by another for the purpose of economic exploitation*" (Bales, Disposable People : New Slavery in the Global Economy, 2000). Old slavery may concern color skin, ethnics, race, or religion as the consideration to enslave somebody. However, modern slavery does a different job. Modern slavery focuses on weakness, gullibility, and deprivation despite races and or skin colors.

The causes of old slavery no longer become causes for modern slavery. According to Bales, the slavery grows best in an extreme poverty situation because the slaveholder can easily predict the pre-social status of slaves target. Second, the slaveholder has to ensure that the cost of keeping a slave is much cheaper than hiring free labor (Bales, Disposable People : New Slavery in the Global Economy, 2000). Slavery happens from the desperation of options, being abandoned, a refuge, being poor, and the homeless to avoid the potency of being enslaved by somebody else. Thirdly, slaves target should not have access for any helps or having any power to defend themselves against violence. Those vulnerabilities make it so hard for slaves to save themselves from the slaveholder.

Old slaves in 1850 may cost almost $40.000 in modern money, but now slave worth only a few hundred dollars. This change, of course, has consequences, slaves nowadays are cheaper. It makes them so affordable to have but at the same time disposable, according to Kevin Bales in his book *the Slave Next Door* (Bales & Soodalter, the Slave Next Door : Human Trafficking and Slavery in America Today, 2009).

They do not give much money if being sold. Still, they will create thousands of profits from their work and exploitation, especially for industrial slavery or maritime slavery. That is why companies tend to enslave their workers if they have the chance to ensure a significant outcome over smaller costs.

Poverty and Low Education Contribute to Create Opportunity to Enslave People

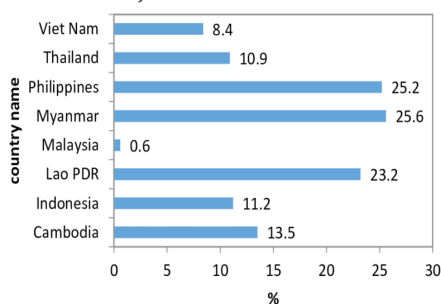The victims of Benjina Slavery cases are mostly coming from countries such as Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos.

Figure.1

Population Living in Poverty in ASEAN 2014 Based on ADB 2014 (Tien, Ranola.,Jr, & Thuy, 2017)

Slavery always starts with human trafficking. People living in poverty in developing countries usually become an easy target to be manipulated by the recruiters. the figure above shows the population living under poverty in 2014, and not

surprisingly, Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos are on the top lists of countries living under poverty. the problem with having many people living under poverty is that they will be most likely unemployment for so many reasons. They belong to the poor for a reason. They couldn't afford their basic living needs, not to mention they do not have a permanent job, most likely because of no having qualified education or a structured direction into poverty. However, no matter what the reason behind those people living under poverty, being unemployment as well as having low or no education at all make them much more fragile and vulnerable. That vulnerability becomes an opportunity for the recruiters to traffic them to the outside territory, then, in the end, become slaves.
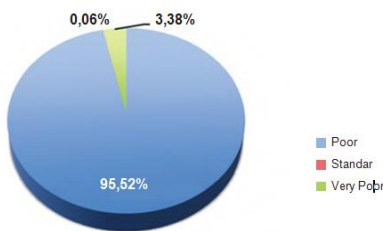
From the figure, the victims identify themselves as either poor or very poor. By feeling that way, they realize that it is so essential for them to have more options for sustained life. One option that seems so potential is migration. Moving to another location or territory that appears to have more choices of job. the recruiters well play this moment. They saw the opportunity and offer help by promising to give an alternative career in other territories as what has happened in most modern slavery cases.
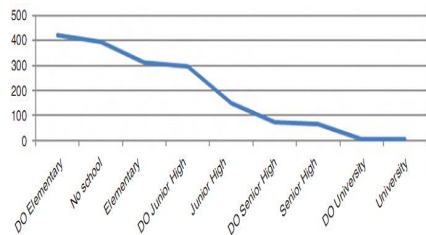

Figure 3.

Level of Education from Foreign Victims of Trafficking sent to Indonesia (KKP Indonesia, Satgas IUU Fishing Indonesia, IOM Indonesia, & Universitas Coventry, 2016)

Victims of human trafficking sent to Indonesia, especially fishers, are having low education in general. For Crane (2013), it is right from the perspective of the slaveholder. When someone has little knowledge about where they are geographically

Figure 2.

Financial Situation of Victims Before They Enter Indonesia (KKP Indonesia, Satgas IUU Fishing Indonesia, IOM Indonesia, & Universitas Coventry, 2016)

and having no information on access to save themselves as well as they do not communicate well with the foreign language, it will make them hard to get their freedom out of slavery.

a.   Myanmar

After being independent of British colonization in 1948, Myanmar, also known as Burma at the time, had a dictatorship regime for quite a long period since 1962 (Champkin, 2012). the military government seemed so repressive until Myanmar themselves got international sanctions for it. For Min Zing, as he wrote in Foreign Policy magazine, poverty in Myanmar rises not only due to the international sanctions against them, but more importantly, for him, is allocation of Myanmar national budget is imbalanced.

Myanmar government spent 23,6 % ($ 2 billion) of their federal budget in the military, 1,3 % ($ 110 million) for health, and for education, they only allocate 4,13 % ($ 349 million) from their national budget. No wonder if they have quite a significant number of people living under poverty.
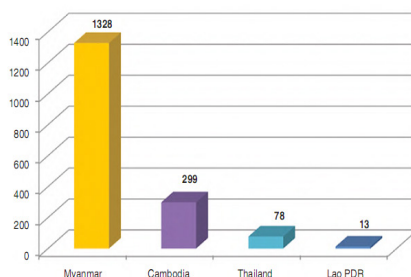

Figure 4.

Nationality of Human Trafficking Victims in Indonesia 2011-2015 (KKP Indonesia, Satgas IUU Fishing Indonesia, IOM Indonesia, & Universitas Coventry, 2016)

Figure 4. above reflects how many Myanmar citizens become victims of human trafficking. This particular country has been so vulnerable for such a long time, like Thailand, which is already well-known as a place for human trafficking recruiters. Myanmar, on the other hand, has been so famous as forced laborers and slaves supplier.

In 2014, the Thai government reported that there are 224 Myanmar citizens as victims of human trafficking in Thailand (Crime, 2017). It has been a long time connection between Myanmar and Thailand in terms of human trafficking. As time goes by since human trafficking can lead to slavery. Thus, ASEAN should

probably do a little better to cut the tie between those two countries.

There is no much information regarding the victims from Benjina slave case, especially from the historical background of those victims from Myanmar, but there are two things for sure. First, they are all poor, and second, they are not well-educated. Those two causes make people so vulnerable and do not think much when they accept the offer of working to another location.

b.   Cambodia

Cambodia is infamous for its conflict of Preah Vier temple, which become the most intense conflict between Cambodia and Thailand. However, the author will only focus on the long history of human trafficking lead to slavery-related to both Cambodia and Thailand.

Official Repatriations from Thailand of Cambodian Human Trafficking Victims	
Year	Number repatriated
2005	186
2006	252
2007	160
2008	105

Figure 5.

Human Trafficking from Cambodia (SIREN Human Traffickig Data Sheet, 2008)

The data above lists the number of victims of human trafficking that repatriate from Thailand. It seems like both countries have had a long tight relationship in human trafficking either as transit or as a destination. It is not shocking at all that more countries in ASEAN involve in human trafficking since the distance between each country is quite close to each other. Secondly, countries in ASEAN are still developing countries, which have a problem with poverty as well as education access.

Going back to Cambodia, they seem to have an average economic growth from 1998-2018 (8 %), as World Bank said (The World Bank in Cambodia, 2019). At least not as much severe as Myanmar did, but still, the poverty of its society contributes to human trafficking in ASEAN. There has been quite a dangerous supply chain of human trafficking involving countries in ASEAN.

Cambodian women and girls historically become victims of human trafficking, whether in Thailand or other ASEAN countries. While men as victims increase hugely, especially in the Thailand fishing industry, after the government passed a new Trafficking Law (SIREN Human Traffickig Data Sheet, 2008).

As a report from the United Nations, they interviewed in Cambodia. Moving and having to immigrate from Cambodia to Thailand is pretty much necessary because of the unavailability of jobs in Cambodia. Thailand has higher wages than Cambodia. It is 20-30 % higher in Thailand than in Cambodia for the same position or job (Crime, 2017). Thus, Thailand is so much attractive for people in their productive ages.

c.   **Lao PDR**

Lao PDR is having almost the same background as the other fellow countries. Having a lot of experiences regarding social, economic problems after its independence in 1975. Lao PDR has had such difficult times because they passed through a civil war between the Royal Lao Government and Communist Pathet Lao. This country also took part in the Indochina conflict. Despite all former conflicts, Lao PDR is well known as a land-linked country because it has bordered neighbors such as Myanmar, Cambodia, China, Thailand, and Vietnam (About Lao PDR). Such geographic position supposedly gives more advantages to the country, for example, become a trading track connected China and the rest of ASEAN countries. Providing some sort of disadvantages also becomes the track for human trafficking along with regional ASEAN.
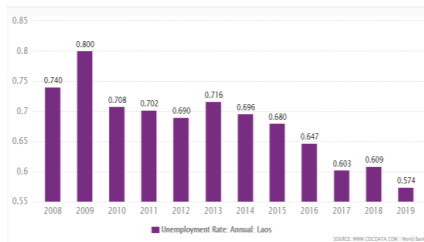

Figure 6.

Unemployment Rate Annually in Lao PDR Sourced World Bank (Laos Tingkat Pengangguran)

The graphic shows that Lao PDR does not necessarily have such a massive problem of both unemployment and poverty compared to its neighbor, Myanmar. Lao PDR has successfully managed its advantages as a land-linked country to enhance its economy. Further, to minimize the number of poverty.

Both human trafficking and modern slavery in the fishing industry are inevitable reality facing ASEAN. Thailand has a consistency to grow its seafood industry. At the same time, Indonesia acts as a giant supplier for seafood, and the rest of ASEAN member countries trapped in between either as transit location or fall as victims for human trafficking and slavery.

Bribery Increase the Chances for Slavery

The practice of bribery is not a new trend in worldwide. in almost all aspects of life, we will find the method of corruption lying around everywhere. Legally speaking, it is, of course, trespassing the law to give or accept bribery, but sometimes to smoothing a business, this bribery is necessary. Moving to the case in Benjina 2015, Indonesia's government has a strict regulation, especially about foreign vessels shipping who operate and catching fish in Indonesia water.

For example, Act Number 31 of 2004 about Fishing, article 27 clearly states that every fishing vessel, both local fishing vessels or foreign fishing vessels are obliged to have *SIPI Surat Izin Penangkapan Ikan* or Fishing License before running their operation. It is a proper and strict regulation (Indonesia, 2004). However, the unavailability of maritime security patrols makes it so hard for monitoring ships that change their flag in the middle of the ocean to avoid making SIPI.

PT. Pusaka Benjina Resources themselves did quite significant bribery to cover their act of slavery. PT. PBR intentionally gave Rp. 37 million each month for local apparatus to maintain

their operation (Dugaan Suap, Perbudakan dan Kerajaan Kecil di Benjina, 2015). Therefore, the practice of slavery can occur again for such a long time. According to several victims, they have been in exploitation for almost ten years. Some even got more.

The practice continuously goes on not because people surrounding have no idea. It is because they do not want to tell. Bribery makes them do so. So, it is imperative to build high maintenance security in a location where there are high foreign ship vessels, as well as erasing the possibility of corruption and bribery, especially at the local governance level.

CONCLUSION

Slavery has been in a ban for years, but it somehow grows and develops in its new form that currently known as modern slavery. This modern slavery is a high performed human exploitation that violates the most significant value of human beings. This type of slavery develops in various areas of a country. One of them is in the maritime and fishing industry. Indonesia is not the only country that has to deal with this issue. People from Indonesia may be

victims of this maritime slavery somewhere else as well.

This slavery is possible to happen under so many reasons and situations that help it to exist. Two among those various reasons and conditions are poverty, lack of education, the effectiveness of government, and regulation or the rule of law, and corruption, as explained by Crane (2013). This paper may not provide a systemic solution, but it has helped identify the reason behind this slavery practice. Since by knowing the pushing factors, it will help to contribute to creating the best possible solution to against modern slavery.

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