

# Indonesia's Role towards Myanmar in Assisting to Resolve the Humanitarian Crisis in Rohingya (2014-2018)

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This research aims to analyse the forms of role carried out by Indonesia during the Joko Widodo administration in assisting to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. To analyse this, researchers firstly explore the elements that formed the role of Indonesia by tracing the national role conception of Indonesia (ego's role conception) and role recommendations of Indonesia (alter's prescription), both of which formed Indonesia's position in international relations. This position determines the performance of Indonesia's role in the form of decisions or actions through its foreign policy towards Myanmar in assisting to resolve the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya. This research uses qualitative methods by collecting data through interviews with a number of relevant informants and studies of documentation. The analysis is guided by national role conception of K.J. Holsti. This research found that Indonesia's role in assisting to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya was identified as a Regional Leader in ASEAN by making the Rohingya issue a joint humanitarian concern in various forms of meetings in ASEAN; the role of Indonesia's Faithful Ally's towards Myanmar by offering help as a mediator in opening dialogue for other actors to support conflict resolution in the Rohingya; the role of Indonesia as a Mediator-Integrator who intensively communicates with Myanmar and opens communication with various international



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actors both countries and international organisations; Indonesia plays the role of Active Independent that acts in accordance with its national interests without pressure from external parties.

*Keywords: national role conception, Myanmar, Rohingya, humanitarian crisis.*

Chandra  
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The development of the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya began when the Ne Win military regime came to power in Burma in 1962. The Myanmar government refused the granting of citizenship status to ethnic Rohingya because it did not include 135 national races that officially recognised by the state. The government considered that the Rohingya were Bengalis ethnic who smuggled or immigrated illegally to Myanmar from Bangladesh (Kipgen, 2019). The rejection of recognition by the Thein Sein regime of the Rohingya as part of Myanmar was reflected in Sein's statement that: "*Rohingyas are not our people and we have no duty to protect them*". This statement shows how the government does not recognise the Rohingya as its citizens; the government also did not have the interest and did not even want to do protection to Rohingya. Thein Sein wanted the Rohingyas to be in the management of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or accommodated by the third country (Directorate of ASEAN Political and Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015)

Myanmar's citizenship law in 1982 has closed the opportunity for Rohingyas as Myanmar citizens, where the Rohingyas were not included in the category of citizens, associate citizens and naturalized citizens (see Burmese Citizenship Law). In the 2015, general election was considered as a free and fair election by the international community where not a single Muslim candidate was nominated by a political party on the grounds that political parties did not want to be seen as organisations that support Muslim rights at the time of anti-Muslim sentiments in the whole developing country (Albert & Chatzky, 2018).

Furthermore, the Government of Myanmar has done structural discrimination against Rohingyas through several restrictions, including marriage, child restrictions, employment, education, religion and freedom of movement. These restrictions further add to the crisis for the Rohingya ethnic group, and their area of residence, Rakhine State, as part of most disadvantaged countries with poor infrastructure and limited resources (Albert & Chatzky, 2018). The variety of vi-

olence experienced by Rohingya ethnic individually and in groups has forced them to seek protection in the form of asylum or as refugees to neighboring countries. The unclear citizenship status, which is in the legal perspective, status of Rohingya ethnic, becomes stateless (Aziz, 2010).

Thousands of Rohingyas left Myanmar by water and a number of them headed for Bangladesh and Thailand by sea which then passed the land route to Malaysia (Zarni & Cowley, 2014). Rohingya ethnic also responded to the attitudes and actions of the Myanmar government, which had been repressive and abusive towards human rights. Thousands of Rohingya youth joined the organisation of *The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army* (ARSA) to defend against the forces of the Rohingya and Myanmar's military (Kipgen, 2019).

Indonesia is one of Myanmar's neighbors. United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) in 2015, recorded there were about 792 Rohingya Ethnic refugees who came to Indonesia. The Policy taken by Indonesia was trying to treat the Rohingya refugees by holding them in Immigration Detention Center (Rudenim) such as Rudenim Belawan, Tanjung Pinang, and Manado. Even some of the Rohingya refugees who were outside Rudenim, they facilitated by the *International Organisation for Migration* (IOM) in some cities like Bogor, Jakarta, Makassar, and Medan (Directorate of ASEAN Political and Security, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015). To deal with the Rohingya refugee problem, Indonesia has conducted various communications and meetings that have been held by Indonesia, including with the State Counselor of Myanmar, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi; Chair of the Rakhine Advisory Commission, Kofi Annan; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister of Bangladesh; and various stakeholders in Jakarta, Yangon and Dhaka. Not only that, Indonesia made a direct visit to the Kutupalong refugee camp in Cox Baza, on the Bangladesh-Myanmar border (Directorate of Public Diplomacy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). The Indonesian government was trying to help Rohingya refugees in 2017 by sending aid in the form of medicines and foods for victims of the conflict in Rakhine State, Myanmar, which is now displaced on the Bangladesh-Myanmar border. The Indonesian government also provided humanitarian assistance in the form of delivery of supplementary food for toddlers and pregnant women, fast food packages, tents, blankets, water tanks, and sarong (Public Relations Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 2017).

Some researchers such as Rabby (2016), Rahman (2010), Ullah (2016), Waluyo (2013), Wekke, Hasbi, Mawardin, Lidiqi & Saleh (2017), Yusuf (2018) placed a study of the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar in terms of religious identity and nationalism and discussion that is separate from the context of its regional dynamics. Meanwhile, several others such as Heiduk (2016) and Smith (2016) put a study on the role of Indonesia in ASEAN. This study places Indonesia in the position of bilateral and regional relations in relation to its role in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, Myanmar which certainly cannot be ignored how Indonesia-Myanmar bilateral relations and Indonesia's position in ASEAN in the context of resolving the Rohingya humanitarian crisis at the regional level. This phenomenon is interesting to study, especially Indonesia's positive response to Democartisation in Myanmar , which has pushed Myanmar to make democratic transition into awareness at the ASEAN regional level. This research seeks to analyse Indonesia's national role in Myanmar in helping to resolve humanitarian problems in the Rohingya during the Joko Widodo administration (2014-2018)

*Indonesia's  
Humanitarian  
Assistance to  
Myanmar in  
Rohingya*

### **Conceptual Framework**

National Role Conception in the study of International Relations was first put forth by Holsti KJ (1970). This concept arose based on the development of the mention by International Relations reviewers of a state's behavior. Holsti pointed out the tendency of the reviewers at that time, to call a country with the identity of a state's behavior in international interactions (Holsti K., 1970). The concept of a national role encapsulates what "we want and what we do as a result of who we are as we think, want, and should be," where "we" represent the nation and the state as social collectivity" (Hermanns H., 2013). The conception of a national role is a shared understanding of the views and domestically on the role and the proper purpose of a country as a social collectivity in the international arena. The conception of a national role is a product of history, memory and socialisation.

As a shared meaning, the conception of a national role is a historical creation because it is not always permanent or lasting all the time. National conceptions of roles emerge, develop, and become dominant over a period. The conception of national roles may change or recede into history during other periods of time (Krotz, 2001). In addition, Krotz (2001) suggested that the perception of national roles influenced

interests and policies in three dimensions, they prescribe, proscribe, and encourage preferences regarding the process and style of policy and decision-making. The conception of a national role has a prescriptive impact in terms of motivating the will, goals, and actions. Placing them beyond realistic considerations, the conception of national roles made intuitive interests and policy choices.

The role and formation of the conception of national roles were influenced by several factors, namely domestic and international factors. When creating the conception of national roles, foreign policy makers were motivated by socioeconomic capabilities, national values, traditional roles, public opinion, political needs, cultural values, norms, and the country's identity that has been built. They translated these influences into conceptions of national roles that reflected broader domestic social discourse (Hermanns, 2013).

There are four concepts that can help analyse foreign policy, namely The National Role Conceptions, Role Prescription, Role Performances, and Position. National role conceptions is personality or ideas and thoughts of the state, while the role Prescriptions are the hope of the action or the role of the international system, while the role performances is the behavior of the state in international politics and position, it is a national status/position of a state (Holsti KJ, 1995).

The translations of these four concepts are the performance of the national role performance as the general foreign policy behavior of the government which includes patterns of attitudes, decisions, responses, functions and commitment to other countries. These patterns can be called as national roles. National role conceptions are also related to role prescriptions that come from the external environment. Sources of role recommendations include the structure of the international system; system-wide values; general legal principles that appear to command universal support (for example the doctrine of equality of state sovereignty); the rules, traditions and expectations of the state expressed in the charter of international and regional organisations; 'world opinion'; multilateral and bilateral agreements; and commitment and an implicit and less formal understanding. In short, roles that are applied in an international context provide a framework for describing the performance of national roles and conceptions of roles and for investigating the sources of conceptions of roles. (Holsti, 1970). In the development of the conception of national roles, until finally Holsti formulated 17 categories of national role conceptions, which

were compiled, based on the level of passivity or activity in foreign policy as reflected by the conception of roles (Holsti KJ, 1995).

## **Research Method**

This research uses qualitative methods to explore understanding of the conception of Indonesia's national role in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, Myanmar. This research is conducted in the span of 2014 to 2018 or the first period in the era of President Joko Widodo's administration. Data was collected by interviewing a number of informants, including the Director of Human Rights of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, the Indonesian Representative for the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights, the Deputy for Foreign Affairs of the Ministry of Political, Legal and Security Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, and the leaders of the ASEAN InterParliamentary Myanmar Caucus (AIPMCC) in Indonesia. Data collection was also carried out through the study of documentation of a number of relevant literatures. Data analysis is carried out in a flowing manner starting from sorting data according to research needs, then forming the basis of arguments related to the research problem, and then conclusions or verification is taken. Data triangulation technique was done by checking between interview data and documentation study data to avoid researcher bias and threats to research validity.

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## **Discussion and Analysis**

### *Conception of Indonesia's National Role of Myanmar*

Indonesia's Role performance in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, Indonesia invited ASEAN to help resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya by emphasizing in various speeches and meetings at the ASEAN level. In its implementation, Indonesia has always invited and discussed with other ASEAN countries in the form of ASEAN level and other bilateral dialogues with various ASEAN countries and in various other opportunities to lead ASEAN in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya.

Indonesia succeeded in entering the agenda of the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya in various agendas in ASEAN. One of them in the ASEAN order regarding the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya was mentioned on August 2, 2018 at the "The 51st ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting (AMM)" in Singapore. The entry of the Rohingya discus-

sion was the result of Indonesian efforts. Unfortunately, Indonesia has not succeeded in including the Rohingya agenda in a more substantive way, even though it has been held twice as a session agenda.

*National role conception* is an analysis of foreign policy in seeing the reasons or goals of a state in taking foreign policy. Indonesia was the first to invite Myanmar into ASEAN. In this case, Indonesia did not want Myanmar to be detested because Indonesia had relations with Myanmar since the beginning of President Soekarno. Various collaborations have been established until now. Myanmar was given the opportunity to find solutions from itself. This is a democracy, not an authoritarian state.

Role prescriptions are the concept of foreign policy analysis in delivering recommendations from a country in responding to and providing resolution of a conflict. In analysing the recommendations for the national role, Indonesia understands the problems faced by Myanmar, Indonesia has the capacity to help, Indonesia has the same experience as Myanmar in dealing with radicalism, and we have passed that period, until now we are considered to have a base sceptic capabilities in the face of radicalism, terrorism. Indonesian conflict resolution did not take direct authority to take action on the ground in resolving the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya. However, Indonesia has always emphasised that Myanmar can solve its domestic problems, by increasing its capacity of Myanmar itself, by asking and conducting dialogue with Myanmar on what things are needed by Myanmar to resolve the humanitarian crisis problem in the Rohingya that Indonesia can help according to the assessment of Myanmar itself.

Indonesia continued to engage in dialogue so that Myanmar can bring awareness to Myanmar itself in order to bring forth prolonged solutions. So, Indonesia always provides a comprehensive solution from various fields, whether it is political, economic, social, or cultural. So when Myanmar provides a solution, it will be according to what its needs are and brings up a long-term solution.

*Position* is an analytical concept of foreign policy in view of a state in the *leading* a problem in the international system. In analysing Indonesia's position in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, Indonesia has become an actor who directs the humanitarian crisis case at the ASEAN level and at the global level. Indonesia has successfully lifted ASEAN in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. Indonesia is considered as the leader of ASEAN in guarding

the Rohingya case. Indonesia continued to direct ASEAN to take part and be involved in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya until the emergence of AHACenter as evidence that ASEAN is allowed to enter in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya directed by Indonesia.

Indonesia has succeeded in positioning itself as a country that has successfully herded the Rohingya issue so that Indonesia becomes the key information to find out the Rohingya case for international organisations or other parties. When the ICRC, UNHCR, IOM often asked to meet with the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs to discuss the treatment in Myanmar. The International Organisation arrived in a short and sudden time, and then had a dialogue with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, to ask the Indonesian Foreign Minister about how to handle the Rohingya case. He even participated in several meetings with these organisations, at that time the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed his opinion on handling the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya and stressed that the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs had also talked to Aung San Suu Kyi directly and periodically.

Based on an analysis of Indonesia's role conception, role prescription, and position both bilaterally and regionally, Indonesia has determined its role performance in the form of decisions or actions from its foreign policy towards Myanmar in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. This decision or action forms four Indonesian national roles, including regional leader, active independent, mediator integrator, and faithful ally. The four national roles of Indonesia in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, Myanmar are discussed below.

*Indonesia become a Regional Leader in ASEAN*

Indonesia's regional leadership in ASEAN is demonstrated through its efforts to encourage Democratisation in Myanmar through the ASEAN forum, where one of its elements is helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya through peaceful and non-coercive means. In fact, the agenda of promoting democracy and upholding human rights is not only an issue for Myanmar, but also an agenda for regional stability and regional cooperation. To realise this, Indonesia became an architecture of regional political and security cooperation, known as the *ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC)* in 2007. Indonesia was also the initiator of the *ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR)* in 2009. These two institutions became the ve-

*Indonesia's  
Humanitarian  
Assistance to  
Myanmar in  
Rohingya*



hicle for solving problems in ASEAN, one of which is the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya.

In the beginning, none of the ASEAN countries wanted the Rohingya humanitarian crisis to be discussed at the regional level because it involved the principle of noninterference that was held in high regard in ASEAN. However, this principle gained a shift in meaning where eventually Malaysia joined the entry of the agenda of humanitarian issues in the Rohingya without intervening in the country, while there were still other ASEAN countries that did not support internal issues discussed in the ASEAN regional forum. Indonesia successfully put the issue of Rohingya twice in the plenary meeting of AICHR. Entering the agenda on the humanitarian crisis Rohingya, have occurred twice in the year 2018. Informally, Indonesia successfully incorporates this agenda as much as three times, through the retreat. Retreat is a concept in negotiations for the moment of contemplation, which is attended by 10 representatives of ASEAN countries, where one person represents one country, not attended by the ASEAN secretary representative. In the retreat, there were 10 representatives so they spoke from heart to heart. It is already scheduled once a year to discuss the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya. And all of that is part of Indonesia's contribution (Wisnu, 2019).

Indonesia succeeded in leading ASEAN in resolving the Rohingya humanitarian crisis. Starting from the initial lack of chatter about the Rohingya humanitarian crisis, to successfully raise and become a leader in overseeing the Rohingya issue at the ASEAN level. All efforts were mobilised by Indonesia in the ASEAN level to direct ASEAN to be sensitive and continue to discuss with the countries within it to discuss the Rohingya humanitarian crisis. ASEAN views the need for ASEAN member countries to discuss openly related issues of democracy and human rights in Myanmar, which were previously considered taboo to be discussed in formal and informal forums.

Based on the above explanation, the researchers saw that Indonesia has a conception of national role of regional leader in ASEAN in assisting the humanitarian crisis Rohingya to include ASEAN in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, raise the issue of the Rohingya in ASEAN meeting, and suggest AHACenter for its solution. Indonesia became the first face of ASEAN in resolving the humanitarian crisis Rohingya. With all of Indonesia's efforts at the ASEAN level and its various dialogues, Indonesia as the ASEAN Regional Leader succeeded

in herding the Rohingya humanitarian case so that ASEAN would take part in the resolution. Therefore, Indonesia has increasingly solidified its position as the regional leader in Southeast Asia in helping the Rohingya humanitarian crisis.

### *Indonesia as Faithful Ally for Myanmar*

Correspondingly, Indonesia continues to engage in dialogue in order to raise awareness Myanmar for Myanmar itself so that it will bring a solution that is prolonged. Hence, Indonesia always provides a comprehensive solution from various fields, whether it is political, economic, social, or cultural. As a result, when Myanmar provides a solution that emerges, it is according to what its needs are and brings up a long-term solution.

Indonesia has always prioritised Myanmar to be able to solve its domestic problems, by increasing its capacity of Myanmar itself, by asking Myanmar about what things are needed by Myanmar to resolve the problem that Indonesia can help in accordance with the assessment of Myanmar itself. In line with that, Indonesia opened a dialogue to exchange ideas so that what Myanmar thinks, and what the international community thinks, can go hand in hand between what Indonesia thinks and what Myanmar thinks. The most important thing is when Myanmar's understanding begins to realise about this, the solutions that will be taken by Myanmar are the solutions to prevent the current crisis from happening again in the future.

According to researcher, the first step of Indonesia can be *Faithful Ally* for Myanmar in assisting the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya with the help of other regular and policies that made Indonesia feel close to Myanmar. So that Indonesia could support and help directing Myanmar's foreign policy. Various Indonesian solutions start from short-term solutions for the example, providing humanitarian assistance, such as blankets, food and medicine. Then for a medium-term solution, Indonesia also noticed that there is development issues that need attention. Indonesia sees a need to encourage support for humanitarian assistance in Indonesia that is also *sustainable* so that it encourages social economic development, education, so hospitals and schools emerged. For long-term, Indonesia encourages to solve problems so that the problems will not recur in the future based on the government of Myanmar itself. In the view of researcher, Indonesia gave advices as a friend of Myanmar who has done good solu-

Chandra  
Purnama  
Windy  
Dermawan  
Ghiyats  
Akmaluddin

tions long-term, medium and short to help Myanmar solve this problem by Myanmar itself. So that Myanmar does not feel alone in facing this Rohingya problem. Even though Myanmar was attacked from various sides, Indonesia continued to support not by attacking Myanmar.

Based on the explanation above, the researcher found that Indonesia has a conception of the faithful national role for Myanmar. Researcher believes that Indonesia has become faithful ally for Myanmar by sending aid to be a door in opening dialogue and a form of respect for Indonesia in supporting the resolution of the Rohingya conflict in Myanmar's own way. Indonesia managed to appreciate and support all Myanmar's policies with aid and dialogues that conducted.

### **Indonesia is the *Mediator-Integrator* between Myanmar and other Actors**

Role as Mediator-Integrator indicated by brining a difference to a government, so that raises the notion that he is able or responsible to fulfill specific tasks in reconciling conflicts between other countries. The position of the state in the Mediator-Integrator as a neutral state gives a special responsibility to establish useful communication with various other groups (Holsti, 1970).

Indonesia's role as a Mediator-Integrator is manifested through its role as a partner and liaison between regional extras and international organisations with Myanmar to build constructive policies for the resolution of the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. This role has brought constructive results for Myanmar where Myanmar has opened itself to the inclusion of assistance from other countries or actors to help resolve the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya, even more broadly than that is providing support for Democartisation in the country. Previously, Myanmar as a country that wanted to resolve the Rohingya humanitarian crisis without the inclusion of external assistance on the grounds of the principle of non-intervention. However, Indonesia often invites Myanmar to be able to involve ASEAN in this case. From these results, Myanmar was willing to involve other actors such as the AHA Center, Red Cross/ICRC, and the OIC. Researcher sees that Indonesia has played a national role as a Mediator-Integrator in helping the Rohingya humanitarian crisis while maintaining Myanmar's sovereignty principle. Indonesia and ASEAN does not exert pressure on the Government of Myanmar as other international actors (US and EU) but Indonesia plays a role as mediator-Integrator in the resolution

of the humanitarian crisis Rohingya to keep communicating with the government of Myanmar so that the country can overcome the problem.

### *Indonesia Active Independent in Resolving Rohingya Humanitarian Crisis*

Indonesia actively participates in programs and activities in sustainability in helping Rohingya humanitarian crisis do work together and communicate with ASEAN and other international organisations. Indonesia's role is in accordance with the conception of the national role of active independent. According to Holsti (1970), active independent refers to the active efforts of the state to build relations with as many countries as possible and Emphasise diplomatic and commercial relations with various countries in the world.

*Independent Active* is shown by Indonesia to open a dialogue with the various international actors and establish diplomatic relations term in helping humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. Indonesia seeks to communicate the views of various countries and international organisations so that Myanmar is not depressed about the external response that they receive. Indonesia took a foreign policy without influenced by other actors even actually managed to establish communication to the various parties around the world in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya.

In line with the above statement, Indonesia succeeded as *Active Independent* very clearly, when the ICRC, UNHCR, and IOM often asked Indonesia to open discussions with Myanmar regarding the resolution of the humanitarian crisis in Rohongya. Dialogue between external actors and the Government of Indonesia in informing the latest developments regarding the humanitarian crisis in the Rohingya has created a positive image for Indonesia's humanitarian diplomacy in Myanmar where external parties see Indonesia's credibility in resolving humanitarian issues in the region.

Researcher finds that Indonesia plays its role as Active Independent by demonstrating Indonesia's seriousness in participating to help resolve the Rohingya humanitarian crisis. Indonesia moves in accordance with its national interests without pressure from other parties. This is the implementation of a foreign policy cornerstone of Indonesia's free and active, and the manifestation of the Indonesian national objective stated in the Constitution Act of 1945 which Indonesia participates in contributing to promote world peace.

### *Indonesia's Humanitarian Assistance to Myanmar in Rohingya*

## Conclusion

With Holsti's conception of the National role as a conceptual framework analysing Indonesia's role in assisting the resolution of the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya, it can be concluded that Indonesia became a Regional Leader in ASEAN. This can be obtained from making humanitarian issues in Rohingya an agenda in various forms of ASEAN meetings to successfully form an agenda-setting in humanitarian cases in the Rohingya for ASEAN to participate in the resolution of humanity in Myanmar. Indonesia became Faithful Ally for Myanmar by becoming a gate for the entry of humanitarian assistance and opening dialogue with other actors. This makes Indonesia become a Mediator-Integrator by continuing to establish communication with the Myanmar government with various international actors. Indonesia is an Active Independent because it moves in accordance with its national interests without being influenced by other parties. This shows the seriousness of Indonesia, both from the government and the community in helping to resolve the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. Based on the results of this research, it is recommended that Indonesian foreign policy formulators actively fight for human values that have become Indonesia's commitments in accordance with what is stated in the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, Indonesia's role in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya needs to be strengthened in parallel by the paradiplomation of subnational government actors and the public diplomacy of non-state actors that can run optimally in the resolution of the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya. For other researchers who are concerned about similar topics, they can then use the perspective of Indonesia's foreign policy through various approaches in resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya by taking ASEAN settings, or the role of subnational government or nonstate actors in addition to the role of the Indonesian government as a state actor, can also study them in the context of new public diplomacy or more actual paradiplomation today, where the involvement of non-state actors or subnational government in diplomacy plays an important role in the study of International Relations.



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Chandra  
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