



INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ROHINGYA FOREIGN REFUGEES SEEKING ASYLUM 2019-2022

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Abstract

Since the 1970s, a crackdown on the Rohingya in Rakhine has forced more than a million people to flee to neighbouring Bangladesh, Malaysia, Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries. Rohingya have suffered not only from exclusion by the 1982 Citizenship Law but also from social deprivation, such as human rights violations. In the 1983 national census, Rohingya were completely excluded. The research aims to provide knowledge about Indonesia's foreign policy towards Rohingya refugees in Indonesia. The method used is qualitative, with a narrative and analytical descriptive approach. This research explains the strategy of Indonesian foreign policy towards the phenomenon of Rohingya refugees in Indonesia. This research shows that the Indonesian government has proposed a solution known as the "4+1 Formula". This "4+1 Formula" solution includes a strategy through an approach, namely the return of stability and security, emphasizing the importance of security and stability to realize inclusive development efforts, maximum self-control and non-use of violence, protection for all people regardless of ethnic and religious status, with prioritize the importance of opening access to humanitarian aid. Apart from these four points, one important point is implementing the recommendations of former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, as stated in the UN Advisory Commission Report.

INTRODUCTION

Violence against the Rohingya ethnic group in Myanmar has occurred and become a grave crime on an international scale. The Rohingya ethnic group has not only experienced violence but also suffered grief and displacement from their homeland. Referring to history, it seems that crimes against humanity and genocide have been going on since the 1940s. Then, it continued in 1980 and emerged and spread again in the 2000s (Innurtrisniyati, 2011, p. 207). Rohingya is a term used to refer to the Muslim community in the Rakhine (Arakan) region in Western Myanmar, directly bordering Bangladesh. Rohingya comes from the word Rohai or Roshangee, which means the Muslim population of Rohang or Roshang, the area's name before Arakan. The Rohingya community has experienced attempts to be expelled from the Arakan region since 1942. At that time, there was a massacre of Rohingya Muslims by pro-British troops. At least 100 thousand Rohingya Muslims were killed, and thousands of villages were destroyed in the bloody tragedy. Since then, Rohingya Muslims have lived in fear.

The Muslim community in Myanmar does not live in one area; its communities are separated from each other based on ethnicity and descent. There are four large groups of Myanmar Muslims: the Burmese-descendant Muslim group, the Indian-descendant Muslim group (Tamil and Bengal), the Rohingya or Arakanese-descendant Muslim group, and the Chinese-descendant Muslim group (Febriani, 2022). In their isolation from their country, some Rohingya ethnic groups went to several countries to seek protection. They can survive at least, and their fundamental rights, such as the right to life and assembly, can be fulfilled in the destination country. At least 99 Rohingya ethnic asylum seekers arrived in Aceh by boat after surviving at sea for more than 120 days (Listiarani, 2020).

At the same time, the Indonesian government is considering permits for asylum seekers in Indonesia. On the other hand, Indonesian fishermen who first interacted with Rohingya asylum seekers had already taken the initiative to help Rohingya refugees. The majority of Rohingya asylum seekers are women and children seeking a safer place in their current country. The majority of locations in Indonesia have decided to reject the arrival of Rohingya refugees. However, this did not happen in Aceh, where only Aceh Province accepted Rohingya refugees. Even before, when Malaysia welcomed Rohingya asylum seekers and criticized the Myanmar government's persecution of the predominantly Muslim minority group, it has now decided to reject the arrival of Rohingya refugees. The Rohingya ethnic group wants equal rights in Myanmar; in other words, they are guaranteed the fulfilment of their fundamental rights. However, in reality, the Myanmar government has emphasized that they do not meet the residency requirements since Myanmar used military law in 1982. Based on these regulations, people with full resident status are members of ethnic groups who have resided in modern Myanmar since 1823 (Bakri, 2015).

Based on information from the A.P. news agency, it was written that the Rohingya people were slowly being isolated and persecuted. This treatment has been received since 2012. At least 280 people have been killed, and 140,000 have been displaced from the territory of Myanmar. The World Organization, namely the United Nations (U.N.), stated that they are the most persecuted minority group and do not have citizenship status. Avoiding ethnic cleansing, thousands of Rohingya Muslims fled their hometowns in various ways, one of which was by using boats. However, their presence was rejected by several destination countries, such as Malaysia and Thailand until they finally became half-dead, and some of them were stranded on the coast of Aceh and North Sumatra (Bakri, 2015). Throughout 2020, Indonesia has accommodated 396 Rohingya refugees who entered through the waters of Aceh Province. Indonesia is the only ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) country to accept Rohingya refugees amid the COVID-19 pandemic crisis. In April 2020, Bangladesh received 382 Rohingya refugees who were rejected by the Malaysian and Thai governments and then

refused to accept any more Rohingya refugees due to the pandemic response. Indonesia previously rejected Rohingya refugees who were adrift in Aceh waters in 2015 (Listiarani, 2020).

General T.N.I. Moeldoko made a statement regarding Indonesia's policy decision regarding the rejection of Rohingya refugees, "For the Rohingya tribe, as long as they cross the Strait of Malacca, if they have difficulties at sea, then they must be helped. If there is difficulty with water or food, we will help, because this is related to humanity. But if they enter our territory, then it is the TNI's duty to maintain sovereignty". In the same year, an emergency meeting regarding this matter was also held by the governments of Malaysia and Thailand, whose territories are also home to Rohingya asylum seekers. The meeting resulted in a Joint statement: Ministerial meeting on the irregular movement of people in Southeast Asia, which contains four commitments.

At this time, Indonesia has not signed the U.N. Refugee Convention. However, in 2016, a Presidential Regulation was issued which regulates the handling of foreign refugees, namely Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 125 of 2016 Concerning the Handling of Refugees from Abroad. This regulation shows Indonesia's latest legal position regarding refugees and asylum seekers in Indonesia. Indonesia is a transit country for refugees and asylum seekers rather than a destination country or new place of residence. According to the provisions of the presidential regulation, every refugee processed by U.N.H.C.R. in Indonesia will be placed in a third country or returned to their country of origin. There are no provisions for long-term placement. However, the presidential regulation also includes provisions for the interception and rescue of refugees in Indonesian waters. The drafting of the presidential regulation implied that individuals seeking asylum would not be faced with *refoulement*, which is an involuntary return to their country of origin facing persecution. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the leading institution in handling policies for foreigners who declare themselves as asylum seekers or refugees. Technically, in the field, the immigration ranks are the front line in enforcing immigration law against all foreigners who enter Indonesian territory illegally without distinguishing between status as asylum seekers, refugees or not (Wagiman, 2012, p. 42).

The principle of asylum is critical to understand because, for some things, it is also part of refugee law. The essence of granting asylum is related to the protection of human rights. The principle of asylum contains an obligation to respect the principle of non-*refoulement*. Especially for Indonesia, with the ratification of the Convention Against Torture in 1988 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 2006, Indonesia must respect this principle (Wagiman, 2012, pp. 115-116).

METODE

This study will use a qualitative research method by taking data from books, journals, articles, and organizational reports related to the research. The results of this study will be obtained from the analysis that links data and conceptual and theoretical foundations. Furthermore, the author uses a case study approach by looking at the events that occur as phenomena. Phenomenology is a study of observation or observation of events directly. (Herdiandyah, 2015). The data collection technique used by the author is the documentation technique, where data is obtained from various writings and sources in the form of books, journals, articles and other relevant data related to the research topic. This study will use an inductive data analysis technique from specific to general; the author will describe the facts of specific things to produce a conclusion and research answer. This study will explain Indonesia's Foreign Policy Towards Rohingya Foreign Refugees Seeking Asylum in 2019-2022.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In carrying out humanitarian diplomacy through multi-track diplomacy, Indonesia, which is the first track in multi-track diplomacy, uses its power towards Myanmar to penetrate the principle of non-intervention and take a constructive approach. State power is still needed, and in this case, Indonesia has Soft power towards Myanmar. Because of its Soft power, Indonesia is the only country Myanmar accepted for dialogue during the 2017 conflict. Indonesia can negotiate with Myanmar to isolate access to aid. entering Rakhine State (Ikhsani, 2019). Indonesia's bilateral relations and friendship are Indonesia's soft power towards Myanmar. Indonesia helps the democratization process in Myanmar. Indonesia's significant influence on Myanmar's democratization and becoming Indonesia's Soft power towards Myanmar is through its participation in the Myanmar Bali Democracy Forum (B.D.F.), which discusses democratic practices in various countries. The Bali Democracy Forum (B.D.F.) is the first annual forum between Asian countries to discuss and study democratic practices. This forum was first held in December 2008 by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). This activity is supervised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (M.O.F.A.) of the Republic of Indonesia. As an annual forum, the implementation of B.D.F. is assisted by the Institute for Peace and Democracy (I.P.D.) of Udayana University (Ikhsani, 2019).

I.P.D. is also present as an institution that assists the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in realizing the B.D.F. idea every year. This B.D.F. helps the process of Myanmar's democratic transition and acts as a forum that supports regional conduciveness to foster a spirit of democracy in Myanmar. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (M.O.F.A.) of the Republic of Indonesia and the I.P.D. (Institute for Peace and Democracy) Through B.D.F., it is actively involved in building a good governance system in Myanmar (Ikhsani, 2019).

In addition, Indonesia's soft power towards Myanmar is through the existence of the Indonesia International School of Yangon (I.I.S.Y.), which is undeniably Indonesia's best soft power diplomacy currently in Myanmar. I.I.S.Y. has 448 non-Indonesian students (Myanmar and other foreign citizens) and 46 Indonesian students. I.I.S.Y. not only acts as a means of education but also advances Indonesia and instils democratic values in students and teachers, most of whom are Myanmar citizens (Ikhsani, 2019).

In carrying out a constructive approach, in 2012, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) sent Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa to be active and collaborate with the Myanmar Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the issue of the Rohingya ethnic conflict. Regarding the resolution of the Rohingya ethnic conflict, SBY is fully convinced that the Myanmar government can resolve the internal conflict satisfactorily and more human. In taking policies to resolve the Rohingya and Rakhine ethnic conflicts in Myanmar, SBY did not criticize Myanmar directly; he preferred to communicate first with the Myanmar government to find out the factual conditions that occurred in Myanmar. SBY responded carefully and did not use brutal power methods because he realized this could damage the good relations between Indonesia and Myanmar. SBY prioritized humanitarian diplomacy through the exchange of expertise and capacity-building cooperation. If we look at the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy in the SBY era, namely "all direct Foreign policy" and the slogan "one million friend zero enemy" (Ikhsani, 2019). When the conflict erupted again in August 2016, the seventh President, Joko Widodo, assigned Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi to carry out a diplomatic mission. Through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, the Indonesian government is using diplomatic channels to help overcome the humanitarian tragedy in the Rakhine state region. In connection with the assignment of Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi to continue carrying out a diplomatic mission in Myanmar, on 6 December 2016, Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi departed for Myanmar. This visit by Foreign Minister Retno

Marsudi carried the mandate of President Joko Widodo to discuss solutions to the conflict in Myanmar (Ikhsani, 2019).

Foreign Minister Retno and Myanmar State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi held a bilateral meeting in Naypyidaw, Myanmar. In the meeting, Foreign Minister Retno again conveyed Indonesia's concerns and the importance of restoring security and stability to continue inclusive development in Rakhine. Furthermore, the Indonesian Foreign Minister requested that access to humanitarian aid to Rakhine State be opened as widely as possible. The meeting was held in the capital of Myanmar, Naypyidaw, and was led by the Commander of the Myanmar Armed Forces, General U Min Aung Hlaing (Ikhsani, 2019).

The bilateral meeting between the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi, and the State Counselor of Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi, in Naypyidaw, Myanmar, discussed solutions to the humanitarian tragedy in the Rakhine State region. The Indonesian side, represented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi, proposed a solution known as the "Formula 4+1". The "Formula 4+1" solution includes strategies through an approach, namely the return of stability and security, emphasizing the importance of security and stability to realize inclusive development efforts, maximum self-control and not using violence, protection for all people regardless of ethnic and religious status, prioritizing the importance of opening access to humanitarian assistance. In addition to these four points, one crucial point is implementing the recommendations of the former U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, as stated in the U.N. Advisory Commission Report (Ikhsani, 2019). Capacity building in the security sector was realized at the 12th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (A.M.M.T.C.) on 31 October and November 1, 2018, in Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar. Indonesian National Police Chief General Tito Karnavian, who is the Indonesian authority which means the first track in Multitrack Diplomacy, held a Bilateral Meeting with Myanmar Home Minister Lieutenant General Kyaw Swe and the Minister of the Union Office of the Government of the Union of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, U Thaung Tun to discuss issues regarding capacity building, handling terrorism, and Rakhine State. Cooperation in the field of capacity building is needed to tackle transnational crimes in both countries and strengthen the capacity of the Myanmar Police to handle domestic security issues, especially the situation in Rakhine State (Ikhsani, 2019).

The Chief of the Indonesian National Police expressed his readiness to provide training to the Myanmar Police through the Jakarta Center for Law Enforcement Cooperation (J.C.L.E.C.) program and the Police Staff and Middle Leadership Education (Sespimmen). Indonesia is committed to helping Myanmar resolve the problems in Rakhine State through a constructive approach. Indonesia and Myanmar agree on strengthening bilateral cooperation between the Indonesian and Myanmar Police. The close relationship between the Indonesian and Myanmar Police will provide constructive contributions at the national and international levels (Ikhsani, 2019). In the meeting, the Chief of Police conveyed the Police's commitment to assist the Myanmar Police by providing various capacity-building programs in the form of training in law enforcement for criminal acts of terrorism, securing demonstrations and handling riots, training for female Police, and training for peacekeeping forces (Ikhsani, 2019). Humanitarian diplomacy through inclusive development is carried out through development that can benefit society. Humanitarian Diplomacy through Reconciliation Indonesia's efforts towards Myanmar through inclusive development is carried out so that the Rohingya community and the Rakhine Buddhist community can mingle and feel the mutual benefits of the development carried out by Indonesia. They are implementing Multitrack Diplomacy in Humanitarian Diplomacy through inclusive development, namely Indonesia as the first track that has the power to enter the eighth track, namely funding for sustainable, inclusive development (Ikhsani, 2019).

As the first track in Multitrack Diplomacy, Indonesia becomes a facilitator to bring together religious communities, and the seventh track is to resolve the Rohingya conflict through a Godly perspective through Interfaith Dialogue (interfaith dialogue). The 1st Indonesia-Myanmar Interfaith Dialogue (IMID) is an agreement on a bilateral meeting between the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Retno Marsudi and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Myanmar on 21 December 2016, promotes pluralism and tolerance and provides a platform for religious leaders and civil society in Indonesia and Myanmar to improve interfaith and cultural relations jointly, combat prejudice between communities, and build conducive conditions for long-term peace (Ikhsani, 2019).

The 1st IMID was held in Jakarta and Yogyakarta on 21-24 May 2017. The 1st IMID was attended by around 20 people consisting of Myanmar delegates, Indonesian delegates, and active participants, including monks from the Smaratungga Boyolali Buddhist College, the Yogyakarta Ministry of Religious Affairs Regional Office, and officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs. The results of this activity were the provision of scholarships to Buddhist religious figures in Myanmar to be able to study at the Smaratungga Boyolali Buddhist College of Science and U.I.N. Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta in 2018; there was an increase of 1 in the number of Darmasiswa participants from Myanmar. Scholarships, Indonesian Arts and Culture Scholarships (B.S.B.I.), and plans to hold the Indonesia-Myanmar Youth Camp for Future Faith Leaders will focus on interfaith relations in 2018 (Ikhsani, 2019). At the ASEAN Summit (High-Level Conference) in Singapore in November 2018, Indonesia, as the first track in Multitrack Diplomacy, successfully pushed for ASEAN's role in handling the situation in Rakhine State through the ASEAN Coordinating Center for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (A.H.A. Center). In 2017, Indonesia became the engine for assisting the A.H.A. Center in Rakhine State. Then, at the ASEAN Summit in November 2018 in Singapore, Indonesia pushed for the A.H.A. Center to access Myanmar to facilitate the repatriation process from Bangladesh to Myanmar. The follow-up to the ASEAN Summit has been carried out; the A.H.A. Center, together with the ASEAN Emergency Response and Assessment Team (ASEAN-ERAT) consisting of several representatives of ASEAN member countries, which began with an initial assessment (Initial et al. Team) in January 2019 (Ikhsani, 2019).

The Yangon Embassy met with the Executive Director of the A.H.A. Center on the sidelines of the A.H.A. Center's visit with the ASEAN Secretary-General in December 2018 to Myanmar to discuss the Terms of Reference (T.O.R.) with the Myanmar Government. The Yangon Embassy is committed to supporting the A.H.A. Center in handling the Rakhine State problem. Through Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi, the Indonesian Government reiterated three critical factors to change the situation on the ground for the better: first, creating a conducive environment, including security guarantees so that confidence arises to return to the region of origin. Then, second, advancing the repatriation process with Indonesian Humanitarian Diplomacy towards Myanmar based on the ASEAN Non-Intervention Principle, which ensures the maintenance of a conducive situation, and third, creating inclusive development, especially support for economic development (Ikhsani, 2019). As a general response to any case, ASEAN—especially member countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and Myanmar—makes diplomatic efforts to formulate solutions. Institutionally, ASEAN has not hosted an official meeting to discuss the Rohingya crisis. It was only in 2012, at a meeting of ASEAN heads of state, that the issue of Rohingya was raised to high-level representatives from Myanmar and Bangladesh (Jati, 2017). Former ASEAN Secretary-General Surin Pitsuan personally expressed his interest in the issue. However, this happened without further action to prevent the atrocities.

Similarly, in 2015, ASEAN also behaved, ignoring the suffering experienced by the Rohingya. ASEAN's failure to take immediate action was called 'the most embarrassing thing ASEAN has ever faced' (Jati, 2017). During the peak of the Rohingya crisis (2012-2015), only two important meetings were held by ASEAN member countries. The first was a trilateral meeting held in Putra Jaya between Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. This meeting was held because of international pressure for these countries to accept Rohingya refugees in their territories rather than leave them stranded at sea. In the meeting, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand agreed to accept the Rohingya ethnic group in their territories for one year. During this period, these countries invited the international community to participate in efforts to end the Rohingya crisis conclusively. It seems that ASEAN, or some of its members, want to turn this crisis into an international responsibility. Unfortunately, the meeting failed to reprimand the leading actor behind the crisis: the Myanmar government (Jati, 2017). Myanmar's reluctance to address the Rohingya crisis reflects its political stance, which can be described as a discriminatory policy. Myanmar has sent a clear message that it will not accept the use of the term 'Rohingya' in bilateral or multilateral discussions. Myanmar, as discussed earlier, insists on using the term 'Bengali' and treating refugees as irregular migrants. Until now, ASEAN and its members have respected Myanmar's political stance.

Although the crisis began in 2012, no ASEAN meeting has discussed the Rohingya crisis as a specific issue, and no ASEAN member has dared to oppose Myanmar. Any attempt to discuss the Rohingya crisis with Myanmar must not mention Rohingya on the meeting agenda. Thailand used a similar strategy in May 2015 when it hosted a special meeting on Rohingya refugees (Jati, 2017). This meeting, the Special Meeting on Irregular Migration in the Indian Ocean, was the second meeting held by individual ASEAN members to address the Rohingya crisis. It attempted to bring the issue to the table among multiple parties. The meeting was a sign of progress, as it reflected a more coordinated effort among stakeholders in Southeast Asia, neighbouring countries, and international organizations. More importantly, the meeting involved Myanmar. The special meeting in Bangkok was attended by 25 high-level representatives from Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, India, Iran, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, and Thailand.

Three international organizations under the U.N. (the United Nations High Commission for Refugees [U.N.H.C.R.], the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [U.N.O.D.C.], the International Organization for Migration [I.O.M.]) and the U.N. Resident Coordinator for Thailand were also present as participants. Meanwhile, representatives of Japan, Switzerland, and the United States attended as observers. Several ambassadors and chargé d'affaires based in Bangkok also witnessed the meeting. The special meeting reached 17 prospective conclusions, including the continued commitment of the 'five most affected countries' to provide humanitarian assistance to irregular migrants and to address the root causes. The meeting also welcomed the pledge of humanitarian assistance by the United States and Australia to Rakhine State and Cox's Bazar. Most importantly, the parties to the special meeting agreed to escalate the issue to the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime, Bali People Smuggling, Human Trafficking and Related Transnational Crimes (Bali Process), and other relevant regional frameworks (Jati, 2017).

The atrocities in Southeast Asia have drawn the attention of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (O.I.C.). A day after President Thein Sein declared a state of emergency in Myanmar, the Secretary-General of the O.I.C. expressed his concern and condemned the violence against Rohingya Muslims. Unfortunately, violence against the Rohingya re-emerged in October 2015 during the Eid al-Adha celebrations, resulting in casualties. In response to this situation, the Secretary-General of the O.I.C. again expressed his concern and called on the Myanmar government to 'implement concrete steps' to stop the violence. In 2013, the O.I.C.

Contact Group on the Rohingya Muslim Minority held a ministerial-level conference to evaluate the ongoing human rights violations in Myanmar. The conference made several recommendations for O.I.C. members to take necessary diplomatic and humanitarian action to support the Rohingya. It urged Myanmar to cooperate with the U.N.H.C.R. in repatriating the refugees to their homes. Two months later, the O.I.C. issued another statement recommending that the Myanmar government revoke the 2005 regulation that imposed a two-child limit on Rohingya families. Such family restrictions are a direct violation of human rights and contribute to the oppression of the Rohingya (Jati, 2017). Despite protests from the Buddhist community, in November 2013, an OIC delegation successfully reached Western Rakhine, Myanmar, to meet with Rohingya people and discuss the situation with local civil society organizations. In addition to humanitarian efforts, the O.I.C. supreme leader took a diplomatic approach to the international community. The O.I.C. made a firm effort at the U.N. Human Rights Council meeting in July 2015. Previously, the O.I.C. adopted Pakistan's proposal to resolve the crisis, which was forwarded to the organization. The proposal contained several vital points:

- condemning human rights violations in Myanmar
- calling on Myanmar to ensure the security and protection of its people without racial discrimination
- urging Myanmar to resettle all refugees in their respective homes

The ratification of the O.I.C. proposal by the U.N.H.C.R. entitled 'The Situation of Human Rights of Rohingya Muslims and Other Minorities in Myanmar' represents the international community's firm rejection of human rights violations in Rohingya. In addition, this also sends a message to ASEAN and its human rights institutions that they must take bold action to encourage Myanmar to comply with human rights mechanisms (Jati, 2017). According to the theory of conflict resolution, the conflict that occurs needs to be suppressed if it arises due to the layered interaction of various factors, and its intensity is very high to the point of involving violence and armed conflict, causing many casualties and property damage (Rasyid et al., 2022). In general, conflict resolution occurs in four (four) stages (Rasyid et al., 2022). First, there must be an effort to find the right time to start (entry point) the conflict resolution process. The first phase usually focuses on implementing a military strategy to control armed violence. When de-escalation is found, political negotiations can begin, while humanitarian intervention is carried out to ease the burden of suffering of the victims of the conflict. The third stage of the conflict resolution process focuses on social orientation. This phase creates favourable conditions for the enemy to turn a particular conflict into a solution. The main motto that must be adhered to is "Quo Desiderat Pacem, Praeparet Pacem." This motto calls for the continuous intervention of related actors in building peace in society, with two main objectives: preventing the recurrence of conflicts involving armed violence and building a durable peace process that the conflicting parties themselves can implement.

Indonesia's role in resolving the Rohingya conflict related to the theory of conflict resolution is that Indonesia always prioritizes humane methods by prioritizing the safety of Rohingya ethnic victims and mediating using experts or third parties such as experts, institutions, and figures as mediators to provide opinions or advice, but this is not the task of decision makers in controlling the conflict (Rasyid et al., 2022).

Indonesia sent Jusuf Kalla as a special envoy to mediate the conflict in Rohingya. It asked that the safety of the victims and the logistical route be met to meet the needs of the victims. The Indonesian government in the Rohingya conflict has positioned itself as a third party mediating the conflict resolution process, both from the government approach and civil society groups. Therefore, Indonesia needs to continue to implement a policy that embraces Myanmar. Moreover, amidst the tremendous pressure from the international world, Indonesia can position itself as a speaking partner, continuing humanitarian aid channelled to overcome

the impact of the conflict. At the same time, the conflict itself requires another serious handling (Rasyid et al., 2022).

CONCLUSION

Indonesia's bilateral diplomatic efforts towards Myanmar in the Rohingya case began when President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's policy in helping to resolve the conflict between the Rohingya and Rakhine ethnic groups was to send a letter to President Thein Sein (President of Myanmar at that time), accept the arrival of Rohingya refugees, cooperate with the government. O.I.C. in helping to resolve the Rohingya conflict, become a pioneer in discussing the Rohingya conflict in the ASEAN Summit discussion, appoint Jusuf Kalla as Special Envoy, appoint PMI as an institution that coordinates assistance for the Rohingya ethnic group, provide assistance of 1 million U.S. dollars, provide assistance to the Myanmar Government with the Sharing of Expertise method by facilitating the visit of the Myanmar delegation to Aceh, and help advance the Myanmar economy by sending Indonesian B.U.M.N. to invest in Myanmar, as well as establishing the Blue Book of the Indonesia-Myanmar Capacity Building Partnership. From the policies implemented by President SBY above, it can be seen that he has a dominant role in forming policies related to resolving the conflict between the Rohingya and Rakhine ethnic groups in Myanmar. The conflict that befell the Rohingya ethnic group has become one of the issues that has captured the world's attention because the cruelty and brutality of the Myanmar military junta that the Rohingya ethnic group experienced is classified as a gross human rights violation. The humanitarian diplomacy carried out by the Indonesian government in responding to the Rohingya humanitarian crisis in Myanmar shows the determination of the Indonesian government to find a solution to the Rohingya humanitarian crisis.

The Indonesian government has prepared two steps to handle refugees. The Minister of Social Affairs, Khafifah Indar Parawansa, led the meeting on Sunday, 24 May 2015. The Aceh Regional Government attended the meeting, UNHCR (United et al. for Refugees), the International Organization for Migration (I.O.M.), the National Disaster Management Agency (B.N.P.B.), and non-governmental organizations (N.G.O.s). The bilateral meeting between the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi, and the State Counselor of Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi, in Naypyidaw, Myanmar, discussed solutions to the humanitarian tragedy in the Rakhine state region. The Indonesian side, represented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi, proposed a solution known as the "Formula 4+1". The "Formula 4+1" solution includes strategies through an approach, namely the return of stability and security, emphasizing the importance of security and stability to realize inclusive development efforts, maximum self-control and not using violence, protection for all people regardless of ethnic and religious status, by prioritizing the importance of opening access to humanitarian assistance. In addition to the four points, one crucial point is implementing the recommendations of former U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, as stated in the U.N. Advisory Commission Report.

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