

Indonesian Government's Strategy in Humanitarian Diplomacy to Myanmar in the Rohingya Conflict in 2017

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Abstract

The research discusses about the Indonesian government's strategy in humanitarian diplomacy in Myanmar. The Rohingya Muslim ethnicity has long experienced structural violence and direct violence. Structural violence in the form of restrictions on access to needs is felt by the Rohingya Muslims in the economic, political, social, and cultural sectors. Meanwhile, direct violence took the form of ethnic cleansing, which claimed thousands of lives, and hundreds of thousands of people evacuated themselves to other countries. However, the Myanmar government has closed all access to humanitarian aid by closing itself off from the international community. The Indonesian people took several actions that condemned what had happened to the Rohingya Muslim ethnic. Indonesia uses the path of Humanitarian Diplomacy in this conflict. Indonesia is the first and only country that Myanmar has accepted to have a dialogue with its official officials. The research found that the foreign policy of Humanitarian Diplomacy carried out by Indonesia was influenced by 4 Bureaucratic Influencers, namely the President of the Republic of Indonesia, the House of Representatives, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. In this study, the author uses descriptive qualitative research methods based on literature research using secondary data related to the issues raised in this paper.

Keywords: Diplomacy, Indonesia, Myanmar, Rohingya

Introduction

Ethnic Rohingya Muslims in Rakhine, Myanmar have experienced a humanitarian crisis for a long time. The Rohingya Muslim ethnicity has experienced structural and direct violence. Structural violence is defined as violence that limits access to basic human needs (Kingstong 2015). Direct violence, on the other hand, is a type of physical violence that is perpetrated against an individual or an organization directly. From an economic perspective, the Rohingya population belongs to the lower middle class group with limited job opportunities and very little access to natural resource processing. On the political front, structural violence is divided into two categories: restrictions on political voting and restrictions on active participation in politics to be elected. The fear of the massive spread of Islam in Myanmar is also structural violence in the form of culture, because the Rohingya Muslim ethnic has long lived in Myanmar and developed its own culture (Wolf 2015). These restrictions pose a threat to the Rohingya Muslim ethnicity in the culture that exists in Myanmar. Furthermore, human rights. Apart from structural violence, there is also direct violence. The direct violence against the Rohingya is an indication of ethnic cleansing and a violation of human values (Al Jazeera 2014).

The Rohingya experienced the highest conflict escalation in a humanitarian crisis in August 2017. According to data released by the

BBC from social agency Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), about 640,000 Rohingya Muslims fled to Bangladesh and around 6,700 people died, including 730 children (BBC 2017) . The large number of victims and refugees as a result of the conflict caused the international community to call for an end to acts of violence and human rights violations against the Rohingya ethnic in Myanmar. However, the concern and plans for international assistance related to the problems faced were not responded well by the Myanmar government with an attitude that seemed to close itself off from the international community regarding the issue of the humanitarian crisis (Tempo 2017).

Indonesia became the first and only country accepted by the Myanmar government to have a dialogue and discuss the opening of access to humanitarian aid. As the representative of Indonesia's leader, Retno LP. Marsudi met with several representatives of Myanmar. The Indonesian Foreign Minister's initial dialogue in Naypyidaw with Myanmar's de facto leader, Auu San Suu Kyi, discussed Indonesia's participation in reducing violence in the country (Deutsche Welle 2017). The Indonesian Foreign Minister also had a dialogue with General U Min Aung Hlaing, the Commander of the Myanmar Armed Forces, and three Myanmar ministers who have important positions in the country's humanitarian crisis. This meeting discussed the stability of the country and the safety of all people, especially women and children,

as well as opening access to humanitarian assistance for Rohingya who are facing a humanitarian crisis (Deutsche Welle 2017).

Bureaucratic influencers are individuals or groups as well as organizations within government executive agencies that influence policy formulation and policy makers to determine the policy choices to be taken, of course, cannot be separated from Indonesia's response in setting humanitarian aid policies. The focus of this research is on the Indonesian government's strategy in humanitarian diplomacy to Myanmar which is influenced by influencer bureaucrats or bureaucrats who influence foreign policy making. These bureaucratic influencers will be categorized into four, namely the President of the Republic of Indonesia, the House of Representatives, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. This study will discuss how the strategy and steps of the Indonesian government in carrying out Humanitarian Diplomacy to Myanmar in the 2017 Rohingya conflict.

Research Method

In this study, the author uses qualitative methods to describe the data obtained in the form of scientific writings, mass media reports, official statements, government reports and descriptions of actions and actions depicted in these writings. (Iskandar 2008). The type of research used by the author is descriptive analysis by examining the

phenomenon raised in more detail (Iskandar 2008). This research is based on Literature Research and data collection is done by collecting secondary data that discusses the Indonesian government's strategy in conducting humanitarian diplomacy which is apparently influenced by bureaucratic influencers. This research is limited to looking at the influence of bureaucrats in Indonesia's strategy to launch its humanitarian diplomacy activities.

The unit of analysis is the unit whose behavior will be described and also explained (Mas'oed 1990). This research will make the interest groups as the unit of analysis by looking at the actions and influences given to the humanitarian diplomacy strategy carried out by Indonesia towards Myanmar. The data processing and analysis techniques used in this research will be assisted by using the influencer indicators described by William D. Coplin in a domestic setting that will influence foreign policy. The indicator used is Bureaucratic Influencers which is defined as a form of internal government group, this indicator will be an analytical tool to describe this research until it is found how the Indonesian government's strategy in humanitarian diplomacy is influenced by bureaucratic influencers, who influences and how the influence is exerted .

Discussion and Analysis

Bureaucratic Influencers or influencing bureaucrats are individuals or groups and organizations within government executive agencies that influence policy formulation and policy makers to determine policy choices to be taken. However, the influencing bureaucrats are also part of the policy-making group, so that in this condition it is difficult to separate the influencing bureaucrats and the policy-making group (Coplin 2003). Coplin's explanation regarding influencing bureaucrats concludes that actors categorized as bureaucrats are those in the executive and legislative branches who will play a role in influencing policies made. This research will categorize influencing bureaucrats into four categories including; President, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and DPR RI. These four actors will be analyzed for their influence in foreign policy making.

A. President of the Republic of Indonesia

Making foreign policy will not be separated from the influence of the president in responding to a phenomenon that is being faced. President Joko Widodo as President of the Republic of Indonesia who is also an executive actor in the implementation of the state in accordance with the division of tasks based on the Trias Politica also

plays a role in making Indonesia's humanitarian aid policy to the Rohingya who are facing a humanitarian crisis.

The President of the Republic of Indonesia took responsive action on this issue. Indonesia's presentation and action plan regarding this issue was delivered directly by President Joko Widodo at the State Palace on Sunday, September 3 2017. The statements made are as follows:

"I and all the Indonesian people, we regret the violent actions that occurred in Rakhine State, Myanmar, we need real action not just statements of criticism, and the government is committed to continuing to help the humanitarian crisis, synergizing with the strength of Indonesian civil society and the international community. I have assigned the Foreign Minister and the Indonesian ambassador to establish intensive communication with various parties including the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres and the special advisory commission for Rakhine State, Kofi Annan and this afternoon the Foreign Minister left for Myanmar to ask the Myanmar government to stop and prevent violence, to provide protection for all citizens including Muslims in Myanmar and to provide access to humanitarian assistance. For humanitarian relief and aid, the government has sent food and medical aid, in January and February 10 containers have also built schools in Rakhine State and will soon build a hospital starting next

October in Rakhine State. Indonesia has also accommodated refugees and provided the best assistance, I also assigned the Foreign Minister to fly to Dakha in Bangladesh in order to prepare humanitarian assistance for refugees in Bangladesh. We hope this week, we will send again food and medical aid. Once again this violence and humanitarian crisis must stop immediately. I think that's all I can say tonight. Thank you. Wassalamualaikum wr. wb." (Detik 2018).

The presentation delivered by President Joko Widodo emphasized the real actions that Indonesia must take in responding to the problems that occur. Real actions that must be taken include increasing synergies with the strengths of Indonesian civil society and the world. The President stressed to establish effective communication with Myanmar and the United Nations by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to find the right solution to the problems that occurred. In his presentation, the President also conveyed Indonesia's seriousness in humanitarian assistance to the Rohingya, which had been carried out before this issue flared up again.

The President conveyed a concrete action plan that has been and will be carried out to help resolve this issue. One of the concrete actions that have been taken is by assigning the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia to go to Myanmar and meet with the power holders at the same time to discuss this issue. Furthermore, the president also

assigned the Foreign Minister to continue his visit to Bangladesh to plan the delivery of humanitarian aid for refugees on the Myanmar-Bangladesh border.

After making a statement of his attitude and action plan as well as the assignment of the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs regarding the humanitarian crisis, the President also held a meeting with the new Myanmar ambassador to Indonesia after the handover of the credential to the Indonesian president. After the handover of the credential, President Joko Widodo summoned the new Myanmar Ambassador to Indonesia, Ei Ei Khin Aye, to talk about the humanitarian crisis that is currently taking place in Myanmar. Delivered by the Indonesian Foreign Minister who accompanied the president in the talks, the President of the Republic of Indonesia emphasized two main things including Indonesia's concern regarding the ongoing humanitarian crisis and hopes for the restoration of stability and security in the region. The second point made by the president was to ensure that the humanitarian assistance to be provided by Indonesia was delivered properly regardless of background and ethnicity (BeritaSatu 2017).

B. House of Representatives

The policy-making process of a democratic country will be greatly influenced by the dynamics played in the internal parliament of

the people as the executive legislature. In the formulation of a policy, discussions and debates within the DPR also occur on a massive scale to determine the policies that are most appropriate to the conditions and needs of the state and citizens.

Plenary Meeting 31 September 2017

A number of members of the DPR RI who were democratically elected by the Indonesian people through an election process showed a quick response regarding the humanitarian crisis that occurred in Myanmar. Initial discussions regarding the issue of the humanitarian crisis and the determination of Indonesia's position as a neighboring country that has cooperative and diplomatic relations with Myanmar as well as the similarity of religious identity shared by the majority of Indonesia's population, namely Islam and victims of the humanitarian crisis against the Rohingya, began at the Plenary Session of the DPR on Thursday 31 August 2017. This discussion is the first discussion conducted by the Indonesian Parliament in less than a week of the escalation of the Rohingya ethnic conflict. This plenary meeting will initially discuss "The Government's Response to the Views of Factions on the 2018 State Budget Bill along with the Memorandum of Understanding" in the process of the trial, many intrusions came from members of the assembly who called for discussions related to the

violence that occurred against the Rohingya ethnic in Myanmar (Kumparan 2017) .

Four council members from different factions delivered an interruption that focused on the issue of the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar (DPR RI 2017). The first interruption came from the Secretary of the PAN Faction, Yandri Susanto. The interruption contained a statement strongly condemning the issue of the humanitarian crisis that occurred in Myanmar and asking the DPR to be proactive in summoning the Myanmar Ambassador to Indonesia. In addition, he also conveyed demands that Myanmar be expelled from the UN membership.

The next interruption was delivered by a member of the PKS faction, Al-Muzzamil Yusuf, who emphasized the state's involvement in humanitarian issues in accordance with the constitutional mandate. Another emphasis conveyed by Al-Muzzamil Yusuf was the proposal to the leadership of the DPR to send council members at the ASEAN level to monitor the Myanmar issue. The proposal is also a joint proposal agreed upon by three other factions, namely Gerindra, PAN and PDIP. The combination of the 4 factions previously described also proposed to play an active role in the ASEAN parliament so that this issue can be monitored jointly by all ASEAN countries through representatives of parliamentarians from various ASEAN countries. The composition

proposed to monitor this issue is 100 members from all factions in ASEAN.

The Gerindra faction in the plenary meeting conveyed its interruption. Through Sodik Mujahid also conveyed the same thing by adding emphasis to parliamentary diplomacy. He conveyed the need for intensification for ASEAN and all member countries to have a strong joint commitment in resolving this issue. The last interruption was delivered by Hamka Haq from the PDIP faction who said that the government should invite the Myanmar Ambassador to seek solutions to the Rohingya problem. If this issue does not get serious attention from the Myanmar government, then Indonesia must carry out strict sanctions by expelling the Myanmar Ambassador to Indonesia.

The presentation above mentions several demands submitted by council members from various factions in responding to the issue of the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar. To analyze the effect of the results of the meeting related to Indonesian policies to be taken, the researchers grouped the proposed demands in the table as follows;

Table 1: The DPR's demands regarding the Rohingya humanitarian crisis.

No	Faction	Indictment
1.	PAN Faction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The statement strongly condemns the issue of the humanitarian crisis - Asking the DPR to be pro-active in summoning the Myanmar Ambassador to Indonesia - Myanmar was excluded from membership of the United Nations.
2.	PKS Faction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - State involvement in humanitarian issues in accordance with the constitutional mandate. - Send council members at ASEAN level to monitor Myanmar issues
3	Gerindra Faction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emphasis on ASEAN parliamentary diplomacy
4	PDIP Faction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Invite the Myanmar Ambassador to seek solutions to the Rohingya problem

Source: Processed by researchers on Sept. 2018

From the demands that have been grouped, the researcher sees that council members from various factions have the same perception in criticizing the issue of the humanitarian crisis that has occurred against the Rohingya Muslim ethnic group in Myanmar. This criticism is intended to speed up the process of solving the current problem. In the context of the influence exerted in Indonesia's domestic political order to influence the policies to be made, the researcher sees that the DPR as a legislative group emphasizes the active role of Indonesia in following up on this issue. This is indicated by the two opinions put forward which include:

1. Requesting the DPR and the government to be proactive in summoning the Myanmar Ambassador to Indonesia to seek solutions to the Rohingya problem;
2. The involvement of the state in humanitarian issues is in accordance with the constitutional mandate.

These two things then become indicators of the influence exerted by the legislative members of the plenary session as part of the bureaucratic concept that influences the policy-making process.

Commission 1 Closed Meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs

Assigned by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, Ms. Retno LP. Marsudi to make a visit to Myanmar to open a humanitarian space related to the issue of the humanitarian crisis that occurred in the Rohingya got a good response from the Myanmar government. After the visit, the DPR RI through commission 1 in charge of defense, foreign affairs, communication and information and intelligence (DPR RI 2016) plans to summon the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs to hold a working meeting to discuss the results of the meeting with the Myanmar government and the strategic steps to be taken. . This meeting is planned to be held on Monday 11 September 2017. This work meeting plan was submitted by one of the members of

the DPR RI Commission 1 a day before the work meeting was held (Wakik 2017).

The working meeting resulted in several conclusions including the DPR's support to continue the efforts and steps of humanitarian diplomacy related to the humanitarian crisis that occurred to the Rohingya ethnicity in Rakhine-Myanmar state (Suryowati 2017). The support and encouragement for the Indonesian government conveyed by the DPR through commission 1 to continue strategic steps in solving this problem can be assumed as an influence in making more concrete policies by the Indonesian government in helping to resolve this issue.

C. Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs

Indonesia's handling of the humanitarian crisis against the Rohingya in Myanmar will not be separated from the lobbying and diplomacy carried out by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs against the Myanmar government through the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ms. Retno LP. Marsudi. In this section, the researcher will describe the influence exerted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the process of making Indonesia's foreign aid policy in the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar in the period of August 2017.

The First Steps of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia

Responding to the process of escalating conflict that occurred in Rakhine-Myanmar which indicated a humanitarian crisis against the Rohingya ethnic who lived there, the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs took several strategic actions in contributing to help resolve this issue. The first step taken by the Minister of Foreign Affairs is to coordinate with the president regarding the current issues. On August 30, 2017 at the Presidential Palace complex after a meeting with the President, the Foreign Minister conveyed several things, namely reporting related to the current situation in Rakhine State and the humanitarian crisis that occurred against the Rohingya ethnic. The report made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs was responded well by President Joko Widodo who wanted the violence in Rakhine State to end (Jordan 2017).

Retno also said that she had communicated with three people who were considered to be able to speed up the resolution of the problems that occurred. This communication was carried out with Auu San Suu Kyi who is Myanmar's National Security Adviser, Bangladesh's Foreign Minister Abul Hasan Mahmud Ali where refugees who were victims of the humanitarian crisis fled to the Myanmar-Bangladesh border area. Retno also communicated with

Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. Kofi Annan is a person who is very focused on international humanitarian issues. Kofi Annan under the commission he chaired, namely the Annan Advisory Commission, in the last few years has also been quite focused on the Rohingya issue which continues to fluctuate.

At the initial meeting with the Indonesian president regarding the discussion of the Rohingya ethnic humanitarian crisis, the President also supported the steps taken by the Foreign Minister including a visit to Myanmar in the near future and a constructive approach to the Myanmar side to immediately restore a safe situation in Rakhine State and stop all forms of violence against civilians.

Foreign Minister's Humanitarian Diplomacy to Myanmar and Bangladesh

The escalating issue of the humanitarian crisis against the Rohingya in Rakhine State-Myanmar, on the orders of the President and the results of communications with the Myanmar government, Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno LP. Marsudi left for Myanmar on September 3, 2017 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2017). This meeting is scheduled to meet with Myanmar's State Counselor, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. In this meeting, Foreign Minister Retno said that she brought the mandate of the Indonesian people who were very worried about the humanitarian

crisis that occurred in Rakhine State and conveyed Indonesia's desire to help with this issue. In addition, the Foreign Minister also said that he also brought the voice of the international community so that the humanitarian crisis that occurred in Rakhine State could be resolved immediately. In this meeting, the Foreign Minister conveyed Indonesia's proposal called the 4+1 formula. The four elements of this formula are the main elements that must be done immediately so that the humanitarian and security crisis in Rakhine State does not worsen, while one element of the formula is a recommendation from the report from the advisory commission for Rakhine State led by Kofi Annan.

The contents of the formula 4+1 are:

1. Restore stability and security;
2. Maximum restraint and do not use violence;
3. Protection for all people in Rakhine State, regardless of ethnicity and religion;
4. The importance of immediately opening humanitarian access;
5. Implementation of the recommendations of the advisory commission report for Rohingya (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2017).

The Minister of Foreign Affairs also conveyed about the very high commitment of Indonesian humanitarian NGOs with the establishment of the Indonesian Humanitarian Alliance for Myanmar

(AKIM). Through an alliance coordinated by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Foreign Minister expressed hope that the Myanmar government could continue to provide access to AKIM and the Indonesian government. The Indonesian Foreign Minister also held a meeting with the Commander of the Myanmar Armed Forces, General U Min Aung Hlaing and three Myanmar ministers who occupy strategic positions related to the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar. Discussions were held with top Myanmar military officials and several related Ministers regarding the stability of Myanmar and the protection of all people without exception to protect all those who were there, especially women and children (Deutsche Welle 2017). This meeting also discussed the opening of access to humanitarian assistance to be provided to the Rohingya who are experiencing a humanitarian crisis.

Achievements resulting from the Foreign Minister's meeting with top Myanmar government officials include conveying the great attention of the Indonesian people to the humanitarian situation in Rakhine State and the commitment of the Myanmar authorities to immediately resolve the humanitarian crisis. The most important point from the achievement of this meeting is that Indonesia has access to the mechanism for distributing humanitarian aid, which is led by the Myanmar government and will involve the ICRC (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2017).

After the visit to Myanmar in the discussion regarding the opening of access to Indonesia's humanitarian aid, the Indonesian Foreign Minister continued his visit to Bangladesh to meet the Bangladesh Foreign Minister, Mahmood Ali. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a press statement stated that the meeting between the Indonesian Foreign Ministers and Bangladesh which was held in the city of Dhaka discussed the Indonesian humanitarian aid plan for Rakhine State refugees in Bangladesh. This meeting also discussed the types of assistance to be provided by Indonesia. Retno said that the humanitarian assistance to be provided by Indonesia was more focused on humanitarian assistance than financial assistance (Kardi 2017). The bilateral meeting held by the Indonesian Foreign Minister could have implications for mapping information in the humanitarian aid policy plan that will be carried out by Indonesia.

D. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an institution is also considered as one of the actors that will influence the foreign policy that will be made by a country. This section will describe the influence exerted by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs which is based on three forms of influence, namely the formation of the Indonesian Humanitarian Alliance for Myanmar (AKIM), the statement by the Indonesian Ambassador to Myanmar regarding the issue of the

humanitarian crisis that occurred and the actions taken by the Indonesian Ambassador to address the issue. Bangladesh in the planning of humanitarian aid planning to be carried out.

Formation of the Indonesian Humanitarian Alliance for Myanmar (AKIM)

The Indonesian people's concern for the issue of the humanitarian crisis against the Rohingya was quickly and well accommodated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A day after the meeting with the Indonesian president in reporting the condition of the humanitarian crisis that occurred, the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs inaugurated the Indonesian Humanitarian Alliance for Myanmar or abbreviated as AKIM. AKIM is an alliance of 11 Indonesian humanitarian institutions consisting of the Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center, the Institute for Disaster Management and Climate Change – Nahdlatul Ulama, PKPU Human Initiative, Dompot Dhuafa, Zakat House, Dompot Peduli Ummat – Daarut Tauhiid, LAZIS Wahdah, Laznas Infaq Management Institute (LMI), Aksi Cepat Tanggap, Lazis Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, Social Trust Fund – UIN Jakarta in collaboration with the Government of the Republic of Indonesia through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and all elements of Indonesian society. AKIM is

committed to assisting the handling of humanitarian conflicts in Myanmar (AKIM 2017).

AKIM released a program called Humanitarian Assistance for Sustainable Community (HASCO). The Alliance and the Program were simultaneously launched at the Pancasila Building, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta on August 31, 2017 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2017). This program aims to shape the people of Myanmar, especially the Rohingya in the fields of capacity building, sending experts, livelihoods, and recovery. The initial design related to this program will be carried out for two years in the process of improving Rakhine from the impact of the humanitarian crisis that occurred. In line with the program's objectives, the Head of AKIM Implementation, Ali Yusuf stated that the main target of this program is the fulfillment of basic needs for people in Rakhine State related to health, education, economy, and other needs. Ali Yuuf also explained that the beneficiaries of this program will target two communities, namely Muslims and Buddhists who both need assistance (Wardah 2017).

The humanitarian alliance for the Rohingya (AKIM) has a very universal goal on humanitarian grounds, but it cannot be denied that the humanitarian alliance that was formed was also based on the common identity of Muslims who were the majority of victims of the

escalation of the conflict. The initial basis adopted by the researcher is to see that most of the AKIM members are affiliations of religious groups. Try to group the data as follows:

Table 2: Grouping of AKIM Members

Religious Group	Non-Religious Group
Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Centre	Aksi Cepat Tanggap
Lembaga Penanggulangan Bencana dan Perubahan Iklim – Nahdlatul Ulama	
PKPU Human Initiative	
Dompot Dhuafa	
Rumah Zakat	
Dompot Peduli Ummat – Daarut Tauhiid	
LAZIS Wahdah	
Laznas Lembaga Manajemen Infaq (LMI)	
Lazis Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia	
Social Trust Fund – UIN Jakarta	

Source: Processed and grouped by researchers

The grouping carried out by researchers indicates that Islamic identity greatly influences the problems that occur. 10 of the 11 NGOs that are members of AKIM have Islamic affiliations. The issue of the humanitarian crisis that occurred in Rakhine State took its toll on the Rohingya Muslim ethnic group. This concern for the similarity of identity then gave rise to high concern from 10 NGOs to exert influence on the government in order to accelerate the process of providing assistance to accelerate the resolution of problems that occurred in the Rohingya.

Meeting with Islamic Groups

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs held a meeting with representatives of several large Islamic groups in Indonesia. This meeting was held two days after the formation of Indonesia's humanitarian alliance for Myanmar. This meeting was held on September 2, 2017 at the office of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jakarta. Several representatives from Islamic groups who attended included the Alumni Corps of the Islamic Student Association (KAHMI), the Nahdatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU), the Muhammadiyah Central Executive (PP Muhammadiyah), and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI). Representatives from each of these Islamic groups who attended the meeting included Akbar Tandjung and MN Kahmi Mas Subandriyo from KAHMI, Prof. Dr. Anwar Abbas from PP Muhammadiyah, Prof. Dr. KH Said Aqiel. S from PBNU and KH Muhyidin Juned from MUI (latest Archipelago 2017).

This meeting was attended by the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ms. Retno Marsudi, and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. A.M Fachir. According to a media release by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the official website, it was stated that this meeting was held to obtain views and input from Islamic leaders in Indonesia regarding the conditions and situation in Rakhine State. At this meeting, the Foreign

Minister conveyed the development of conditions that occurred in Rakhine State and the fast steps that had been taken by the government to respond to the current situation (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2017). This meeting was held one day before the Foreign Minister left for Myanmar to meet with top officials from the Myanmar government in an effort to open up humanitarian space so that humanitarian aid can be distributed. This meeting resulted in five recommendations from Islamic leaders who attended the meeting. The contents of the recommendations include:

1. Support the Government of Indonesia to make all efforts to find constructive solutions to resolve Myanmar's internal conflicts;
2. Calling on the Government of Myanmar to immediately restore internal security by stopping all types of violence and intimidation against the Rohingya ethnic. Continuous intimidation and violence against certain groups will lead to increased hatred of the rulers. Therefore, by embracing, more peace can be achieved. The policy change of the Government of Myanmar will provide a sense of security to the Rohingya ethnicity and the number of Rohingya refugees in Myanmar will decrease;
3. Suggest that the Government of Myanmar can implement equal treatment for all citizens of the Myanmar nation, including the Rohingya ethnicity. The problem of the statelessness of the

Rohingyas will cause social problems that are difficult to overcome. Whereas the Rohingya have been in Myanmar for centuries;

4. The Myanmar government is urged to open the door as wide as possible for the implementation of humanitarian missions to help the Rohingyas;
5. Calling on the Government of Myanmar to give priority to implementing a law that is just for all Myanmar citizens, including the Rohingya (Redaktur Telusur 2017).

The submission of the above recommendations can be used as input by the Indonesian Foreign Minister in holding a meeting with the Myanmar government. In the context of the influence of foreign policy making, the recommendations in the first point give influence to the government so that it can immediately find constructive solutions in resolving conflicts that occur internally in Myanmar. This recommendation implies that the Islamic groups present, represented by Islamic leaders, urge the Indonesian government to act quickly and responsively and find constructive solutions in assistance to resolve the problems that occur.

Indonesian Ambassador to Myanmar

The escalation of the conflict that occurred in Rakhine State caused many strong reactions in the form of criticism and blasphemy

from the international community. The Indonesian people are also part of the many criticisms and blasphemy delivered to the Myanmar government which is considered slow in dealing with this issue. The Indonesian Ambassador to Myanmar felt the need to provide a statement regarding the conditions that occurred in Rakhine State because of the high tendency of blasphemy and criticism made by some Indonesian people regarding this issue. Ambassador Ito Sumardi released a lengthy article regarding the current humanitarian crisis (Pratama 2017). In this study, the complete statement submitted by Ambassador Ito was placed in the appendix section.

The main point of Ambassador Ito's written statement describes the background to the development of the humanitarian conflict in Rakhine State which has implications for the many groups involved and the extent of the issues involved in this issue. In his presentation, Ambassador Ito said that Indonesia had and is currently taking a bilateral approach to the Myanmar government in order to find the best solution in overcoming this problem. Ito also called on the Indonesian people to give the Myanmar government space and time to think carefully about the actions that should be taken. The amount of blasphemy and criticism that occurred internally in Indonesia regarding this issue has also created pressure on the Indonesian government to cut diplomatic relations with Myanmar. Ambassador Ito responded strongly to this by raising a question:

"Can we cut off relations with the Indonesian people or deliver humanitarian aid to the Rohingya groups and people in need there?"

This question indicates the need for a good diplomatic approach and relationship to make it easier for Indonesia to provide humanitarian assistance. The written statement submitted by Ambassador Ito can be indicated as a form of delivering accurate and solid information because Ambassador Ito is in Myanmar on state duties. The information presented can be categorized as an influencer who influences Indonesia in mapping out the most appropriate foreign policy regarding this issue.

Conclusion

The Rohingya Muslim ethnic has experienced a humanitarian crisis for a long time, the Rohingya Muslim ethnic has experienced structural violence as well as direct violence. Structural violence in the form of restrictions on access to needs is felt by the Rohingya Muslims in the economic, political, social, and cultural sectors. Meanwhile, direct violence against the Rohingya Muslims included murder and human rights violations in the form of ethnic cleansing which claimed thousands of lives and hundreds of thousands of people fled to Bangladesh to find a safer place. Seeing this, of course, the global community condemns all the violence experienced by the Rohingya Muslim ethnic in Rakhine, Myanmar and wants to send humanitarian

aid to the victims. However, the Myanmar government has actually closed all access by closing itself off from the international community. In this case, Indonesia used the path of Humanitarian Diplomacy in this conflict. The Humanitarian Diplomacy strategy carried out in Myanmar is of course also influenced by the influence of domestic bureaucrats.

Individuals, groups, and organizations within government executive agencies who influence policy development and decision makers are known as influencer bureaucrats. The President, the Indonesian Parliament, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are among the influential actors in Indonesia's humanitarian diplomacy to Myanmar. First, President Joko Widodo sent his foreign ministers to Myanmar and Bangladesh to meet Myanmar officials and coordinate the delivery of humanitarian aid to refugees on the Myanmar-Bangladesh border. President Joko Widodo also invited Ei Ei Khin Aye, the new Myanmar Ambassador to Indonesia, to discuss the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar. Indonesia's humanitarian diplomacy policy was influenced by the President's response to the crisis.

The DPR, on the other hand, exerts considerable influence. Initial discussions took place at the Plenary Session of the DPR on Thursday, August 31, 2017, and during the trial, a number of

intrusions were made by the faction demanding that atrocities against the Rohingya in Myanmar be discussed. These factions share the same view, namely that the DPR and the government must proactively summon the Myanmar ambassador to Indonesia to find a solution to the Rohingya situation; and that the state should engage in humanitarian issues in accordance with the constitution. This shows the influence of members of the legislature in plenary meetings as part of the idea of a bureaucracy that encourages policy making.

Third, the Minister of Foreign Affairs has a significant influence on Indonesia's policy in this case. The foreign minister had a dialogue with Myanmar's National Security Adviser and Bangladesh's Foreign Minister on people fleeing the humanitarian crisis to the Myanmar-Bangladesh border area. Retno also communicated with Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations. On September 3, 2017, the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno LP. Marsudi visited Myanmar and the Myanmar State adviser will be present at this meeting. During the meeting, Foreign Minister Retno stated that she carried the mandate of the Indonesian people to care about the humanitarian crisis in Rakhine, and conveyed Indonesia's intention to help. The Foreign Minister also stated that he brought the voice of the international community so that the humanitarian crisis in Rakhine State could be handled immediately. The Foreign Minister presented Indonesia's proposal, known as the 4+1 formula at this meeting. The

four aspects of this formulation are the most important things that must be done immediately so that the humanitarian and security crisis in Indonesia does not get worse, while one of the elements is the advice from the advisory board of Kofi Annan. The Foreign Minister also conveyed the strong support of Indonesian humanitarian NGOs for the development of the Indonesian Humanitarian Alliance for Myanmar (AKIM). The Foreign Minister hoped that the Myanmar government would continue to provide access to AKIM and the Indonesian government through an alliance formed by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Indonesian Foreign Minister continued his visit to Bangladesh to meet Bangladesh Foreign Minister Mahmood Ali. The meeting of the Indonesian Foreign Minister and the Bangladesh Foreign Minister which was held in Dhaka discussed Indonesia's humanitarian assistance plan for Rakhine State refugees in Bangladesh.

Fourth, the influence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Indonesian Humanitarian Alliance for Myanmar or AKIM was launched by the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs. AKIM is an alliance of 11 Indonesian humanitarian organizations that work closely with the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. AKIM was formed to assist Myanmar in dealing with humanitarian crises. The aid program designed by AKIM aims to shape the Myanmar community, particularly the Rohingya ethnic

group, in the areas of capacity building, dispatch of experts, livelihoods, and recovery. AKIM consists of 11 NGOs, 10 of which have Islamic affiliations. The Rohingya Muslim ethnic minority has suffered from the humanitarian situation in Rakhine State. This concern over a common identity prompted ten non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to pressure the government to speed up the process of providing assistance to the Rohingya. A meeting was also held by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with representatives from various major Islamic groups in Indonesia. The Islamic leaders who attended the summit issued five proposals as a result of the discussions. The proposals made at this meeting showed that Islamic groups, represented by Islamic leaders, asked the Indonesian government to act quickly and responsively, and to seek constructive solutions to problems that arose.

Due to the rampant blasphemy and criticism from some Indonesians regarding this matter, the Indonesian Ambassador to Myanmar felt compelled to make a statement about the conditions in Rakhine State. Responding to this humanitarian crisis, Ambassador Ito Sumardi made a long written statement. The main purpose of this written statement is to describe the background to the emergence of the humanitarian conflict in Rakhine State, which has consequences for the many groups involved as well as the scope of the problems faced. Ambassador Ito in his presentation stated that Indonesia has and continues to take a bilateral approach to the Myanmar government to

find the best solution to this problem. Ito also urged the Indonesian people to give the Myanmar government space and time to consider the best course of action. The information provided by Ambassador Ito had an impact that helped Indonesia in formulating the best foreign policy for this situation. These four categories of bureaucrats are then related to influencing the policy strategy carried out by Indonesia to Myanmar to respond to the humanitarian crisis against the Rohingya ethnicity in Rakhine, Myanmar.

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Declaration of Conflict Interest

The Author(s) declare(s) that there is no conflict of interest regarding the publication of this article.

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