

THE DILEMMA OF INDONESIAN HUMANITARIAN ACTION IN THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN MYANMAR

Anita Afriani Sinulingga

Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political
Sciences, Andalas University, Padang
anitaafriani@soc.unand.ac.id

Abdul Halim

Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political
Sciences, Sriwijaya University, Palembang
abdul_halim2410@yahoo.com

Inda Mustika Permata

Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political
Sciences, Andalas University, Padang
indamustikapermata@soc.unand.ac.id

Abstract

Indonesia is a country that can conduct dialogue and humanitarian diplomacy to the Myanmar government related to the issue of humanitarian crises that occur in the Rohingya ethnic group in Myanmar. This is evidenced by the acceptance of Indonesia as a dialogue partner in talks related to humanitarian diplomacy which aims to open up humanitarian space so that humanitarian assistance can be channeled to the victims of the humanitarian crisis that occurred. The policy of providing humanitarian assistance is inseparable from the dilemma faced by Indonesia both

internally, bilateral relations, and international norms and rules. This paper aims to describe the dilemma faced by Indonesia in the policy of providing humanitarian assistance that departs from the historical proximity of Indonesia and Myanmar, the non-intervention rules of ASEAN, the international norms of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and the Islamic identity in Indonesia which constitutes the majority's identity which urges the government to take responsive actions to resolve the humanitarian crisis. Findings from the paper describe much that was done by Indonesia. Of the various dilemmas faced by Indonesia, the biggest supporting factor in actions taken by Indonesia is the insistence of Muslim identity to take action based on shared identity with victims of the crisis in Rakhine.

Keywords: Dilemma, Indonesia, Myanmar

Abstrak

Indonesia merupakan negara yang mampu melakukan dialog serta diplomasi kemanusiaan kepada pemerintah Myanmar terkait persoalan krisis kemanusiaan yang terjadi pada etnis Rohingya di Myanmar. Hal ini dibuktikan dengan diterimanya Indonesia menjadi mitra dialog dalam pembicaraan terkait diplomasi kemanusiaan yang bertujuan untuk membuka ruang kemanusiaan agar bantuan kemanusiaan dapat tersalurkan kepada para korban dari krisis kemanusiaan yang terjadi. Kebijakan pemberian bantuan kemanusiaan tersebut tidak terlepas dari dilema yang dihadapi Indonesia baik secara internal, hubungan bilateral, serta norma dan aturan internasional. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan dilema yang dihadapi Indonesia dalam kebijakan pemberian bantuan kemanusiaan yang berangkat dari kedekatan historis Indonesia dan Myanmar, aturan non-intervensi ASEAN, norma internasional Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

serta identitas Islam di Indonesia yang merupakan identitas mayoritas yang mendesak pemerintah untuk melakukan tindakan responsif guna penyelesaian krisis kemanusiaan. Temuan dari tulisan memaparkan banyak yang dilakukan oleh Indonesia. Dari berbagai dilema yang dihadapi oleh Indonesia, faktor pendukung terbesar dalam aksi yang dilakukan oleh Indonesia adalah desakan identitas muslim untuk melakukan tindakan atas dasar kesamaan identitas dengan korban krisis di Rakhine.

Kata Kunci: Dilemma, Indonesia, Myanmar

Introduction

August 2017 became part of the highest conflict escalation of the humanitarian crisis that occurred in Rakhine against the Rohingya ethnic group. The trigger for the escalation of this conflict was an attack by Rohingya militants against the Myanmar police post which was followed up by military operations carried out by the Myanmar government against the Rohingya militant group. Military operations cause so many fatalities. Data released by the BBC from the social agency Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) states that around 640,000 ethnic Muslim Rohingya people fled to Bangladesh and around 6,700 people died where 730 children were victims (BBC, 2017). The findings of the victims' report presented above indicate the violation of human rights and ethnic abolition of the Rohingya ethnic group. This is evident from the process of massacres carried out by the Myanmar military assisted by civilians who are Buddhists. The death toll and the number of refugees arising from the conflict resulted in the concern of the world community to stop acts of violence and violations of human rights for ethnic Rohingya. Concerns and international assistance

plans related to the problems faced were not responded well by the Myanmar government with an attitude that seemed closed to the international world related to the issue of the humanitarian crisis.

Responding to the Rohingya issue, the Government of Indonesia immediately took concrete steps in responding to the crisis. The diplomatic path was chosen by the Indonesian government to the Myanmar government in the form of dialogue to provide negotiating space for humanitarian assistance for the Rohingya ethnic group. Indonesia became the first and only country accepted by the Myanmar government to dialogue and discuss opening access to humanitarian assistance. The meeting focused on inviting Myanmar's decision-makers and leaders to take actions based on the interests of vulnerable people based on humanitarian principles.

Retno LP. Marsudi, as a representative of the country, held dialogues with several Myanmar officials. The initial dialogue conducted by the Indonesian Foreign Minister was to discuss with Myanmar's de facto leader Auu San Suu Kyi in Naypyidaw to discuss Indonesia's role in reducing violence in Myanmar (Deutsche Wele, 2018). The Indonesian Foreign Minister also held a meeting with the Commander in Chief of the Myanmar Armed Forces, General U Min Aung Hlaing and three Myanmar Ministers who occupied strategic positions related to the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar. Discussions conducted with Myanmar military officials and several related ministers are about the stability of Myanmar's security and protection of all people without exception to protect all people in Myanmar, especially women and children (Wele, 2018). This meeting also discussed the opening of access to humanitarian assistance to be given to Rohingya ethnic groups who were affected by the crisis.

Indonesia's responsive actions in making humanitarian assistance policy cannot be separated from the dilemma faced by Indonesia behind the decision making. Various dilemmas faced by Indonesia originate from internal Indonesia and agreements that have been agreed by Indonesia on an international scale. The dilemma is presented in this paper to see the dynamics in the policy-making of Indonesian humanitarian aid to the Rohingya in 2017.

Literature Review

The literature review in this paper departs from the correlational relationship between the interests and identity of the state that influences the foreign policy it draws. Febrian (2016) explained the relationship between state identity and foreign policymaking. This paper takes a case study of Turkey's foreign policy in humanitarian assistance to Myanmar. Turkey, which has been known for its identity as a Muslim country, apparently did not make identity as the main foundation in providing humanitarian assistance to Myanmar after the communal conflict in 2012-2015. Humanitarian assistance provided by Turkey to Myanmar is based on humanitarian factors. This is reinforced by statements made by the President and other Turkish Representatives who stress the importance of helping fellow Muslims, but the humanitarian assistance provided by Turkey is not based on common Muslim identity, but because of humanitarian factors. Other studies presented by the author regarding the issue of Turkish humanitarian assistance to Myanmar are based on some of Turkey's national interests. Through a soft power approach, Turkey is trying to restore Ottoman glory by providing humanitarian assistance to fellow Muslims. Besides, Turkey also carried out a

process of image formation to portray a peaceful, loving Islamic state. On the other hand, Turkey also wants to expand its hegemony in the ASEAN region and establish Turkey's political interests with Myanmar (Febrian, 2016).

The next literature is written by Wan Sahwaluddin wan Hasan, which explains Malaysia's motives for providing humanitarian assistance to Bosnia based on three main aspects covering Malaysia's national interests in the international order, the similarity of Muslim identity and human values. Malaysia uses the momentum of the humanitarian crisis in Bosnia as an opportunity to gain its national interest through the process of imaging in the international order, through humanitarian assistance in Bosnia, Malaysia can change the paradigm of the international community which believes that Malaysia tends to be pro-communist. The similarity in religious identity, namely Muslims between Malaysia and Bosnia, is one indicator of humanitarian assistance provided by Malaysia to Bosnia. Besides, humanitarian assistance provided by Malaysia is inseparable from humanitarian values. The humanitarian crisis that occurred in Bosnia is a strong reason for humanitarian assistance given to Bosnia (Hassan, 2000).

Nicholas Khoo in the *Deconstructing the ASEAN Security Community*, explained related to the existing rules in the body of ASEAN not to intervene with each other in any context. Through a standard rule that is "non-interference in the internal affairs of one another" produces a common norm within the ASEAN body that is agreed by all ASEAN members not to interfere in dealing with the internal affairs of each member country. The initiation of establishing norms and rules in carrying out interactions and relations between

member countries is considered as one of the success factors in regulating the sustainability of regional organizations (Khoo, 2004). Besides, L.N Kingston in his article entitled Protecting the world is most persecuted: the responsibility to protect and Rohingya minority tries to depart from three initial arguments about protection against humanitarian problems that come out of the previous traditional conception. Prevention of humanitarian problems in this paper departs from these three main arguments including global responsibility which emphasizes the position of the international community that has joint responsibility with countries that have problems in existing humanitarian issues. The second argument is sovereignty as state responsibility and the third argument is the concept of Responsibility to Protect is a norm adopted by the international community (Kingstong, 2015).

Discussion

The discussion in this paper will illustrate the dilemma faced by Indonesia in the process of making policies related to Indonesian humanitarian assistance to the Rohingya ethnic groups who are victims of the humanitarian crisis that occurred in Myanmar. The dilemma that will be discussed in this section includes a historical review of the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Myanmar which will then correlate with the principle of non-ASEAN intervention. Indonesia is faced with a big dilemma in a regional context. Indonesia and Myanmar are under the auspices of the intra-regional organization, ASEAN. The existing understanding within ASEAN emphasizes the principle of non-interference which means that each member country will not interfere in the domestic

affairs of other member countries. This dilemma becomes even more complicated because Indonesia that wants to conduct the humanitarian assistance process is confronted with the principle of non-interference. Besides, the responsibility of Indonesia which is a country with the largest number of Muslims in the world in numbers has implications for humanitarian responsibilities based on the similarity of religious entities to the Rohingya ethnic groups who are victims of the humanitarian crisis that occurred. The policymaking process related to Indonesian humanitarian assistance to the Rohingya is not necessarily based on the similarity of religious entities. Another dilemma faced is the emergence of international responsibility by Indonesia in providing humanitarian assistance as a representation of the principle of Responsibility to protect.

History and Relationship between Indonesia and Myanmar

Indonesia is a country that has close relations with Myanmar. This can be seen from the review of bilateral relations between Indonesia and Myanmar starting from the beginning of Indonesia's independence period. Myanmar gave great support in the recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty as an independent country in 1947. Myanmar urged the Indian government to hold a Conference on Indonesia Affairs in New Delhi and the same year, Myanmar also permitted the Indonesian government to open an Indonesian office in Yangon which when it is the capital of Myanmar. Two concrete actions carried out by Myanmar as explained above are a form of support for the achievement of world recognition of Indonesian independence. This support later sparked the closeness between the two countries (Kemlu, 2017).

The good relations established by Myanmar and Indonesia are not only in the political order. This was proven on January 26, 1949, Myanmar had also permitted the Indonesian plane RI-001 to fly from Calcutta to land at Mingladon Airport Ragoon-Myanmar because at that time Indonesian aircraft that were donated by post-independence Acehnese citizens could not land on Sumatra and Java as a result of Dutch aggression (Kemlu, 2017).

A series of closeness that formed from the two countries, gives a good indication that in 1951 the diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Myanmar were carried out legally formally with recognition of the Indonesian embassy in Myanmar and vice versa. Besides, based on the common fate of the countries of the former colonies, Myanmar also gave great support to Indonesia to carry out the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung in 1955 and provided support for the liberation of West Irian.

Bilateral relations then experienced a period of receding due to the transition of Myanmar's form of government that changed itself from a democratic system to a socialist under the leadership of the military junta after the coup d'état carried out in 1962. Relations that began to drift later became closer to rejoining Myanmar in ASEAN on July 23, 1997, as the ninth member through a meeting of the 30th ASEAN Foreign Minister in Subang Jaya, Malaysia (Kemlu, 2017).

The closeness between Indonesia and Myanmar that was built after Myanmar's joining in ASEAN was marked by increasingly intense economic relations. The number of Indonesian investments in Myanmar in 2007 reached the US \$ 241.5 million and ranked sixth (Kemlu, 2017a). Other data that shows the good economic relations between Indonesia and Myanmar are data on Indonesia's trade

balance with Myanmar for the 2012-2017 period with a focus on the oil and gas and non-oil and gas sectors.

Table 1:
Indonesia's trade balance with Myanmar for the period 2012-2017

(Nilai : Ribu US\$)

Uraian	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Trend(%) 2012- 2016	Jan-Okt		Perub.(%) 2017/2016
							2016	2017	
TOTAL PERDAGANGAN	465.122,1	629.526,2	688.983,9	776.088,7	729.023,2	11,72	589.624,4	778.266,8	31,99
MIGAS	753,9	697,5	555,8	2.233,7	12.345,8	96,51	11.826,5	598,1	-94,94
NON MIGAS	464.368,2	628.828,7	688.428,2	773.855,0	716.677,4	11,35	577.797,8	777.668,7	34,59
EKSPOR	401.589,5	556.374,8	566.906,9	615.670,4	615.683,6	10,03	497.218,3	651.001,9	30,93
MIGAS	753,9	697,5	555,8	2.233,7	12.345,8	96,51	11.826,5	598,1	-94,94
NON MIGAS	400.835,6	555.677,2	566.351,2	613.436,7	603.337,8	9,60	485.391,8	650.403,8	34,00
IMPOR	63.532,6	73.151,4	122.077,0	160.418,4	113.339,6	21,45	92.406,1	127.264,9	37,72
MIGAS	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,00	0,0	0,0	0,00
NON MIGAS	63.532,6	73.151,4	122.077,0	160.418,4	113.339,6	21,45	92.406,1	127.264,9	37,72
NERACA PERDAGANGAN	338.056,9	483.223,3	444.829,9	455.252,0	502.344,0	7,60	404.812,3	523.736,9	29,38
MIGAS	753,9	697,5	555,8	2.233,7	12.345,8	96,51	11.826,5	598,1	-94,94
NON MIGAS	337.303,0	482.525,8	444.274,2	453.018,3	489.998,1	7,08	392.985,7	523.138,9	33,12

Source: Kemendag, 2017

From the table that was described above, Indonesia's economic relations in the oil and gas and non-oil and gas trade sectors from year to year in the 2012-2017 range always increase on average from total trade. Only in 2016, there was a slight decrease in total trade between the two countries. However, until October 2017, total trade has increased again and even stepped up to lift the highest total trade for the past five years.

The good bilateral relations between Indonesia and Myanmar make the more dilemma faced by Indonesia to conduct humanitarian assistance. On one hand, Indonesia is confronted with the moral issues, one of which is humanity, to help the humanitarian crisis

that occurs in the Rohingya ethnic group in Myanmar. On the other hand, the close relations formed between Indonesia and Myanmar will be damaged because of Indonesian interference in domestic problems that occur in Myanmar. From a different context, Indonesia's presence in the Myanmar problem can be interpreted as a violation of the non-intervention norms that exist in ASEAN. Indonesia's participation in resolving Myanmar's internal problems is indicated in violations of Myanmar's independence and sovereignty. Besides, the norm is a norm of understanding developed by five ASEAN founders where one of the countries that signed the norm was Indonesia.

Indonesia and Non-ASEAN Interventions

ASEAN was born in Bangkok on August 8, 1967. The initial formation of ASEAN was initiated by five countries namely Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines. The establishment of ASEAN as a regional organization is based on the similarity of objectives contained in The ASEAN Declaration or better known as the Bangkok Declaration. This declaration has five main points namely:

1. Accelerating economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the Southeast Asian region;
2. Enhancing regional peace and stability;
3. Increasing cooperation and mutual assistance for common interests in the economic, social, engineering, scientific, and administrative fields;
4. Maintaining close cooperation amid existing regional and international organizations;

5. Enhancing collaboration to advance education, training, and research in the Southeast Asian region (Kemlu, 2018).

The five points above are ASEAN's initial foundation for creating regional cooperation and stability. The process of strengthening relations and increasing stability and peace in the region is carried out by ASEAN member countries with an agreement to establish norms and rules aimed at regulating patterns of interaction between members in addressing a problem. The initial agreement was formed by agreeing on the declaration of the Peace, Free and Neutral Zone (Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality Declaration / ZOPFAN) signed in 1971. ASEAN's focus on creating a peaceful region was then continued by forming a common understanding in the form of a known treaty with the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) agreed in Bali in a series of ASEAN Summit events on February 24, 1976. This TAC contains 5 main chapters covering purpose and principles, amity, cooperation, pacific settlement of disputes and general provision. Each chapter of the TAC has its articles. Increasing stability and peace are strongly emphasized at the beginning of the purpose and principles in article two. This section provides guidance on basic principles for establishing good relations between member states. This section is explained in 6 indicators including:

1. Mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations;
2. The right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion;
3. Non-interference in the internal affairs of one another;
4. Settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful means;

5. Renunciation of the threat or use of force
6. Effective cooperation among themselves (ASEAN, 1976).

The third indicator of the contents of article two of the TAC, namely “non-interference in the internal affairs of one another” produces a common norm within the ASEAN body that is agreed by all ASEAN members not to interfere in the internal affairs of each member country. The initiation of the establishment of TACs as a norm and rule in carrying out interactions and relations between member countries is considered as one of the success factors in regulating the sustainability of regional organizations (Khoo, 2004). The TAC itself was formed and agreed upon by five ASEAN founding countries namely Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines (ASEAN, 1976). The TAC was agreed directly by the five initiating heads of the state namely the Presidents of Indonesia and the Philippines and the Prime Ministers of Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand.

Judging from the initial foundation of the principle of non-intervention, three indicators can be used to answer the birth of non-intervention as a norm and rules used in ASEAN. These three conditions include the vulnerability of conflicts in the ASEAN region before the formation of the principle of non-intervention which is around the 1960s. The vulnerability of the conflict in the 1960s was the main trigger for the birth of this principle. This can be seen from the high intensity of conflicts between ASEAN countries including the Malaysia-Philippines conflict over the struggle over the Sabah border, the Indonesia-Malaysia conflict in ideological issues and border conflicts in the Kalimantan, Malaysia-Singapore region

triggered by Singapore's departure from the Malaysian federation and conflicts between Malaysia-Thailand based on border issues and Pattani Muslim tribes (Jones, 2009).

Efforts to inhibit the influence of communism that is increasingly strong in the ASEAN region also became the forerunner to the birth of ASEAN and non-intervention norms. The increasingly massive influence of Communism in the ASEAN region is very visible from the occupation of the Soviet Union in North Vietnam to the Vietnam war. The principle of non-intervention exists so that the influence of communism which is trying to be spread can be dammed in the ASEAN region. The third problem which became the foundation of the birth of this principle is the concern of post-colonial intervention (Collins, 2003). Almost all of the founding countries of ASEAN (except Thailand) are newly independent former colonies. This indicates the possibility of upheaval by domestic groups and external parties who want the country to be controlled again by the invaders. This then makes relevant non-intervention norms a bridge so that problems that occur within the internal state do not experience interference from outside parties and give the widest possible authority to an independent state to regulate and regulate the internal problems of the country.

Conceptually intervention can be interpreted as an action to interfere in the domestic and foreign affairs of a country by another country (Starke, 2007). Intervention from one country to another if examined from the understanding of the concept of intervention is a violation of the country's independence, freedom, and sovereignty. The presentation also violated the essence of the degree of equality of each independent country (Kusumaatmadja & Agoes, 2003).

Non-intervention in the body of ASEAN was then born to answer the challenges of the conditions of intervention that often occur in the international order which led to the destruction of stability and world peace. Non-intervention also comes as an answer to guarantee recognition of the sovereignty and guarantee of protection from the interference of other member states in a country's domestic politics (Halina, 2011). Non-intervention can also be used to give freedom to each country to take care of its internal affairs without interference from outside parties. Intervention from outside parties is considered as a violation of the principle of freedom, independence, and integrity of a country (Acharya, 2001).

The aspects of the principle of non-intervention according to Amitav Acharya are explained in four indicators including, refrain from criticizing member states' actions against their people, criticizing members for violating the principle of non-intervention, refusing to recognize, providing protection, or other forms of support to rebel groups that seek to disrupt or overthrow the government of a member state and provide political support and material assistance to member states in campaigns against subversive activities (Acharya, 2001).

The principle of non-intervention in ASEAN can be understood in two ways. This principle is considered good because it gives freedom to each member country to have the right to regulate the administration of their own country and to have full authority and there is no fear of interference from other countries in the domestic context. This principle is also seen as weak in solving the problems of its member countries because ASEAN does not have strong authority in providing mechanisms for solving the problems of

its members (Dosch, 2006). A historical review of the TAC process shows Indonesia's high contribution in shaping and implementing TAC within the ASEAN body. In addition to being one of the five initiators of the formation of the TAC, Indonesia is currently also the host in the formation of the TAC. These two things are strong indicators that Indonesia will uphold this principle to respect and respect the sovereignty and independence of other member states. The condition of the humanitarian crisis that occurred in the ethnic Rohingya in Myanmar became a new challenge to determine the concrete actions of the ASEAN member countries in resolving the issue.

Indonesia and Islamic Identity

Identity is an embodiment of self-existence (Viotti & Kauppi, 2007). In a constructivist view, identity is a socially constructed entity and can influence a country to act and determine its attitude towards the international environment. The creation of social structures or policies of a country is more subjective than material. This subjectivity is based on the identity and interests of the state so that the social structure or policy adopted by the state will not be separated from the role of non-material values such as identity (Wendt, 1995).

Identity itself can be based on several types including ideology, national, ethnic, institutional, and religious (Andriasanti, 2016). The focus of this discussion will expose Islam as an identity in Indonesia whose relevance will affect the policy patterns adopted. Indonesia is one of the countries with the largest number of Muslims. Data from the Central Statistics Agency through the results of a population

census record that the number of Muslims in Indonesia stands at 207 million. This figure is converted to a percentage of 87.18% of the total population of Indonesia (BPS, 2010). The number of Muslims in Indonesia also occupies the highest position in the world. Data reported by The Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, Indonesia accounts for 12.7% of the 1,599,700,000 Muslims in the world (Global Religious Future, 2018).

Seeing a large number of adherents of Islam in Indonesia, it can be explained that Islam as an identity will influence state actions. Arguments related to this have produced some debate. Leifer said that Islam is indeed the majority identity in Indonesia, but did not have a major influence in the context of foreign policy. This is indicated by the government's position which is not too inclined to religious-based parties and does not give too much space to Islamic groups in influencing foreign policy (Leifer, 1983).

The role of Islam in the Indonesian political system also cannot be separated from the influence of Islamic groups that are used as media to convey demands and support for the conditions of Indonesian politics. The demands and support of these Islamic groups will be very optimal if they are in harmony with the material interests of the state (Anshori, 2016). If these demands and interests conflict with the national interests of the country, then it is difficult to be realized as a policy.

In relations between countries, identity plays a role in determining the achievement of a country's national interests, guidelines in taking action in international order and references in determining and developing relations with other countries (Andriasanti, 2016). This will also affect state actions and behavior

in determining attitudes in relation to other countries (Nair, 1997).

The Islamic identity possessed by the majority of Indonesia's population influences foreign policymaking concerning the problems of Muslim societies in other countries. In the issue of the Rohingya ethnic humanitarian crisis in Myanmar, Indonesia, which is predominantly Muslim, feels concern from violence in Myanmar. This then encouraged Islamic groups in Indonesia to take action to pressure the Indonesian government to be responsive in helping and solving problems that occurred with the Rohingya ethnic group.

Indonesia and International Responsibility

International order today is confronted with humanitarian issues which are seen as the responsibility of all citizens of the world to solve them together. Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a concept and principle in the study of international relations that aims to protect the people of a country from four types of crimes including mass destruction, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity (r2pasiapacific.org, 2017). Protection of the people or the international community of a country which is understood in the principle of R2P is a country that houses the people. However, this responsibility may shift and become the responsibility of the international community if the state is unable to protect its people from the four crimes against humanity that have been described (r2pasiapacific.org, 2017). The principles and concepts of R2P have three main pillars in the process of preventing the occurrence of crimes against humanity. The three pillars include:

1. The responsibility of the state to protect its people from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against

humanity, and from all kinds of actions that lead to these types of crimes.

2. Commitment to the international community to help countries carry out these responsibilities.
3. The responsibility of each UN member state to respond collectively, timely and decisively when a country fails to provide the intended protection (r2pasiapacific.org, 2017)

These three pillars are an indication of the continuity of the process which is expected to be able to protect the people of each country from crimes against humanity to mass destruction. The process developed through the R2P principle is a process that emphasizes the domestic capacity of a country in the protection of citizens which is then supported by other countries that are part of the international community that has the responsibility to assist the protection process. If the state is deemed incapable of protecting its people from crimes against humanity after being assisted by another country, then the responsibility of this protection becomes the responsibility of every UN country to respond together in protecting the country's people in dealing with humanitarian problems.

Kingston (2015) tried to depart from the three initial arguments about the protection of humanitarian issues that came out of the previous traditional conceptions. Prevention of humanitarian problems in this paper departs from these three main arguments including global responsibility which emphasizes the position of the international community that has joint responsibility with countries that have problems in existing humanitarian issues.

In terms of global responsibility, the international community emphasizes the principle of non-intervention in troubled countries. The international community plays a role as a helper in troubled countries in solving existing problems.

The second argument is sovereignty as a state responsibility (Kingstong, 2015). This argument reinforces the recognition of the protection of citizens based on the sovereignty of the country itself. The protection of citizens is a part of the resilience of a country's sovereignty. The state must be able to protect its citizens by guaranteeing all kinds of citizens' human rights. The justice and prosperity of citizens is an indication of the country's ability to protect its sovereignty.

The third argument is the concept of R2P itself, which is a norm adopted by the international community. R2P is considered as a bridge to connect the two arguments presented previously related to global responsibility and state sovereignty (Kingstong, 2015). Kingstong sees R2P as a middle way to resolve humanitarian problems that exist within a country's internal affairs. Through the concept of R2P and the non-intervention norms that exist in its implementation, Kingstong sees the possibility of solving humanitarian problems that can be submitted first to the internal state as a tribute to the sovereignty of a country with indirect assistance by the international community in various forms. The R2P approach is considered relevant to show the concern of the international community for humanitarian cases that exist in a country without crossing the country's sovereignty itself.

Prevention activities that can be carried out in the context of humanitarian issues can be seen in four aspects that are at the root of the problem. The four aspects cover the fields of politics,

economics, law and the military (Bellamy, 2008). This concept will be used to describe the conditions that exist in Myanmar in the issue of humanitarian crises against Rohingya Muslim ethnicities. In the humanitarian crisis that occurred in Rohingya that led to the slaughter of ethnic Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar, the government was considered to be the main actor in the problem that occurred. The military operation that killed many lives was not the solution to the cessation of the Rohingya militants who were anti-state. The process carried out through military operations is, in fact, taking an increasing number of victims and has implications for support for the expulsion and elimination of ethnic Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar.

The inhibition and closure of access to basic needs which are considered as forms of structural violence are the cause of the birth of forms of separatism and militancy in the Rohingya. The international response to the problem shows the world's concern for the problem that occurred. However, Myanmar is closing itself on international assistance with a view of international aid fears as a form of intervention in the country's sovereignty. Indonesia, which has historically, politically and economically close ties with Myanmar in opening up humanitarian space for the distribution of humanitarian aid to its ethnic Rohs with an emphasis on international responsibility arguments.

Conclusion

Humanitarian action carried out by one country against another country often finds a dilemma both in its plans and implementation. Indonesia experienced this dilemma in a humanitarian action plan undertaken for the Rohingya ethics over the humanitarian crisis

that occurred in Rakhine, Myanmar. Humanitarian action carried out by Indonesia is based on the insistence of the majority of Indonesian Muslims who pressured the government to carry out humanitarian actions based on the common identity of Indonesian Muslims and Rohingya. Besides, humanitarian principles are the basis of Indonesia's actions in carrying out humanitarian actions. Another support obtained by Indonesia in humanitarian action to the Rohingya ethnic group is the R2P principle which emphasizes the joint responsibility of the international community for the humanitarian crisis that is happening in a country. On the other hand, Indonesia is also faced with the dilemma of the close bilateral relations between Indonesia and Myanmar. The close bilateral relations between the two countries can be seen from two sides where this condition can make it easier for Indonesia to lobby and engage in diplomacy or vice versa will worsen bilateral relations because Indonesia interferes too much with Myanmar's domestic problems. Indonesia is also faced with the condition that Indonesia and Myanmar are in a regional organization, namely ASEAN, which has the principle not to intervene and interfere with internal affairs between ASEAN member countries. It can be concluded that Indonesia's humanitarian action against the Rohingya is based on humanitarian principles, the insistence of the majority of Muslims based on shared identity, the principle of R2P and good relations between the two countries that have been established which facilitates humanitarian diplomacy.

Bibliography

- Acharya, Amitav (2001). *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*. London: Routledge
- Al-Anshori, Mohammad Zakaria (2016). *The Role of Indonesia's Contemporary Foreign Policy*. Victoria University.
- Andriasanti, Lelly (2016). Kontestasi Identitas Islam Moderat di Asia Tenggara. *Journal International & Diplomacy* Vol. 2 No. 1
- ASEAN (1976). *Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia*.
- ASEAN (2010). *ASEAN Selayang Pandang*. Accessed from <https://www.kemlu.go.id/Documents/ASP%202010.pdf>
- BBC (2017). *Sekitar 6.700 Muslim Rohingya tewas dalam waktu sebulan, kata MSF*. Accessed from < <http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-42351386> > on December, 18 2017.
- Bellamy, Alex. J (2008). 'Conflict Prevention and The Responsibility to Protect". *Global Governance*.
- BPS (2010). *Kewarganegaraan, Suku Bangsa, Agama dan Bahasa Sehari-hari Penduduk Indonesia, Hasil Sensus Penduduk 2010*
- Collins, Alan (2000). *Security and Southeast Asia: Domestic, Regional and Global Issues*. Lynne Rienner Publishers
- Dosch, Jorn Dosch (2006). *The Concept and Management of Non-Traditional Security in Southeast Asia*. *Themenschwerpunkt*. Vol. 4.
- Febrian, Ringgo (2016). *Identitas dan Kebijakan Luar Negeri: Bantuan Kemanusiaan Turki kepada Etnis Rohingya pasca Konflik Komunal Myanmar tahun 2012-2015*. *Journal of International*

Relations.Vol. 2 No.2.

Halina, Illien (2011). *Menyoroti Prinsip Non-Intervensi ASEAN*.

Multiversa: Journal of International Studies, Vol.1, No.1

Jones, L (2009). ASEAN and the Norm of Non-interference in Southeast Asia: A Quest of Social Order. Nuffield College Politics Group Working Paper. March.

Kemendag (2017). Neraca Perdagangan Dengan Mitra Dagang.

Accessed from

<<http://www.kemendag.go.id/id/economic-profile/indonesia-export-import/balance-of-trade-with-trade-partner-country?negara=125> > on December, 20 2017.

Kemenlu (2017). Hubungan RI-Myanmar Sepanjang Masa.

Accessed from <https://www.kemlu.go.id/yangon/id/berita-agenda/berita-perwakilan/Pages/Hubungan-RI-Myanmar-Sepanjang-Masa.aspx> on Desember, 20 2017.

Kemenlu (2018). Sejarah dan Latar Pembentukan ASEAN.2015.

Accessed from < <https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/kebijakan/asean/Pages/Sejarah-dan-Latar-Pembentukan-ASEAN.aspx> > on September, 12 2018.

Khoo, Nicholas (2004). *Deconstructing the ASEAN Security Community: a Review Essay*. Oxford University Press and

Japan Association of International Relations. International Relations of the Asia-Pasific. Vol. 4

Kingstong, L.N (2015). *Protecting the world's most persecuted: the responsibility to protect and Rohingya Minority*. The

International journal of Human Rights

Kusumaatmadja, Mochtar dan Etty R. Agoes (2003) Pengantar

Hukum Internasional. Bandung: Alumni

- Leifer, Michael (1983). *The Islamic Factor in Indonesia's Foreign Policy: A case of Functional Ambiguity in Islam and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge University Press
- R2P Basic Information, Accessed from https://r2pasiapacific.org/filething/get/906/R2P_basic_info_Bahasa.pdf
- Shanti Nair (1997). *Islam in Malaysia Foreign Policy*. London. Routledge.
- Shawaludin, Wan & wan Hassan (2000). *Malaysia dan Krisis Bosnia*. Jurnal Kinabalu VI.
- Starke, J.G., (2007) *Pengantar Hukum Internasional* 2nd ed. Jakarta: Sinar Grafika
- The Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life*. Global Religious Future. Accessed from <http://www.globalreligiousfutures.org/explorer#/?subtopic=15&chartType=bar&year=2010&data_type=number&religious_ffiliation=all&destination=to&countries=Worldwide&age_group=all&gender=all> on September, 12 2018.
- Viotti, Paul R. dan Mark V. Kauppi (2007). *International Relations and World Politics: Security, Economy, Identity*. United States: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Wele, Deutsche. Indonesia turun tangan bantu Rohingya. Accessed from <<http://www.dw.com/id/indonesia-turun-tangan-bantu-Rohingya/a-40351496>> on February, 17 2018.
- Wendt, Alexander (1995). *Constructing International Politics*. *International Security*.

