

Analysis the Role of the Indonesian Government in Promoting the Complex Resolution of the Humanitarian Crisis Experienced by the Rohingya Ethnic in Myanmar

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ABSTRACT

This research attempts to resolve the Rohingya conflict in three stages. The first since the Myanmar government discriminated against its people. Second after the Rohingya people tried to seek protection by fleeing to other countries. Third, when the Rohingya entered Indonesia and saw how the Indonesian government responded in efforts to mediate with Myanmar. The aim is to specifically look at the Indonesian government's strategy by using cosmopolitan theory in viewing Indonesia's existence in the international arena. This research uses a qualitative method with a literature study research design that utilizes both physical and non-physical information. This research uses cosmopolitan theory in looking at the phenomena that occur. The ethnic conflict in Myanmar is a historical conflict, which has never been resolved and has entered the humanitarian crisis stage. The humanitarian crisis experienced by the Rohingya ethnic group in Myanmar, which was triggered by systematic and prolonged discrimination, has led to a mass exodus to neighboring countries with dire conditions. Because of its application to other countries, all countries or international organizations are trying to find a way out of this problem.

Keywords: *Complex Resolution, Conflict, Humanitarian Crisis, Refugees, Rohingya*

INTRODUCTION

For sixty years, the Rohingya, a Muslim ethnic community in Myanmar, have endured systematic oppression. The Rohingya represent a Muslim minority residing in Rakhine, Myanmar's most impoverished state. Traditionally, the population of Rakhine has been mainly Buddhist. In Myanmar, there are over 7 million Muslims, with approximately half of them residing in Rakhine (Eleanor Albert & Lindsay Maidzland, 2020). Islamophobia

has emerged as a prevalent issue within Myanmar's society. The Buddhist population there holds the belief that should an Islamic state launch an attack on Myanmar, the Rohingya will assist in undermining it from the inside. Consequently, the escalating Islamophobia in Myanmar makes violence against the Rohingya unavoidable (Mohajan, 2019).

The Burmese Citizenship Law, which was established by the Ne Win administration in 1974, intensified the discrimination faced by the Rohingya people. This legislation excluded the Rohingya from the recognized eight primary ethnic groups and the 135 additional minor ethnic groups, resulting in their lack of defined citizenship status. This situation arose due to the perception of the Myanmar government, which regarded the Rohingya as an unlawful group that had come from Bengal or Bangladesh (Mangku, 2021). The antagonism exhibited by the Myanmar government and Rakhine Buddhists against the Rohingya ethnic group has resulted in significant distress for the Rohingya community. Numerous individuals have faced acts of violence, sexual assault, and even homicide. Additionally, the Rohingya government has set ablaze residences and mosques that served as sites for religious practices (Busyairi & Bui, 2021). A survey conducted by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) in 2017 revealed that within a single month, no fewer than 9,000 Rohingya individuals were killed in Myanmar, which included women and children under the age of five. Approximately 71.7% of these fatalities resulted from violence inflicted by local authorities (MSF, 2017).

According to information provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), approximately 1.1 million stateless Rohingya refugees have been escaping violence in Myanmar since 1970. The figures and timing fluctuate, with the majority of displacements occurring in August 2017, when over 700,000 individuals fled the severe military crackdown in Myanmar. Bangladesh has become the primary host for Rohingya refugees, harboring around 900,000 stateless individuals. Additionally, Rohingya refugees have sought refuge in various countries,

including India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Thailand, Australia, and Malaysia, often traveling on unsafe boats. The recurring violence that has led to these displacements is viewed as an effort to dehumanize the Rohingya ethnic group, stemming from the ambiguous citizenship status of this community (Kaveri & Rajan, 2022).

Numerous prior investigations have explored the fundamental elements of the Rohingya refugee crisis, including human rights abuses and the compelled displacement resulting from persecution in their homeland, Myanmar (Parnini, 2013). The new research (Zahed, 2021) This text elucidates the communal strife in Rakhine involving Buddhists and Rohingya Muslims, which was instigated by the propaganda disseminated by the Myanmar government, particularly from a religious perspective, as well as by military entities like the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) that sought to combat the Rohingya. Another research by Moy and Kusauma (2016)_This research elucidates the intensification of the Rakhine-Rohingya conflict through a constructivist lens. Nevertheless, the primary objective of this study is to explore the Indonesian government's reaction to the Rohingya ethnic community on the global platform, rather than solely focusing on the regional context. Furthermore, this study aims to investigate and assess how the humanitarian crisis affecting the Rohingya can be understood through the framework of cosmopolitan theory.

Through an examination of the evolution of this humanitarian crisis, this study aims to evaluate the policy response of the Indonesian government to the Rohingya humanitarian crisis within a cosmopolitan framework. Additionally, this research will assess the robustness of Indonesia's diplomatic stance on the global stage and its impact on the policies embraced by international organizations. The results of this study will illuminate the ways in which cosmopolitan theory shapes international policy and the policies of the Indonesian government, especially concerning the Rohingya humanitarian crisis in Myanmar.

Between the conclusion of 1977 and 1988, two significant mass exoduses occurred prior to the onset of the violent conflict in Rakhine, which erupted in 2012. This conflict was instigated by Myanmar's declaration of independence in 1948. The Rohingya ethnic group has historically and legally been unrecognized, lacking citizenship rights as stipulated by the 1982 Law (Sahana et al., 2019). The consequence is that the Rohingya ethnic community is deprived of a distinct identity, essential human rights, including access to health care and education, and is compelled to escape to various regions within Myanmar, particularly Rakhine, where they face unlawful mass expulsions. The prevalence of discrimination, violence, injustice, poverty, harassment, and arbitrary detention must be prioritized by both the nation-state and the humanitarian community, with the same level of urgency as the matters of disarmament and trafficking (Ahsan Ullah, 2016).

The increasing wave of globalization compels every nation to establish connections and interconnections with other countries. As a result, in modern discussions, politics is frequently viewed as a battleground for competing interests among actors striving to acquire or preserve power. In the realm of politics, each actor must effectively consolidate its interests into international interests that lead to advantageous global policies. Diplomacy serves as an essential tool in the realization of national interests. Through proficient diplomacy, a nation can unify its interests into international interests that result in the development of policies (UMY, 2019). Given that international policy contexts invariably affect the circumstances or policies of a nation, it is essential for us to comprehend the logical consequences or effects of the Rohingya humanitarian crisis on diverse political choices and policies in Indonesia. This study aims to enhance understanding from multiple viewpoints and promote readers' awareness regarding humanitarian crises.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research intends to perform a comprehensive examination of the Indonesian government's reaction to the humanitarian crisis involving the Rohingya, employing a cosmopolitan viewpoint as its analytical framework. Through this lens, the research aims to critically assess the impact of cosmopolitan principles on the policies and actions of the Indonesian government in addressing the crisis. Additionally, this research emphasizes the significance of Indonesian diplomacy in alleviating tensions between the Myanmar government and the Rohingya ethnic group, utilizing positioning theory as a theoretical basis to comprehend the dynamics and robustness of Indonesia's stance in the global context.

This study will also employ a systematic qualitative analysis approach to discern significant themes and patterns that arise from the gathered data. According Sugiyono (2016) Qualitative research is often referred to as the positivist approach. This philosophical perspective perceives reality or phenomena as singular, focusing solely on what is observable, thereby classifying it as concrete research (Roosinda et al., 2021). The process of qualitative analysis encompasses data reduction, data presentation, and the formulation of conclusions, adhering to rigorous methodological standards. Therefore, this research seeks not only to showcase empirical evidence but also to provide theoretical perspectives that can enhance comprehension of Indonesia's role and status within the international system, especially regarding its response to global humanitarian crises. It is anticipated that this analysis will illuminate Indonesia's presence and impact in fostering international peace and security.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Ronghiya Ethnic Group Is Isolated in Its Own Country

For many years, the government of Myanmar has intentionally orchestrated and executed the annihilation of the Rohingya population in

Western Myanmar. This campaign of destruction was instigated by the state through assaults on the various religious communities present within its borders. Myanmar, which was previously referred to as Burma, ranks among the least affluent nations in Southeast Asia. Certain interpretations suggest that the name Burma is derived from "Brahma Desha," which refers to one of the deities in the Hindu trinity (Amayreh, n.d.). Burma is made up of several states, one of which is Arakan. Arakan is situated on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, to the east of Bangladesh. During the 8th century, Arakan acted as a stop for Arab merchants navigating the Indian Ocean en route to China. At that time, numerous Arab traders established settlements along the Burmese coastline, particularly in Arakan. Since that period, Islam has become established in Arakan, encompassing various Muslim ethnic groups, including Arabs, Persians, Mughals, and North Africans. These groups later intermingled with the indigenous population, ultimately forming what is now recognized as the Rohingya ethnic group (Fuad & Dadan, 2022).

With the advent of the Military Junta, Burma was officially renamed Myanmar in 1989, a change perceived as more neutral. This alteration in nomenclature coincided with the rise of extremist sentiments among Buddhist nationalists, which emerged as a reaction to the British colonial administration (Mohajan, 2019). Historically, in 1958, during the tenure of Burma's first president, Sai Shwe Thaik, the Muslims in Arakan were officially recognized as citizens, holding identity cards that had been issued by the Burmese government. However, in 1962, these identity cards were forcibly taken by the authorities under the pretext of verifying and denying the legal identity of the Rohingya ethnic group. Following this, in 1982, the most recent Citizenship Law changed the status of the Rohingya to that of stateless individuals, with their identity cards classified as Foreign Citizens. As a result, the Rohingya are not acknowledged as one of the 135 ethnic groups in Myanmar, and the freedom of the Rohingya people is constrained in their own homeland (Albert & Maizland, 2020). Regardless of whether it is articulated in regulations, media

outlets, or educational textbooks, the Myanmar government employs all of these mediums to disseminate propaganda portraying the Rohingya ethnic group as Bengali individuals, depicting them as unlawful economic migrants originating from the colonial period (Zarni & Cowley, 2014).

Following the revocation of citizenship, the Rohingya community began to face numerous forms of discrimination. Various efforts were undertaken to suppress the Rohingya, which included terminating their employment and substituting them with Buddhists. Subsequently, they shut down Islamic institutions, schools, and organizations. Additionally, they disseminated propaganda against Buddhists, alleging that they were responsible for the deaths of Muslims, while labeling the Rohingya as terrorists. Buddhist extremists hold the belief that Rohingya Muslims will propagate their faith and eliminate Buddhism by converting Buddhist women to Islam through marriage. From the perspective of Buddhism, they are also closely associated with the Theravada Buddhist ideology, which perceives Muslims as a danger to the Buddhist community. Consequently, rooted in these entrenched beliefs, the majority of Buddhists rationalize the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya under the pretext of safeguarding their religion (Chowdhury & Sifat, 2024).

Beyond trust issues, the conflict between the Myanmar government and the Rohingya is worsening due to economic tensions. Rakhine, where the Rohingya live, is a strategically important economic region, connecting Myanmar with Middle Eastern countries. Furthermore, several countries, including China, Japan, and Thailand, have established cooperative relations with the Myanmar government in the Rakhine port area. These rich natural resources and strategic location have also contributed to the Myanmar government's persecution of the Rohingya (Rahman & Saifullah Akon, 2019).

The incidents of violence ignited a chain of events that commenced following the implementation of the Citizenship Law. The Rohingya community has faced limitations in accessing education and healthcare. This policy has resulted in rampant extortion, harassment, and exploitation. There

exists no avenue for reporting acts of violence, as the legal safeguards for the foreigner status imposed on the Rohingya by the Myanmar government are insufficient (Haque, 2017). In the 1990s, the government created a military border force known as NaSaKa to secure the boundary between the Rohingya and Bangladesh. Nevertheless, the NaSaKa, functioning as the local civilian military, also perpetrated discriminatory actions against the Rohingya, including widespread rape and murder. Consequently, 250,000 Rohingya individuals escaped their homeland and sought refuge in Bangladesh (Hasan, 2017).

From 2001 to 2002, a further surge of violence occurred. During this period, Buddhists residing in the Rakhine region targeted places of worship belonging to the Rohingya Muslim community. Consequently, 28 mosques and madrassas were destroyed, leading to numerous fatalities. Nevertheless, the government failed to intervene to safeguard the Rohingya. Subsequently, with the rise of more advanced social media platforms, the violence intensified in 2012 and was extensively recorded. In that year, the authorities executed a mass extermination of the Rohingya population. The Myanmar government reported 192,176 casualties; however, this number remains a subject of contention (Mohajan, 2018).

In light of the increasing incidents of violence, cosmopolitans assert that every person, including the Rohingya, possesses an equal right to protection as do other citizens of Myanmar. The long-standing persecution faced by the Rohingya, particularly since the implementation of the 1982 Citizenship Law, stands in stark contrast to the principle of equality from a cosmopolitan viewpoint. Moreover, cosmopolitanism is founded on the belief that there exist universal values and norms that all states should uphold, thereby deeming these values legitimate for enforcement. Nevertheless, this principle does not hold true in the case of the Rohingya. For instance, Myanmar has openly expressed its refusal to accept UN intervention in the Rohingya crisis, as the cosmopolitan perspective posits that international intervention

is crucial for the investigation and prosecution of atrocities such as ethnic cleansing that have transpired in Myanmar (Sesariato, 2021).

The cosmopolitan perspective has also given rise to a doctrine known as preemptive intervention, which justifies the involvement of international organizations in humanitarian emergencies by highlighting the tenets of human rights and democracy. While cosmopolitan thought is rooted in noble ideals, it often neglects to address the implications of this viewpoint for developing nations such as Myanmar. Study by Priyono (2011) The publication titled "Humanitarian Intervention from a Cosmopolitan Perspective" argues that cosmopolitanism can be considered optimal in the presence of a global government and universal law. Nevertheless, the existing circumstances reveal that international law functions more as a coordinating mechanism rather than a subordinate one, as the decision-making regarding humanitarian intervention continues to be primarily influenced by international entities like NATO and the UN, which must navigate through the Security Council rather than the General Assembly.

Mistreatment and Rejection of Rohingya Refugees

Myanmar's Citizenship Law of 1982 fails to acknowledge the Rohingya as one of the 135 officially recognized ethnic groups within the country, leading to over 125,000 Rohingya remaining in Northern Rakhine without citizenship and fundamental human rights (Rafiqur Rahman, 2022). The refusal to accept Rohingya refugees in various Asian nations, including Bangladesh and Malaysia, highlights the intricate nature of the political, social, and humanitarian challenges involved. The Rohingya refugees escaped persecution and violence in Myanmar, seeking refuge in Bangladesh. Nevertheless, this situation has led to a deterioration in the diplomatic relations between Bangladesh and Myanmar. Although Bangladesh insists that Myanmar should reinstate the refugees, these attempts frequently fail, as sending Rohingya refugees back to Myanmar equates to subjecting them once

again to the oppressive rule of a harsh junta, thereby setting the stage for yet another mass exodus (Haider, 2022).

Rohingya refugees residing in Bangladesh frequently encounter bias and discrimination from segments of the local population. Numerous individuals perceive them as a liability, raising apprehensions regarding the potential effects of their presence on local demographic trends. The refugee camps in Bangladesh, particularly Cox's Bazar, are typically overcrowded and deficient in essential resources, as Bangladesh is characterized by poverty and high population density, complicating the provision of adequate shelter. Additionally, a significant number of refugees experience restricted access to clean water and healthcare (Parnini, 2013). With the influx of Rohingya refugees, Malaysia is encountering comparable difficulties. The Malaysian government is struggling to manage the increasing number of refugees, and they are apprehensive about the social and economic implications of a substantial population. Malaysia persists in accepting numerous Rohingya refugees on humanitarian grounds, despite not being a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention.

The refusal to accept Rohingya refugees in several Asian nations, such as Thailand, which regards them as unlawful immigrants (Sulthoni, 2023). Ironically, the situation of the Rohingya extends beyond the denial of citizenship rights and the violence they endure in Myanmar. They encounter additional obstacles characterized by rejection, discrimination, and violations of human rights as they seek asylum in other nations. In refugee camps, they frequently fall prey to murder, torture, sexual assault, and the destruction of their homes (Jannah, 2023). Despite being classified as refugees, the Rohingya continue to endure immense suffering. They find themselves ensnared in a relentless cycle of severe discrimination, human trafficking, poverty, detention, extortion, and deportation in the countries they flee to. In essence, their situation exemplifies a critical humanitarian crisis that necessitates a viable and enduring international response (Parnini, 2013).

Myanmar's President Thein Sein Maki has intensified the Rohingya crisis by asserting that "the Rohingya are not our people and we have no obligation to protect them." He advocates for the UN Human Rights Commission (UNCHR) to facilitate the accommodation and management of the Rohingya, suggesting that if this is not feasible, they could be settled in a third country. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the Rohingya ethnic group does not wish to separate from the Union of Myanmar. Their primary desire is to gain recognition and the chance to live freely, devoid of fear and poverty. As human beings, we yearn for the liberty to express ourselves, worship, and practice our religious beliefs. The Rohingya people seek the freedom to move and relocate. The persistent violence has compelled the Rohingya ethnic group to escape, resulting in their status as "boat people" in pursuit of safety (Susetyo, H., Aryanto, H., & Wasti, 2013).

Indonesia is among the nations accommodating Rohingya refugees, as indicated by the UNCHR report. This report reveals that in the final three months of 2022, approximately 644 Rohingya refugees reached Aceh through five boats (Farhanditya, 2023). As of early December 2023, a total of 1,648 Rohingya refugees were in Indonesia (Hartanto, 2023). Nevertheless, when the Rohingya sought asylum in Indonesia, they faced rejection from the Acehese community. The majority of Acehese feared that this would result in disorder and tension between the local populace and the Rohingya ethnic group in the future. Despite the initial rejection by the Acehese community, some individuals still extended help by providing food and second-hand clothing to the Rohingya refugees prior to their return to the boats. The Acehese community's refusal to accept the Rohingya refugees was influenced by various factors, including a history of negative encounters with the Rohingya and incidents of harassment, escape, and conflict with the local residents (BBC, 2023).

Reflecting on this experience, it stands in contrast to the Acehese individuals who initially extended their support to the Rohingya ethnic group

as an act of solidarity and compassion. However, after offering refuge, the situation unexpectedly turned adversarial, leading to tensions between the local populace and the Rohingya community. Indonesia, as a nation, has not ratified the 1951 Convention, which means there is no legal obligation to provide accommodation. Nevertheless, Indonesia established regulations concerning refugees, specifically through Presidential Regulation 125 of 2016. While Indonesia has declined formal acceptance, it has nonetheless offered shelter purely for humanitarian purposes and as a demonstration of solidarity, particularly given that a significant portion of the Rohingya population is Muslim, mirroring the religious demographics of Indonesia. The assistance rendered by the Indonesian community is intended to be temporary rather than permanent, which implies that the Rohingya can only sustain themselves for a limited duration, not exceeding ten years. Consequently, when conditions become untenable during their stay in Indonesia, they must inevitably be repatriated to their homeland.

From a cosmopolitan viewpoint, it is imperative for states to take responsibility in aiding individuals who are suffering or experiencing difficulties beyond their national borders. The acts of misconduct and rejection illustrate a failure on the part of the global community to meet its ethical responsibilities. The actions taken against Rohingya refugees can be interpreted as a breach of cosmopolitan principles, which advocate for justice, equality, and global solidarity. The dismissal of the Rohingya people stands in stark contrast to the tenets of cosmopolitanism, which prioritizes solidarity and serves as the cornerstone for international policies concerning refugee matters. Nevertheless, it is essential to ensure that the humanitarian crisis confronting Rohingya refugees is acknowledged and that the international community provides effective and sustainable solutions to address their plight.

Active Participation of Global Citizens in Facing the Rohingya Crisis

Cosmopolitan theory is directed by the self-identification of individuals as citizens or members of a humanitarian community, devoid of any partisanship, yet capable of being citizens within a universal community (Kleingeld, 2019). The notion of cosmopolitanism is presently quite expansive and lacks a singular definition that can encompass its entire significance. The word cosmopolitanism is derived from the Greek term *Kosmopolites*, which translates to citizen of the world. The term *cosmopolites* was initially employed by the Cynics and Stoics (Yulianti, 2015). According to Kant, a cosmopolitan is defined as an individual who belongs to a moral community or a citizen possessing the traits of freedom, equality, and independence when considered from a political perspective (Tjahjana et al., 2022). Cosmopolitanism focuses on the concept of universal justice. Cosmopolitans view all individuals as 'brothers', similar to the notion of equality among earthly beings, human beings, or global citizens. This perspective inherently rejects practices such as slavery, colonial exploitation, feudal hierarchies, and different forms of surveillance.

Within a cosmopolitan framework, the understanding of human knowledge as global citizens is essential, as posited by Kant. He expressed his optimism regarding global citizens to comprehend the world, not just as observers, but as active participants in the functioning of the world. Global citizens must respond through the perspective of a diverse humanity, acting as a community or collective entity, rather than as self-serving individuals. In relation to the Rohingya, global citizens, in their role as collective actors, must grasp the circumstances encountered by the Rohingya ethnic group by advocating against the discrimination they endure (Al-Fayyadl, 2015).

Cosmopolitanism, as a philosophical ideology, was notably articulated by the ancient Greek thinker Diogenes. His actions exemplify a cosmopolitan outlook, portraying him as a "citizen of the world," where an excessive attachment to one's identity may lead to discord. Genuine cosmopolitans often

refrain from strongly defining their own identities, recognizing the importance of the interconnectedness among global citizens. This ideology posits that all global citizens hold equal standing within a community or city. The diversity among global citizens does not obstruct human interaction. Central to cosmopolitanism is the principle of mutual respect (Irawan, 2019).

One expression of cosmopolitanism in this context is represented by the United Nations, which serves as an international platform aimed at fostering global collaboration to tackle worldwide challenges such as peace, human rights, and humanitarian assistance by promoting solidarity among global citizens regarding these issues. The UN, via its diverse agencies and initiatives, is responsible for safeguarding that the interests and rights of all nations and individuals are equitably acknowledged, embodying the essence of unity and universal humanity that lies at the heart of cosmopolitanism.

The situation of the Rohingya exemplifies the emergence of a cosmopolitan crisis at a time when they are in dire need. Malaysia, Thailand, and Bangladesh are unwilling to offer shelter to the Rohingya, citing their lack of citizenship. Only two Southeast Asian nations, Cambodia and the Philippines, have ratified the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees, which limits the potential for the Rohingya to obtain assistance due to their geographical circumstances. The majority of countries that accommodate the Rohingya refugees have not endorsed the 1951 UN Convention, thereby lacking any international legal or administrative responsibility to aid the Rohingya refugees (Ahsan Ullah, 2016).

The UNHCR has described the humanitarian crisis confronting the Rohingya as a "paradigm of ethnic cleansing" because of the persistent forced migration and displacement that has led to a demographic decrease. The global community, along with human rights organizations, has appealed to Myanmar via the UN, imploring the government not to eliminate the Rohingya under the pretext of the ongoing conflict in Rakhine (Hartati, 2012). In January 2018, President Joko Widodo undertook additional initiatives by offering assistance

via Cox's Bazar to Rohingya refugees. Furthermore, UNHCR Indonesia actively lobbied for the rights of refugees with pertinent government ministers, despite Indonesia not being a signatory to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention.

Malaysia is actively working to encourage other nations and communities to raise their voices for the Rohingya by establishing hospitals, while also urging Muslims globally to stand in solidarity and advocate for the Rohingya (Atin Prabandari; Dio Herdiawan Tobing, 2018). The media, along with numerous international human rights organizations including Human Rights Watch, the Burmese Rohingya Organisation UK (BROUK), the Equal Rights Trust, the Bradford Rohingya Community UK, Fortify Rights, the Burmese Muslim Association UK, and the Burma Campaign UK, have denounced the measures implemented against the Rohingya as a Muslim group. They have urged human rights advocates to put an end to these acts of discrimination (Sahana et al., 2019).

The UNHCR, in collaboration with UN Human Rights Agencies, has undertaken various initiatives to combat human rights abuses in Rakhine. However, UNHCR's initiatives aimed at assisting stateless refugees in Rakhine have been halted since 2009 due to the increasing severity of human rights violations. Furthermore, the UN, as a global entity, does not possess adequate authority to tackle the fundamental causes of the issues in Rakhine, as its involvement is perceived as excessive interference in the internal matters of the Myanmar government. During the 2015 elections, the international community called upon the Myanmar government to implement equitable policies that would support the rights of the Rohingya (Hanifahturahmi, 2016).

Amnesty International raises concerns regarding the credibility of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in addressing the Rohingya crisis, emphasizing that hundreds have lost their lives and thousands have been held for extended periods in Rohingya camps. The economic landscape of Myanmar is also jeopardized by precarious banking conditions and escalating food prices, which have obstructed efforts in humanitarian

advocacy. Furthermore, Amnesty International urges ASEAN member states to take charge of Rohingya advocacy and to place a greater emphasis on human rights (International, 2021).

The concept of cosmopolitanism necessitates a shared moral obligation to safeguard individual rights, irrespective of national borders. However, in examining the current situation of the Rohingya, it is evident that numerous states and collective entities have not taken decisive and consistent action against human rights abuses. This apathy is frequently interpreted as an indication that the international community often places its own political and economic stability above the quest for justice for marginalized populations.

Indonesia's Efforts to Help the Rohingya Ethnic Group

Myanmar is a nation that proclaimed its independence in 1948. Since achieving independence, Myanmar has participated actively in numerous regional and international platforms, including ASEAN, the United Nations (UN), the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), among others. The foreign policy of Myanmar is grounded in the principle of non-intervention, indicating that the country prefers not to engage in or accept interference from foreign nations. Prior to its independence, Myanmar was significantly affected by internal strife, one notable instance being the Rohingya ethnic conflict.

The ethnic conflict involving the Rohingya in Myanmar has garnered considerable global attention. There are concerns that this conflict may affect the stability of life in adjacent nations as a result of the influx of Rohingya refugees. This situation can be classified as a historical conflict, exacerbated by disparities in beliefs, cultural practices, and other factors. Almost every nation has proclaimed that this conflict represents a significant crime against humanity or genocide.

Genocide represents a grave violation of human rights. It entails the mass murder or extermination of a specific ethnic group, frequently executed by those in authority or by the majority through diverse forms of propaganda.

According to various international conventions and legal frameworks, including the Rome Statute (1998) and the United Nations Genocide Convention (1948), an act of killing may be classified as genocide if it is demonstrated to possess intent, a concentration on the act of killing, and is systematic and widespread (*United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and The Responsibility to Protect*, n.d.).

The world exists as a unified and indivisible entity. Consequently, it is essential to establish a singular rule that acts as a definitive standard for every action undertaken by a state towards its own citizens or other nations. This rule is referred to as international (humanitarian) law. Within the framework of international law, the act of genocide is classified as a grave offense that cannot be justified under any circumstances, as it fundamentally contradicts the principles of Human Rights (HAM), which are innate to every individual from birth, bestowed by God. Numerous initiatives have been undertaken to foster peace amid the ethnic strife in Myanmar; however, all have proven ineffective. Even when addressed within the context of international treaties or legal frameworks, the issue remains unresolved due to the Myanmar government's failure to ratify several conventions and international laws pertaining to crimes against humanity (Sigit & Novianti, 2021). Therefore, there needs to be another alternative to create peace in the ethnic conflict in Myanmar.

Indonesia is one of the countries mandated in its constitution to create world peace. Furthermore, according to (Matthew, 2020) additionally disclosed that Indonesia has various concerns, including the significant expenses associated with hosting Rohingya refugees, the politicization of identity, and the potential threat of separatism that may undermine the nation's stability and interests. These two factors have motivated the Indonesian government to engage in initiatives aimed at fostering peace in the Rohingya ethnic conflict in Myanmar through multiple approaches.

Initially, it is essential to address the fundamental needs of Rohingya refugees. Indonesia serves as a transit nation for these refugees. In its role as a transit country, Indonesia is prohibited from expelling or denying entry to the Rohingya, in accordance with the principle of non-refoulement, a tenet of customary international law. The engagement of Myanmar's transit nations should be grounded in humanitarian concerns pertaining to the suffering of the Rohingya, the safeguarding of human rights, and the solidarity of ASEAN (Septiana Tindaon, Abdul Rahman, 2013).

The influx of Rohingya individuals commenced following the reforms initiated in 2009, with a total of 198 people arriving by boat in Aceh from Bangladesh. During this period, both the government and the local community exhibited a positive response, as they recognized a common value rooted in the principles of humanity. As of 2009, Indonesia had yet to ratify the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, citing a range of considerations. Furthermore, Indonesia did not possess a robust legal framework for the acceptance of Rohingya refugees under its national laws. At that time, the only relevant legislation was Law No. 37 of 1999, which addressed diplomatic issues but did not specifically pertain to refugees. Nevertheless, these refugees were permitted to stay and were not expelled from Indonesia, owing to a mandate or convention endorsed by the UNHCR in 1950, referred to as the 'jus cogens' convention. This convention asserts that all nations, regardless of their ratification status of the refugee convention, are obligated to adhere to refugee protection standards that have become integral to general international law. Consequently, no refugee may be returned to their country of origin if their life or freedom is at risk (Hafiz Algifari, 2018).

The influx of Rohingya ethnic groups into Indonesia saw a significant rise following the second wave of arrivals in 2012, which subsequently compelled the Indonesian government to enact Presidential Regulation number 125 of 2016. In 2017, a mass exodus to Indonesia occurred, prompting various forms of assistance from both the government and local communities.

One notable instance of government support in 2017 was initiated by Vice President Jusuf Kalla. During this period, Vice President Kalla instructed the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) of the Republic of Indonesia to provide aid to the Rohingya ethnic group in Aceh, which included the construction of portable toilets, public kitchens, sleeping mats, and other essential items. Additionally, the Indonesian government collaborated with several organizations to implement the HASCO (Humanitarian Assistance for Sustainable Communities) aid program, designed to address the fundamental needs of the Rakhine people, encompassing education, health, economic support, and other necessities, while also enhancing community capacity and recovery (Rosyid, 2019).

Secondly, engaging in diplomatic relations with the government of Myanmar. Alongside offering both physical and moral support to the Rohingya ethnic community in Myanmar, the Indonesian government is actively pursuing diplomatic initiatives with the Myanmar authorities. In the context of addressing international disputes, diplomacy serves as an essential tool for reconciling national interests. In his work, "The Principle of Diplomacy," KM Panikkar characterizes diplomacy as the skill of favoring the interests of one nation over those of another through the process of negotiation (Prayuda & Sundari, 2019). Since 1948, Indonesia has maintained a relatively positive diplomatic relationship with the government of Myanmar. This has facilitated the ability of Indonesian diplomats and government representatives to participate in discussions with Myanmar.

As demonstrated by the effective deployment of Foreign Minister Retno Masudi in 2017, initiated by President Joko Widodo, she engaged in discussions with the former UN Secretary-General and various high-ranking officials from the Myanmar government to address the ongoing conflict. She recommended to Myanmar's advisory council (Suu Kyi) the implementation of the 4+1 formula, which encompasses (Septiadi, 2017): (1) The restoration of stability and security is essential. (2) It is crucial to exercise maximum

restraint and to refrain from the use of violence. (3) The protection of all individuals, irrespective of their ethnic and religious backgrounds, must be ensured. (4) Emphasizing the significance of facilitating access for humanitarian assistance is a priority. (5) It is imperative to implement the recommendations put forth by the former UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, as outlined in the UN Advisory Commission Report. This includes taking definitive actions to conclude the conflict, guaranteeing comprehensive and unrestricted humanitarian access throughout the nation, addressing and reassessing the citizenship status as per the 1982 Law, apprehending those responsible for crimes, and imposing prohibitions and limitations on actions related to independence movements.

CONCLUSION

The world can be perceived as a singular, interconnected entity. The humanitarian crisis faced by the Rohingya ethnic group in Myanmar was instigated by systematic discrimination and enduring persecution, which has repercussions for the social fabric in the countries hosting refugees. Numerous initiatives have been undertaken by the international community as a collective entity and by individual states as actors to address this conflict. Achieving a sustainable resolution to this issue proves challenging due to the barriers posed by Myanmar's status as a sovereign nation that upholds the principle of non-intervention, as outlined in the ASEAN Way, although this situation may present a moral quandary given the suffering endured by the Rohingya ethnic group.

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