



## The Humanitarian Diplomacy of Indonesian President, House of Representatives, and Minister of Foreign Affairs on Rohingya Humanitarian Crisis in Myanmar in 2015–2021

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### **Abstract**

Violence against the Rohingya ethnic in Myanmar has caused thousands of deaths, hundreds of thousands of people evacuated, thousands of houses burnt to ashes, and innumerable value of destroyed properties. Myanmar appears to ignore the Rohingya crisis, leaving it without any concrete resolution. This condition undoubtedly triggers Indonesia's responses. In responding to the Rohingya humanitarian crisis, Indonesia engaged in humanitarian diplomacy that consists of four fundamental principles: humanity, impartiality, neutrality, and independence. Indonesian president, minister of foreign affairs, and members of DPR RI (the house of representatives of Indonesia) serve as the spearhead of humanitarian diplomacy, representing the Indonesian people. This article aims to describe the four principles of humanitarian diplomacy and to see which principle is mainly used by these three state elements (i.e., DPR RI, president, and Minister of Foreign Affairs). The content analysis result of the news on statements of the members of DPR RI, the president, and the minister of foreign affairs showed that these three elements prioritized the principle of humanity over the other three principles.

**Keywords:** *Humanitarian Diplomacy; Rohingya, DPR RI; President; Minister of Foreign Affairs*

### **Introduction**

The Rohingya humanitarian crisis arises from populist hatred, resulting in systematic persecution and ethnic cleansing attempts. Its causes seem to stem from World War II when the Rohingya people took the British side during the war. This colonial hatred is used today as a reason to persecute Rohingya ethnic. Their identity was socio-historically forced during the colonial period, and during the post-colonial period, their identity was used as a reason by the majority (i.e., Buddhist) to degrade Rohingya ethnic dignity (Md. Ali Siddiquee, 2020). This hatred still remains even today.

In 2012, communal violence occurred and caused a humanitarian crisis known as Rakhine Tragedy, which continued in the following years. This tragedy caused thousands of people to die, hundreds of thousands of people to flee, thousands of houses to be burnt, and innumerable property

values destroyed by angry mass. Most victims of this crisis come from Rohingya Muslims as a minority group (Qurtuby, 2017).

Myanmar government seems not to find a solution to this conflict. Instead, they worsen the condition by refusing to recognize the Rohingya people their citizenship (Ian Holliday, 2014). The government's military operation in response to the murder of nine border guards on 9 October 2016 has caused a hundred people to die, other hundreds of people detained in military prison, 1200 buildings destroyed, tens of women raped, and 150.000 refugees left without food and medicine (Gunawan, 2016). According to a Myanmar politician with a Rohingya background, U Kyaw Min, Myanmar Government's attack on 9 October aimed to reduce the Rohingya population in Maungdaw and is related to the government's plan to displace illegal housing in Maungdaw (Aryanto, 2017). Since August 2017, more than 740,000 Rohingya people have left their homes, and during the exodus, thousands of people have been killed, mutilated, raped, and burnt (Wasty, 2020).

The humanitarian crisis in Myanmar triggers Indonesia, as a state member of ASEAN, to engage in efforts to resolve the Rohingya humanitarian crisis. However, Indonesia can only use diplomatic means because direct military intervention in Myanmar will violate International Law and the Asian Way, which stipulates that state members of ASEAN are not allowed to intervene in other members' domestic affairs. Hence, humanitarian diplomacy appears to be the means to resolve the humanitarian crisis.

And humanitarian diplomacy consists of four fundamental principles: humanity, impartiality, neutrality, and independence. Indonesian president, minister of foreign affairs, and members of DPR RI (the house of representatives of Indonesia) serve as the spearhead of humanitarian diplomacy, representing the Indonesian people. Taking perspective from these four fundamental principles, this paper analyzes the statements of members of DPR RI, the president, and the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. This study allows one to see the humanitarian diplomacy carried out by these three state elements in order to resolve the Rohingya humanitarian crisis.

### ***Theoretical Framework***

The humanitarian crisis, according to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), is any action aiming at protecting, helping, and providing solutions to refugees, displaced individuals, and stateless people (Kuncoro, Prabandari, Amalia, & Tricesaria, 2018). There are four fundamental principles of humanitarian diplomacy: humanity, impartiality, neutrality, and independence (Minear & Smith, 2017, in Kuncoro et al., 2018). Humanity principle means that one should alleviate the misery of the most susceptible party due to a humanitarian crisis. Meanwhile, the principle of impartiality refers to non-discriminatory humanitarian diplomacy. Third, the principle of neutrality means that humanitarian diplomats should not take sides with conflicting parties. Lastly, the principle of independence means that the goal of humanitarian diplomacy should be to relieve others' misery, and free from military, economic, and political interests.

### ***Research Methodology***

This article was done by content-analyzing news published on the official websites of the state institutions (i.e., DPR RI (House of Representatives of Indonesia), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the State Secretariat) and Indonesian popular online news website, i.e., Kompas.com. Kompas.com was selected due to its popularity in Indonesia, it also provides news on Minister of Foreign Affairs related to Rohingya humanitarian crisis, which was limited in the ministry's official website. News on the house of representatives of Indonesia (DPR RI) related to the Rohingya humanitarian crisis was obtained from [www.dpr.go.id](http://www.dpr.go.id). Meanwhile, news on the president related to the Rohingya humanitarian crisis was

found at [www.setneg.go.id](http://www.setneg.go.id). Lastly, news on the minister of foreign affairs related to the Rohingya humanitarian crisis was taken from [www.kemlu.go.id](http://www.kemlu.go.id) and [www.kompas.com](http://www.kompas.com). The news was published between 2015 and 2021. This news was analyzed for dictions from the statements of members of DPR RI, the president, and the minister of foreign affairs that are related to the four fundamental principles of humanitarian diplomacy, whether the statements fall under humanity, impartiality, neutrality, or independence principle. The collected dictions were then put into clusters, and a chart was made based on these clusters using Microsoft Word.

## Result and Discussion

Humanitarian diplomacy has four principles: humanity, impartiality, neutrality, and independence. Of these principles, the members of DPR RI (house of representatives of Indonesia), President, and the Minister of foreign affairs appear to prioritize the humanity principle, as indicated by their statements that are inclined to this principle and shown in chart 1.1 below.

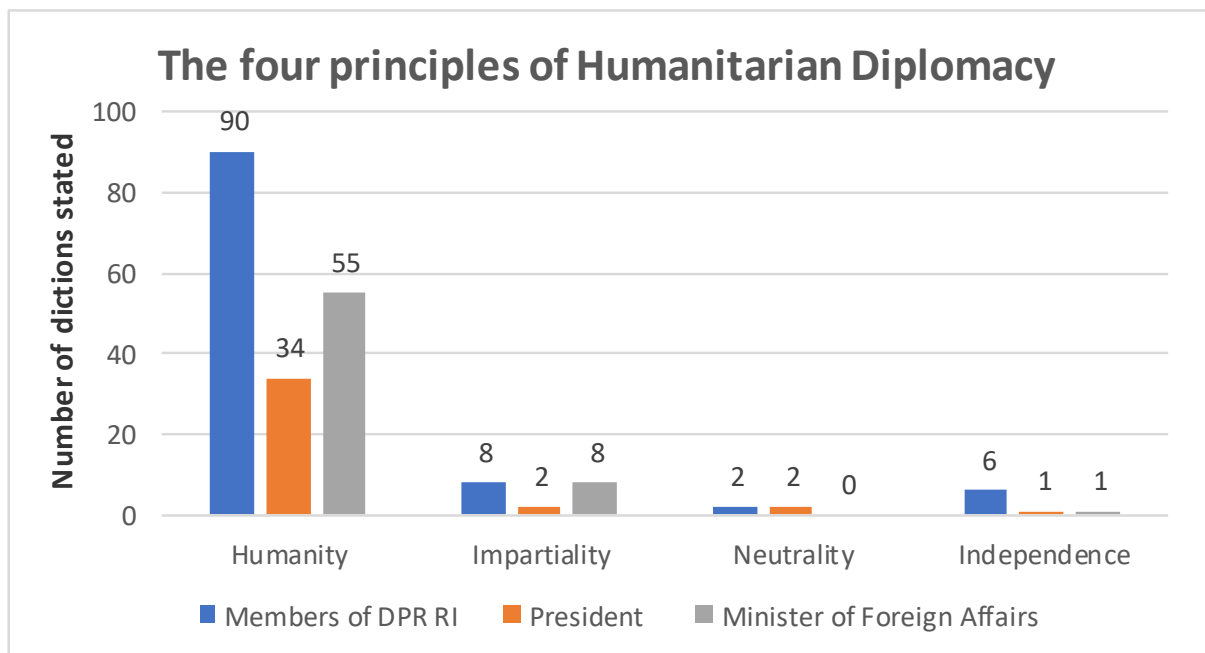


Chart 1.1  
Source: Data Processing.

Based on chart 1.1, it could be concluded that the members of DPR RI, the president, and the minister of foreign affairs tend to prioritize the humanity principle. As shown in the chart, impartiality, neutrality, and independence principles were far lower when compared to the humanity principle. In this principle of humanity, peace is the most highlighted issue by the members of DPR RI, the president, and the minister of foreign affairs, as presented in chart 1.2 below.

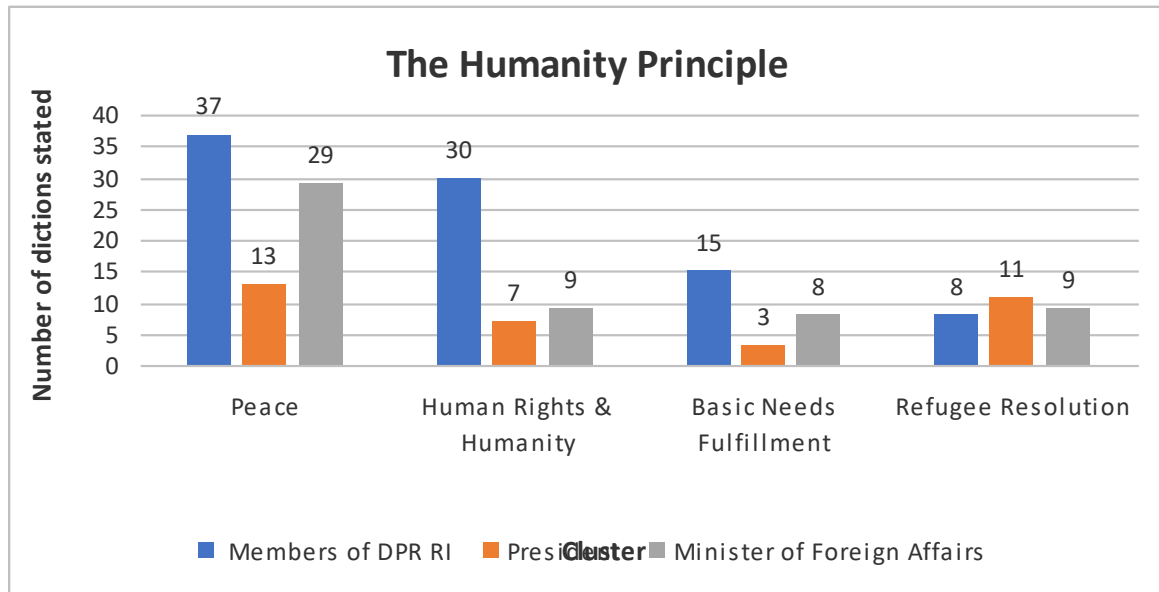


Chart 1.2

Source: Data Processing.

In the peace cluster, several dictions were counted from statements of members of DPR RI, president, and minister of foreign affairs, such as *perdamaian* (peace), *stabil/stabilitas* (stable/stability), *mencegah timbulnya aksi kekerasan* (preventing violence), *meredam kekerasan* (minimizing violence), *mengakhiri persekusi* (ending persecution), *menghentikan/mengakhiri pembantaian* (stopping/ending slaughter), *menghentikan/mengakhiri segala bentuk kekerasan* (stopping/ending any kind of violence), *menghentikan kekerasan* (stopping violence), *memberi keamanan* (providing security), *mengembalikan keamanan* (returning security), *penyelesaian konflik Rohingya* (Rohingya conflict resolution), *menciptakan kondisi kondusif* (creating a conducive condition), *tercipta suasana kondusif* (created conducive condition), *penyelesaian aksi kekerasan* (resolving violence), and *membantu penyelesaian konflik* (helping to resolve the conflict).

Of 37 dictions related to peace cluster stated by the members of DPR RI, the diction *perdamaian* (peace) was mentioned 19 times. The diction *stabil/stabilitas* (stable/stability) was mentioned 5 times. Meanwhile, the dictions *menghentikan kekerasan* (stopping violence), *menghentikan/mengakhiri segala bentuk kekerasan* (stopping/ending any kind of violence), *penyelesaian konflik Rohingya* (Rohingya conflict resolution), and *menghentikan/mengakhiri pembantaian* (stopping/ending slaughter) were mentioned twice each. Other dictions including *mencegah timbulnya aksi kekerasan* (preventing violence), *meredam kekerasan* (minimizing violence), *mengakhiri persekusi* (ending persecution), *memberi keamanan* (providing security), and *penyelesaian aksi kekerasan* (resolving violence) were mentioned once each by members of DPR RI. Meanwhile, the remaining dictions were not mentioned by the members of DPR RI.

The diction *perdamaian* (peace) was often mentioned by members of DPR RI (the house of representatives of Indonesia) in international parliamentary forums, such as Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA), Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum, and other international forums. The head of Inter-parliamentary Cooperation of DPR RI (BKSAP DPR RI), Nurhayati Ali Assegaf, in November 2016, urged IPU, which consist of 171 world's parliaments, to take strategic actions to facilitate peace and communal conflicts in Myanmar (DPR, 2017a). During the *AIPA General Assembly* in Manila in the mid-September 2017, she also stated that, regarding Rohingya humanitarian crisis, peace and human rights should be the common concerns, and ethnic cleansing must not be allowed (DPR, 2017i). In the opening remarks during the World Parliamentary Forum on

Sustainable Development Goals in Bali 06 – 07 September 2017, Nurhayati Ali Assegaf also highlighted that the humanitarian crisis in Rakhine, Myanmar, had turned into a global problem and believed that SDGs would not be achieved without peace (DPR, 2017k). The Speaker of DPR RI, Bambang Soesatyo, in his speech during the 138th Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) in Geneva, Swiss, 25 March 2018 also mentioned Rohingya and stated that violence against Rohingya was a serious threat to global security and peace (DPR, 2018d). The vice speaker of DPR RI, Fahri Hamzah, also called for active involvement from all parliaments in Asia-Pacific region to create global peace by, among others, resolving issues on Rohingya refugee and Palestine independence when leading the delegation of the Indonesian Parliament at the Plenary Meeting of Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum in Hanoi, Vietnam, at 19 January 2018 (DPR, 2018b). Ida Fauziyah, a member of Commission I of DPR RI, stated that as a country that upholds human dignity and world's peace, she condemned violence and oppression perpetrated by Myanmar military and government on Rohingya people (DPR, 2017n).

In addition to the diction *perdamaian* (peace), the diction *stabil/stabilitas* (stable/stability) was the most frequently mentioned by the members of DPR RI, i.e., 5 times out of total 37 times of dictions in the cluster. The issue of stable/stability was mentioned by several DPR RI members, including the vice speaker of the Commission I of DPR RI, who was afraid that Rohingya ethnic cleansing will threaten the security of Southeast Asian region (DPR, 2018e). In addition, during the bilateral meeting with the head of parliamentary of Vietnam, Turk, Argentina, Sudan, and delegations of ASEAN +3 in the 138th Inter-Parliament Union in Geneva, Swiss, on 25 March 2018, The Speaker of DPR RI, Bambang Susatyo expressed his concern about the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya and stated that the absence of concrete resolution for Rohingya crisis would likely threaten ASEAN as a stable, peaceful, and open region (DPR, 2018a).

Almost similar to DPR RI members in peace cluster, the diction *perdamaian* (peace) and *stabilitas* (Stability) were also mentioned frequently by the president Joko Widodo. The president mentioned the diction *perdamaian* (peace) six times. The diction *stabil/stabilitas* (stable/stability) was mentioned seven times. The president did not mention other dictions besides these two dictions in the peace cluster.

The diction *perdamaian* (peace) and *stabilitas* (stability) were mentioned during his speech when distributing humanitarian relief to Rohingya Muslim community on 29 December 2016 (Setneg, 2016c). The president stated that he had asked the minister of foreign affairs, Retno Marsudi, to meet the Myanmar State Counselor, Aung San Suu Kyi, to deliver four messages, one of which was to create stability and peace in Rakhine State. He also expected that peace, stability, and harmony could be realized as soon as possible in Rakhine State. And during the plenary meeting of the 31st ASEAN high-level conference in The Philippines on 13 November 2017, the president expressed his concern about the complex humanitarian crisis in Rakhine State, which may lead to regional security and stability, including radicalism and trafficking in person (Setneg, 2017b). Besides, during his meeting with the UN Secretary General, Antonio Guterres in the conference breaks, the president reasserted his statement, that leaving humanitarian crisis in Rakhine State improperly handled would adversely affect the regional stability and security, potentially triggering issues on radicalism and even terrorism (Setneg, 2017a). And in his speech during the plenary session of the 33rd ASEAN high-level conference in Singapore on 13 November 2018, President Joko Widodo called ASEAN member states to be the part of the resolution for humanitarian crisis in Rakhine State, Myanmar, because ASEAN needs its members to commit to maintaining regional peace and wellbeing as one family (Setneg, 2018b).

Regarding minister's statement, the dictions *perdamaian* (peace) and *stabilitas* (stability) also served as the most frequently mentioned in the peace cluster. The diction *perdamaian* (peace) was mentioned twelve times in the peace cluster, while the diction *stabil/stabilitas* (stable/stability) was mentioned 11 times. Another diction i.e., *menciptakan kondisi kondusif* (creating a conducive condition) was mentioned twice. Meanwhile, other dictions including *menghentikan/mengakhiri segala bentuk*

*kekerasan* (stopping/ending any kind of violence), *mengembalikan keamanan* (returning security), *tercipta suasana kondusif* (created conducive condition), and *membantu penyelesaian konflik* (helping to resolve conflict) were mentioned once each. Meanwhile, other dictions were not mentioned by the minister.

The dictions *perdamaian* (peace), *stabil/stabilitas* (stable/stability), and *menciptakan kondisi kondusif* (creating a conducive condition) were mentioned when the minister of foreign affairs proposed the 4+1 formula to the Myanmar government. One of the propositions was to uphold peace and stability in Rakhine State (Nabilla Tashandra, 2017). During her speech when giving relief in 21 January 2017, Retno Marsudi stated that Indonesia preferred a constructive effort to help Myanmar creating peace, stability, and development in Rakhine State. Indonesia also hoped that the relief could help creating a conducive situation for peace and stability (Putra, 2017). Also, during the 74th- UN General Assembly in New York, 24 September 2019, the minister of foreign affairs, Retno Marsudi, delivered two concrete propositions, including to help creating sustainable peace through economic development and empowerment for people in Rakhine State (Kemlu, 2019). Lastly, during the press briefing at the first day of ASEAN Ministerial Meeting and Post Ministerial Conferences in Jakarta, 9 September 2020, the minister also asserted the importance of regional peace and stability, and every party is responsible to maintain peace and stability (Kemlu, 2020).

The next cluster in humanity principle is the human right and humanity. This cluster contains 23 dictions, including *Perlindungan HAM* (human rights protection), *status kewarganegaraan* (citizenship status), *jaminan HAM* (human rights guarantee), *penghormatan terhadap HAM* (respecting human rights), *melindungi dan menghormati HAM* (protecting and respecting human rights), *mendapat pengakuan resmi* (receiving official recognition), *menjunjung tinggi hak asasi manusia* (Upholding Human Rights), *perlindungan kemanusiaan* (humanitarian protection), *mengedepankan harkat manusia* (prioritizing human dignity), *mengedepankan aspek kemanusiaan* (prioritizing humanitarian aspects), *perbaikan situasi kemanusiaan* (improving humanitarian situation), *mengutamakan prinsip kemanusiaan* (prioritizing humanitarian principle), *mengatasi krisis kemanusiaan* (overcoming humanitarian crisis), *menyelesaikan krisis kemanusiaan* (resolving humanitarian crisis), *menghentikan kejahatan kemanusiaan* (stopping crimes against humanity), *penyelesaian krisis kemanusiaan* (humanitarian crisis resolution), *Mengakhiri krisis kemanusiaan* (Ending humanitarian crisis), *menyelesaikan konflik kemanusiaan* (solving humanitarian conflict), *menyelesaikan kejahatan kemanusiaan* (solving crimes against humanity), *menyelesaikan masalah kemanusiaan* (solving humanitarian problems), *penanganan krisis kemanusiaan* (addressing humanitarian crisis), *mencegah kekerasan kemanusiaan* (preventing humanitarian violence), and *menyelesaikan bencana kemanusiaan* (resolving humanitarian disaster).

Members of DPR RI were found to mention dictions within this cluster thirty times. The diction *status kewarganegaraan* (citizenship status) was mentioned five times, while the dictions *perlindungan HAM* (human rights protection) and *Menyelesaikan krisis kemanusiaan* (resolving humanitarian crisis) were mentioned three times each. The dictions *melindungi dan Menghormati HAM* (protecting and respecting human rights), *perlindungan kemanusiaan* (humanitarian protection), *mengatasi krisis kemanusiaan* (overcoming humanitarian crisis), and *menghentikan kejahatan kemanusiaan* (stopping crimes against humanity), were mentioned twice each. Meanwhile, the dictions *jaminan HAM* (human rights guarantee), *mendapat pengakuan resmi* (receiving official recognition), *menjunjung tinggi hak asasi manusia* (upholding human rights), *mengedepankan harkat kemanusiaan* (prioritizing human dignity), *mengedepankan aspek kemanusiaan* (prioritizing humanitarian aspects), *mengutamakan prinsip kemanusiaan* (prioritizing humanitarian principles), *penyelesaian krisis kemanusiaan* (Humanitarian crisis resolution), *menyelesaikan kejahatan kemanusiaan* (solving crimes against humanity), *menyelesaikan masalah kemanusiaan* (solving humanitarian problems), *mencegah kekerasan kemanusiaan* (preventing humanitarian violence) and *menyelesaikan bencana kemanusiaan* (resolving humanitarian disaster) were mentioned once each by DPR members. Meanwhile, the remaining dictions were not mentioned by the members of DPR RI.

The diction *status kewarganegaraan* (citizenship status) was mentioned when Nurhayati Ali Assegaf received the representative of UNHCR, Thomas Vargas, in DPR RI Building on 12 September 2017, supporting UN who urged Myanmar government to give citizenship to Rohingya (DPR, 2017e). On 13 November 2017, when Nurhayati Ali Assegaf met Thomas Vargas again in DPR RI Building to discuss the development of Rohingya humanitarian crisis, she expected that Indonesia and other ASEAN countries could stop violence in Myanmar, giving the indigenous people (Rohingya) their citizenship status (DPR, 2017j). In addition, the vice speaker of BKSAP DPR RI, Rofi' Munawar during the 139th IPU meeting in Geneva on 15 October 2018, urged Myanmar Government to give citizenship status to the Rohingya people, given that citizenship status was basic human rights for each individual. Without citizenship status, Rohingya people were prone to violence, oppression, and systemic discrimination from the Myanmar government (DPR, 2018c).

Meanwhile, the diction *perlindungan HAM* (human rights protection) were mentioned by the member of Commission 1 of DPR RI, Arwani Thomafi, when he appreciated the 4+1 formula proposed by Indonesia to Myanmar. He viewed that the proposition represented the country's constitutional spirit, particularly related to human rights protection (DPR, 2017i). Furthermore, on 23 January 2018, the speaker of Commission 1 of DPR RI, Abdul Kharis Almasyhari, stated that it was necessary for Rohingya refugees to have a human rights guarantee and urged the minister of foreign affairs to ensure human right protection for Rohingya people (DPR, 2018i).

The diction *menyelesaikan krisis kemanusiaan* (resolving humanitarian crisis) was mentioned by the vice speaker of DPR RI Fahri Hamzah during the World Parliamentary Forum on Sustainable Development Goals in Nusa Dua, Bali, on 6 September 2017. He stated that the forum was a good momentum to resolve the Rohingya humanitarian crisis in Rakhine State and urged the attending parliaments to initiate efforts in resolving humanitarian problems in Myanmar (DPR, 2017f). Besides, the leader of the DPR RI delegation during the first Executive Council of the Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA) in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, on 02 – 03 October 2017, Rofi Munawar, urged APA to play an active role in resolving Rohingya humanitarian crisis and stated that Indonesia proposed the 4+1 formula to be APA consensus in resolving humanitarian crisis in Rakhine (DPR, 2017d).

The president Joko Widodo mentioned dictions that fall under human rights and humanity cluster seven times. He mentioned diction *penyelesaian krisis kemanusiaan* (humanitarian crisis resolution) three times, *Penghormatan terhadap HAM* (respecting human rights) twice, and *mengatasi krisis kemanusiaan* (overcoming humanitarian crisis) and *penanganan krisis kemanusiaan* (addressing humanitarian crisis) were mentioned once each by the president.

The diction *penyelesaian krisis kemanusiaan* (humanitarian crisis resolution) was mentioned by president Joko Widodo during the ASEAN high-level conference in 13 November 2017, when he met the UN secretary general, Antonio Guterres in Manila, The Philippines. They agreed to continue to help the humanitarian crisis resolution in Rakhine State (Setneg, 2017a). During the plenary session of the 31st ASEAN high level conference, the president also expressed his concern about the prolonged humanitarian crisis in Rakhine State, and stated that Indonesia highly expects progress in the humanitarian crisis resolution (Setneg, 2018b). The president also appreciated a good result at the ministerial level of ASEAN, which planned to involve The ASEAN Coordinating Center for Humanitarian Assistance in disaster management or AHA Center, an intergovernmental organization established by ASEAN countries to manage disasters and to help resolving the humanitarian crisis in Rakhine State.

Meanwhile, the diction *penghormatan terhadap HAM* (respecting human rights) was mentioned during the president's speech when delivering the humanitarian relief for Rohingya people in Rakhine State at Tanjung Priok Port on 29 December 2016. He reported that he asked the minister of foreign affairs to meet the State Counselor of Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi, to deliver four messages, including

the need for protecting and respecting human rights, especially for the Muslim community (Setneg, 2016c).

The minister of foreign affairs, Retno Marsudi mentioned dictions that fall under the cluster of human rights and humanity nine times. *Penyelesaian krisis kemanusiaan* (humanitarian crisis resolution) was mentioned three times, *menyelesaikan konflik kemanusiaan* (solving humanitarian conflict) was mentioned twice, while *perlindungan HAM* (human rights protection), *perlindungan kemanusiaan* (humanitarian protection), *perbaiki situasi kemanusiaan* (improving humanitarian situation), and *mengakhiri krisis kemanusiaan* (ending humanitarian crisis) was mentioned once each.

The diction *penyelesaian krisis kemanusiaan* (humanitarian crisis resolution) and the diction *mengakhiri krisis kemanusiaan* (ending humanitarian crisis) were mentioned by the minister during the 74th UN General Assembly in New York on 24 September 2019. She stated that the complexity of issue in Rakhine State should not hinder the humanitarian crisis resolution and he proposed two concrete ideas to promote the humanitarian crisis resolution (Kemlu, 2019). In the same event, the minister also stated that the international citizen should be able to end the humanitarian crisis and Indonesia is ready to contribute to the effort.

The diction *perlindungan HAM* (human rights protection) and *menyelesaikan konflik kemanusiaan* (solving humanitarian conflict) were found in several occasions. Human rights protection was mentioned when minister Retno Marsudi met State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi on 6 December 2016 in Myanmar, during which the minister hoped that Myanmar government respects and provides human right protection to the minority in Rakhine State, including Rohingya (Prabowo, 2016). The diction *menyelesaikan konflik kemanusiaan* (solving humanitarian conflict) was mentioned by the minister during an interview, where she stated that the Indonesian government performs intense diplomacy in solving the humanitarian conflict of Rohingya people in Rakhine, Myanmar. In order to actively engage in solving this humanitarian conflict, the minister also asked for suggestions from religious organization leaders in Indonesia (Kompas, 2017).

The next cluster in the humanity principle is the basic needs fulfillment. This cluster contains eight dictions, including *Mengirimkan bantuan* (sending relief), *memberikan bantuan* (providing relief), *menyalurkan bantuan* (distributing relief), *bantuan kemanusiaan* (humanitarian relief), *mengulurkan bantuan* (giving relief), *penyaluran bantuan* (relief distribution), *mendapatkan bantuan* (obtaining relief), and *membantu kemanusiaan* (helping humanity).

DPR RI members were found to mention dictions falling under this cluster fifteen times. The diction *memberikan bantuan* (providing relief) was mentioned 6 times. The diction *bantuan kemanusiaan* (humanitarian relief) was mentioned 4 times. The diction *menyalurkan bantuan* (distributing relief) was mentioned twice, while the diction *mengulurkan bantuan* (giving reliefs), *mendapatkan bantuan* (obtaining reliefs), and *penyaluran bantuan* (relief distribution) was mentioned once each. Meanwhile, the remaining dictions were not mentioned by the members of DPR RI.

The diction *memberikan bantuan* (providing relief) is the most frequently mentioned diction by the DPR RI members regarding the cluster of basic needs fulfillment. This diction was mentioned by the member of Commission I DPR RI, Evita Nursanty, in Jakarta in 19 May 2015, who appreciated the public, especially fishers in Aceh Province who provided relief to Rohingya refugee and asserted that in such emergency conditions, the government needed to support the basic needs fulfillment (DPR, 2015). On another occasion, a member of Commission I from Gerindra Party, Elnino M. Husein Mohi stated that Indonesia should be prepared to provide relief to Rohingya refugee based on fair and civilized humanity (DPR, 2015). In the same vein, another member of Commission I of DPR RI, Arwani Thomafia called for the public to provide humanitarian reliefs for Rohingya, a concrete step towards relieving their misery (DPR, 2017). Meanwhile, Nurhayati Ali Assegaf also asserted that all parliament worldwide should help



resolving Rohingya humanitarian crisis through providing ideas, reliefs, and prevention of similar humanitarian crimes (DPR, 2017c). And during a meeting with Vice President Jusuf Kalla on 27 November 2017, Nurhayati Ali Assegaf, who was also the president of International Humanitarian Law (IHL), stated that she needs to ensure that all countries provided their reliefs related to the Rohingya humanitarian crisis (DPR, 2017s). During the IHL assembly in Geneva, Swiss on 26 March 2018, Nuryahati Ali Assegaf also stated that Indonesia had taken several actions related to the Rohingya humanitarian crisis, such as providing relief of health facility and temporary shelter (DPR, 2018h).

The diction *bantuan kemanusiaan* (humanitarian relief) was mentioned by the vice speaker of Commission X of DPR RI, Sutan Adil Hendra, who hoped that the government, through diplomacy, could press the Myanmar government to open access for humanitarian relief for Rohingya people (DPR, 2017o). Furthermore, The vice speaker of DPR RI Fadli Zon during the World Parliamentary Forum on Sustainable Development in Nusa Dua Bali on 06 – 07 September 2017 hoped that the government did not only provide a humanitarian relief, but also taking political actions to end the violence and urge Myanmar to make peace (DPR, 2017b). Rofi Munawar, the head of DPR RI delegation during the first Executive Council meeting of Asian Parliamentary Assembly/APA in Phnom Penh, Cambodia in 02 – 03 October 2017, asserted that while focusing on the urgency of humanitarian relief, it is also important to keep asking the Myanmar Government to recognize Rohingya people as its citizen constitutionally (DPR, 2017d). Meanwhile, the member of Commission I of DPR RI, Arwani Thomafi invited the public to focus collecting humanitarian reliefs for Rohingya, a concrete step to relieve their misery.

The president also mentioned three dictions that fall under the cluster of basic needs fulfillment, including *bantuan kemanusiaan* (humanitarian relief), *mengirimkan bantuan* (sending relief), and *membantu kemanusiaan* (helping humanity), which was mentioned once each.

The diction *bantuan kemanusiaan* (humanitarian relief) was mentioned by the president, who hoped that the humanitarian reliefs sent to Rakhine State could be accepted by the Myanmar Government and people in Rakhine State who were in need (Setneg, 2016b). And the dictions *mengirimkan bantuan* (sending relief) and *membantu kemanusiaan* (helping humanity) were mentioned before the opening of Bali Democracy Forum IX in December 2016, during which he stated that he had asked his subordinates to send logistic relief, i.e. food and blanket, immediately to Myanmar (Setneg, 2016a). In the same occasion, the president stated that he had met Koffi Annan, the head of the advisory committee for Rakhine State and had spoken extensively in discussions regarding the steps that needed to be taken to help humanity in Rakhine State (Setneg, 2016a).

The minister of foreign affairs mentioned dictions that fall under the cluster of basic needs fulfillment eight times. The minister of foreign affairs, Retno Marsudi only mentioned the diction *bantuan kemanusiaan* (humanitarian relief) which was mentioned 8 times. Meanwhile, the remaining dictions were not mentioned by the minister Retno Marsudi.

The diction *bantuan kemanusiaan* (humanitarian relief) was mentioned by the minister during her meeting with Aung San Suu Kyi in Naypyidaw, Myanmar on 6 December 2016, during which she hoped that Myanmar government could open accesses to allow humanitarian relief entering Rakhine State (Prabowo, 2016). The minister also met the commander of Myanmar Armed Forces, Senior General U Min Aung Hlaing in Naypyidaw on 4 September 2017. At that time, she hoped that the security authority could return the security and stability in Rakhine State in order to continue the transport of humanitarian relief, the rehabilitation process, and inclusive development efforts (Erdianto, 2017b). She also stated that Indonesian NGOs had worked together with the government and Myanmar NGOs to distribute humanitarian relief, meaning that Indonesia is ready to help Myanmar in providing humanitarian relief. And during her visit to Myanmar, in addition to meet the State Counselor, Retno Marsudi also met three Myanmar ministers: the minister of presidential offices, National Security Advisor, and Young Minister of Foreign affairs to discuss the technical matters on humanitarian relief, which would be exercised by the

Myanmar government (Suryowati, 2017). In addition, after presenting remarks at the religious journalism conference at University of Multimedia Nusantara (UMN), Tangerang, on 17 October 2017, Minister Retno Marsudi stated that she had told Aung San Suu Kyi the importance of ASEAN involvement in humanitarian relief (Tashandra, 2017). And when presenting her views during the 74th UN General Assembly in New York on 24 September 2019, Minister Retno Marsudi presented two concrete propositions, one of which was to address the needs of the Rohingya refugees who were emergency and for Indonesia, humanitarian relief must continue to be provided to Rohingya refugees (Kemlu, 2019).

The next cluster was the refugee resolution, which contains nine dictions, including *menuntaskan persoalan pengungsi* (resolving refugee issues), *penanganan pengungsi* (handling refugee), *repatriasi* (repatriation), *pemulangan pengungsi* (returning refugee), *kesejahteraan pengungsi Rohingya* (Rohingya refugee wellbeing), *penyelesaian pengungsi Rohingya* (Rohingya refugee resolution), *pengembalian pengungsi Rohingya* (repatriation of Rohingya refugee), *menampung pengungsi Rohingya* (accommodating Rohingya refugee), and *menerima pengungsi Rohingya* (accepting Rohingya refugee).

DPR RI members were found to mention dictions falling under this cluster eight times. The diction *menuntaskan persoalan pengungsi* (resolving refugee issues), *penanganan pengungsi* (handling refugee), *repatriasi* (repatriation), *kesejahteraan pengungsi Rohingya* (Rohingya refugee wellbeing), *penyelesaian pengungsi Rohingya* (Rohingya refugee resolution), *pengembalian pengungsi Rohingya* (repatriation of Rohingya refugee), *menampung pengungsi Rohingya* (accommodating Rohingya refugee), and *menerima pengungsi Rohingya* (accepting Rohingya refugee) was mentioned once each. Meanwhile the diction returning refugee was not mentioned by the DPR RI members.

Dictions in this refugee resolution cluster were voiced by DPR RI members both in international parliamentary forums or during a meeting with foreign officers and international organizations. The dictions *menuntaskan persoalan pengungsi* (resolving refugee issues) and *kesejahteraan pengungsi Rohingya* (Rohingya refugee wellbeing) were mentioned by Rofi' Munawar during the 39th Inter-Parliamentary Union in Geneva, 15 October 2018. During the event, Rofi' asked countries that belong to the party of the 1951 Refugee Convention to resolve the refugee issues as soon as possible, particularly related to Rohingya issue. He added that Indonesia, as a sanctuary, had a moral responsibility to ensure the safety and wellbeing of Rohingya refugee (DPR, 2018c). And the diction *repatriasi* (repatriation) was mentioned by The vice speaker of DPR RI, Fadli Zon, during the 40th AIPA executive committee meeting in Bangkok on 25 August 2019. He mentioned the repatriation efforts that had been planned since the previous year, yet no progress was achieved (DPR, 2019). Meanwhile, the diction *penyelesaian pengungsi Rohingya* (Rohingya refugee resolution) was mentioned by Fahri Hamzah, the vice speaker of DPR RI, when leading the Indonesian parliament delegation during the plenary meeting of Asia-Pacific Parliamentary Forum in Hanoi, Vietnam on 19 January 2018. He stated that Asia-Pacific parliaments needed to actively speak for global peace, including Rohingya refugee resolution and Palestine independence (DPR, 2018b). And the diction *pengembalian pengungsi Rohingya* (repatriation of Rohingya refugees) was mentioned by Fadli Zon when receiving the Bangladesh Ambassador to Indonesia, Major General Asmar Kabir and Indonesian Humanitarian Alliance in DPR RI Building, Senayan, on 22 December 2017. Fadli Zon reminded that MoU between Bangladesh and Myanmar for repatriation of Rohingya refugee could be exercised and monitored by independent parties to ensure that Myanmar government provided security for the Rohingya people (DPR, 2017g). Furthermore, the dictions *menampung/menerima pengungsi Rohingya* (accommodating/accepting Rohingya refugee) were mentioned by Nurhayati Ali Assegaf when she urged Indonesian government to accommodate and to accept Rohingya refugees by providing an island for them, as the government did in the past when they accepted hundreds of thousands Vietnamese refugee in Galang Island (DPR, 2017e).

The Indonesian president, Joko Widodo mentioned dictions under the cluster of refugee resolution eleven times. The diction *repatriasi* (repatriation) was mentioned ten times, while the diction

*pemulangan pengungsi* (returning refugee) was mentioned once. Meanwhile, the remaining dictions were not mentioned by the president Joko Widodo.

The diction *repatriasi* (repatriation) was mentioned during the plenary session of the 31st of ASEAN high level conference in Manila on 13 November 2017. At that event, the president hoped that the discussion between Bangladesh and Myanmar on repatriation could finish and be implemented as soon as possible (Setneg, 2017b). On the same occasion, Indonesian president also hoped that three points in Myanmar State Counselors' speech "Report to the People", i.e., repatriation and humanitarian assistance; resettlement and rehabilitation; and development and durable peace, could be implemented (Setneg, 2017b). President Joko Widodo also had a bilateral meeting with UN Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres in Manila, The Philippines. During the meeting, they discussed about the importance of completing Repatriation MoU between Myanmar and Bangladesh (Setneg, 2017a). And when President Joko Widodo received a honorary visit from the Thai minister of foreign affairs, Don Pramudwinai, in the Presidential Palace, Jakarta 13 March 2019, The president reasserted the importance of ASEAN involvement in helping Myanmar to prepare a voluntary, peaceful, and dignified repatriation (Setneg, 2019a). The same message was also stated by the president during bilateral meeting with Thai Prime Minister, Prayut Chan o-cha during the 34th- ASEAN high-level conference. He stated that Rakhine State should have better security situation to allow voluntary, secure, and dignified repatriation (Setneg, 2019c). President Jokowi also asserted the same message when meeting the Myanmar State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi during the 34th ASEAN high level conference in Athenee, Bangkok, 22 June 2019 (Setneg, 2019b). Meanwhile, the diction *pemulangan pengungsi* (returning refugees) was mentioned by the President when opening a work visit agenda in Singapore, at which president Joko Widodo conducted a bilateral meeting with President of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Win Myint, on 27 April 2018 in Bilateral Room 1, Shangri-La hotel. On that occasion, Indonesia asserted its readiness to help Myanmar, particularly related to the returning of refugees from Cox's Bazar to Rakhine State voluntarily, safely, and in dignified manner (Setneg, 2018a).

The Minister of Foreign Affairs was found to mention dictions within the cluster of refugee resolution nine times. The diction *repatriasi* (repatriation) was mentioned five times, while the diction *penanganan pengungsi* (handling refugee) was mentioned four times. Meanwhile the remaining dictions were not mentioned by the minister.

The diction *repatriasi* (repatriation) was mentioned during the UN General Assembly and Press Briefing Asean Ministerial Meeting/Post Ministerial Conferences (AMM/PMC). Meanwhile, the diction *penanganan pengungsi* (handling refugee) was mentioned when communicating with Bangladesh Minister of Foreign Affairs. During the UN General Assembly, Minister Retno Marsudi highlighted the importance of sense of security to ensure a safe, voluntary, and dignified repatriation process. Minister Retno Marsudi also stated that ASEAN continues to collaborate to promote the repatriation process of Rohingya refugees through increased transit center and refugee admissions, information dissemination and basic need supports, three issues that should be addressed comprehensively (Kemlu, 2019). And during the Press Briefing of the first day of AMM/PMC meeting in Jakarta, 9 September 2020, Minister Retno Marsudi highlighted the issues on Rohingya, urged Myanmar, through helping from other ASEAN countries, to solve the core issues to ensure voluntarily, safe, and dignified repatriation (Kemlu, 2020). Furthermore, the diction *penanganan pengungsi* (handling refugee) was mentioned by Minister Retno who stated that she had communicated with Bangladesh Minister of Foreign Affairs and urged Bangladesh to help the handling of Rohingya refugee, as Myanmar and Bangladesh should establish a good collaboration in handling the refugees (Ihsanuddin, 2017).

The next principle is impartiality. It contains two clusters: protection and inclusivity, as presented in Chart 1.3. The protection cluster comprises three dictions: *proteksi untuk semua warga negara* (protection for all citizens), *melindungi warga negara* (protecting citizens), and *memberi perlindungan kepada seluruh masyarakat* (providing protection to all community). Meanwhile, the second cluster, i.e.,

inclusivity, consists of ten phrases: *tanpa diskriminasi* (without discrimination), *menghentikan diskriminasi* (stopping discrimination), *tidak terdapat diskriminasi* (no discrimination), *stabilitas bagi semua komunitas* (stability for all community), *inklusif/inklusifitas* (inclusive/inclusivity), *semua warga negara berhak hidup dengan damai* (all citizens have a right to live peacefully), *tanpa membedakan ras* (without racial discrimination), *terlepas dari agama atau suku apapun* (regardless of religious and ethnic background), *tidak melakukan diskriminasi dalam bentuk apapun* (no discrimination based on any reason), and *menghentikan segala jenis tindakan diskriminasi* (stopping any form of discrimination).

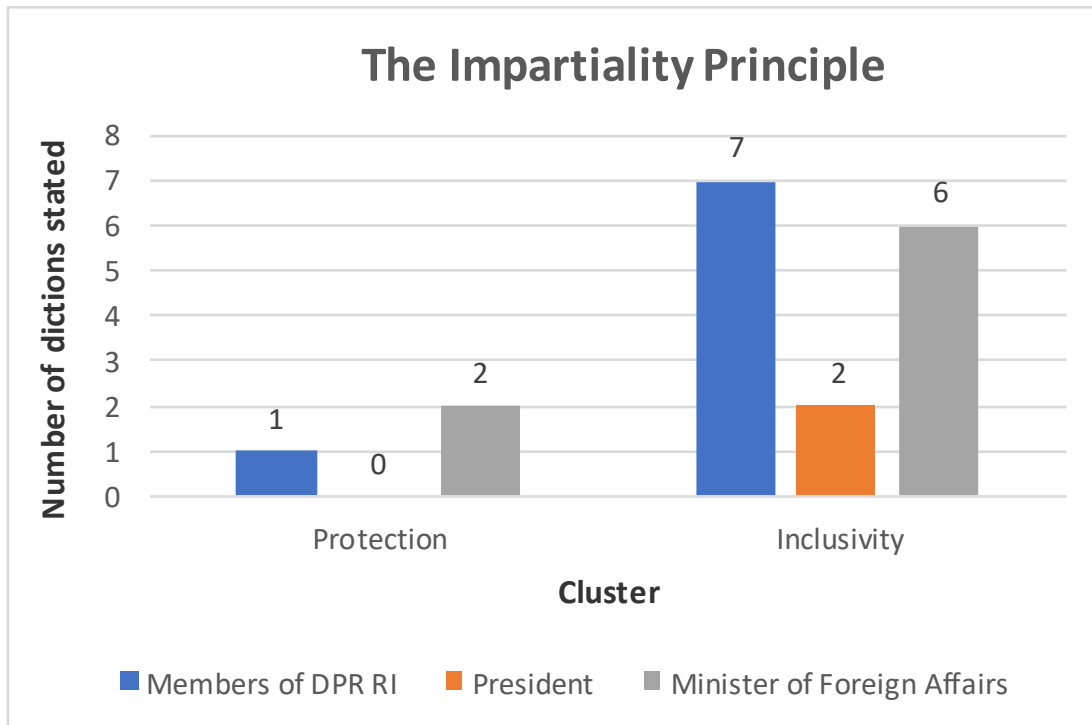


Chart 1.3  
Source: Data Processing

Regarding the protection cluster, only one diction was mentioned by the DPR RI members, i.e., *melindungi warga negara* (protecting citizens). This diction was mentioned by Nurhayati Ali Assegaf, who urged Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) to take strategic steps in facilitating peace in Myanmar, because when a country fails to protect its citizen, there was a clear potential violation of international humanitarian law and human rights (DPR, 2017h).

Indonesian president did not mention anything about this cluster. Meanwhile, the minister of foreign affairs mentioned two dictions falling within the protection cluster: *proteksi untuk semua warga negara* (protection for all citizens) and *memberi perlindungan kepada seluruh masyarakat* (providing protection for all community), which was mentioned once each. The diction *proteksi untuk semua warga negara* (protection for all citizens) was mentioned when the minister proposed the 4+1 formula to solve Rohingya conflict. One of the propositions was the protection for all citizens regardless of their ethnic and religious background (Nabilla Tashandra, 2017). Meanwhile, the diction *memberi perlindungan kepada seluruh masyarakat* (providing protection for all community) was mentioned by Minister Retno Marsudi when she met the Commander of Myanmar Armed Forces, Senior General U Min Aung Hlaing in Naypyidaw, Myanmar on 4 September 2017. She stated that Myanmar security authority should stop any form of violence in Rakhine State and provide protection for all community, including the Muslim community (Erdianto, 2017b).

Regarding the inclusivity cluster, dictions falling under the inclusivity cluster were mentioned by DPR members seven times. The diction *tanpa membedakan ras* (without racial discrimination) was mentioned twice, while the dictions *menghentikan diskriminasi* (stopping discrimination), *semua warga berhak hidup dengan damai* (all citizens have a right to live peacefully), *terlepas dari agama atau suku apapun* (regardless of religious and ethnic background), *tidak melakukan diskriminasi atas dasar apapun* (no discrimination based on any reason), and *menghentikan segala jenis tindakan diskriminasi* (stopping any form of discrimination) was mentioned once each.

The diction *tanpa membedakan ras* (without racial discrimination) was mentioned by Nurhayati Ali Assegaf, who reminded Secretary General of IPU about the violence against Rohingya. She stated that article 2 of the universal declaration of human rights stipulates that a state is responsible for protecting and respecting human rights without discrimination of racial, skin color, gender, language, religious, political view, and social status (DPR, 2017h). She also mentioned the diction *menghentikan diskriminasi* (stopping discrimination) during the meeting of Women of AIPA in September 2017, in which she urged Myanmar to stop discrimination, violence, and oppression that violate the principles of democracy (DPR, 2017r). Meanwhile the diction *semua warga berhak hidup dengan damai* (all citizens have a right to live peacefully) was mentioned by Nurhayati when welcoming the representatives of the UNHCR high commissioner, Thomas Vargas, in DPR RI Building, Jakarta on 3 November 2017. She agreed with Thomas Vargas, who asserted that humanitarian tragedy experienced by Rohingya people in Rakhine State was humanitarian problems, not religious problems, and all citizens have a right to live peacefully (DPR, 2017j).

The diction *terlepas dari agama atau suku apapun* (regardless of religious and ethnic background) was mentioned by the member of Commission I of DPR RI, Dave Akbarshah Fikarno during the joint meeting with the minister of foreign affairs on 11 September 2017. He asserted that Rohingya people are human, regardless of their religious or ethnic background, they are human being who are recognized by the international law to have equal rights (DPR, 2017p). Furthermore, the dictions *tidak melakukan diskriminasi atas dasar apapun* (no discrimination based on any reason) and *menghentikan segala jenis tindakan diskriminasi* (stopping any form of discrimination) were mentioned by Nurhayati Ali Assegaf during the International Humanitarian Law Assembly, as one of the agendas of the 139th IPU in Geneva, Swiss from 14 to 18 October 2018. She asked Myanmar to prioritize the humanity principles and not commit any discrimination based on any reason, including racial discrimination (DPR, 2018g). Assegaf also appreciated IPU for managing to find achieve resolution for stopping any form of discrimination experienced by Rohingya ethnic group in Rakhine, Myanmar (DPR, 2018g).

Meanwhile, the president mentioned two dictions in inclusivity cluster: the diction *tidak terdapat diskriminasi* (no discrimination) and *inklusifitas* (inclusivity), which was mentioned once each. The diction *tidak terdapat diskriminasi* (no discrimination) and *inklusif* (inclusive) were mentioned by the president during the plenary session of the 33rd ASEAN high-level conference in Singapore. He stated that Indonesia and ASEAN were ready to help Myanmar Government to create a conducive situation in Rakhine State, a condition in which freedom of movement was respected, no discrimination, and the development was done inclusively (Setneg, 2018b).

The minister of the foreign affairs mentioned dictions in this cluster six times. The word *inklusif/inklusifitas* (inclusive/inclusivity) was mentioned five times, while the diction *stabilitas bagi semua komunitas* (stability for all community) was mentioned once. The word *inklusif /inklusifitas* (inclusive/inclusivity) was mentioned by the minister when she met the State Counselor of Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi, in Naypyidaw on 6 December 2016. She stated that it was important to realize security and stability in Rakhine State in order to realize an inclusive development in this area (Prabowo, 2016). And during her remarks when sending reliefs on 21 January 2017, she asserted that Indonesia was highly committed to inclusive development in Myanmar (Putra, 2017). The minister also mentioned about the inclusivity when meeting with the Commander of Armed Forces of Myanmar, Senior General U Min

Aung Hlaing in Naypyidaw in 4 September 2017. Minister Retno hoped that the security authority could return the security and stability in Rakhine State in order to continue the transport of humanitarian relief, rehabilitation process, and inclusive development efforts (Erdianto, 2017b). Meanwhile, the diction *stabilitas bagi semua komunitas* (stability for all community) was mentioned by the minister, who hoped that her meeting with the State Counselor would relieve the humanity and stability for all community, especially the Muslim community in Rakhine State (Erdianto, 2017a).

The next principle was neutrality. As displayed in Chart 1.4. The dicitons were not clustered as this principle consisted of only three dicitons, namely *tidak memihak* (being impartial), *netral* (neutral), and the diction *bukan mau menyudutkan Myanmar* (did not mean to corner Myanmar). Only few online news that are related to the neutrality principle in DPR RI member's, president's, and minister's statements.

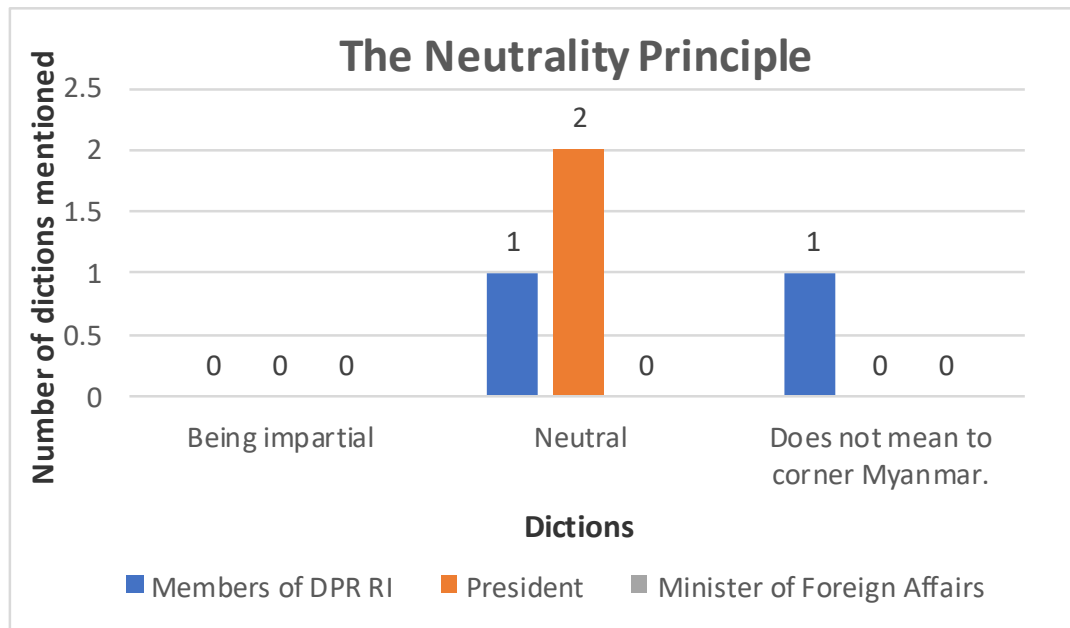


Chart 1.4

Source: Data Processing

DPR RI members mentioned the diction *netral* (neutral) and the diction *bukan mau menyudutkan Myanmar* (did not mean to corner Myanmar) once each. Meanwhile DPR RI members did not mention the diction *tidak memihak* (being impartial). The diction *netral* (neutral) was mentioned by the member of Commission I of DPR RI, Ida Fauziyah, who urged the Indonesian government to stop humanitarian crime against Rohingya. She viewed that only Indonesia had the potential to initiate the resolution of this problem due to its neutrality in ASEAN geopolitics (DPR, 2017n). Meanwhile, the diction *bukan mau menyudutkan Myanmar* (did not mean to corner Myanmar) was mentioned by the member of BKSAP DPR RI, Jazuli Juwaini, after attending the meeting of AIPA political committee in Singapore on 5 September. He stated his delegation did not mean to intervene a country's sovereignty. However, as it deals with human rights, he and his delegation aimed to find solutions, not to corner Myanmar (DPR, 2018f).

Meanwhile, the president mentioned the diction *netral* (neutral) twice. It was mentioned when the president met the participants of National Coordination Meeting of Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB) on 28 November 2017, in the presidential palace, Jakarta. He stated that Indonesia's neutrality made Myanmar and Bangladesh accepted the given reliefs (Setneg, 2018c). Meanwhile, the minister was not found to make statements related to neutrality principle.

The next principle is independence. It consists of two clusters: respect and non-interference, as shown in chart 1.5. The first cluster, i.e., respect, consists of two dictions: *menghormati kedaulatan* (respecting sovereignty) and *kedaulatan sebuah negara harus dihormati* (a state's sovereignty should be respected). Meanwhile, the cluster of non-interference consists of six dictions: *bukan intervensi atas kedaulatan* (not an intervention of sovereignty), *bukan ingin mengintervensi kedaulatan* (did not intend to interfere sovereignty), *tanpa bermaksud mengintervensi* (did not mean to intervene), *tanpa mencampuri atau intervensi*, (without intervention), *tanpa mengintervensi politik* (without political intervention), and *tidak punya kepentingan* (had no interest).

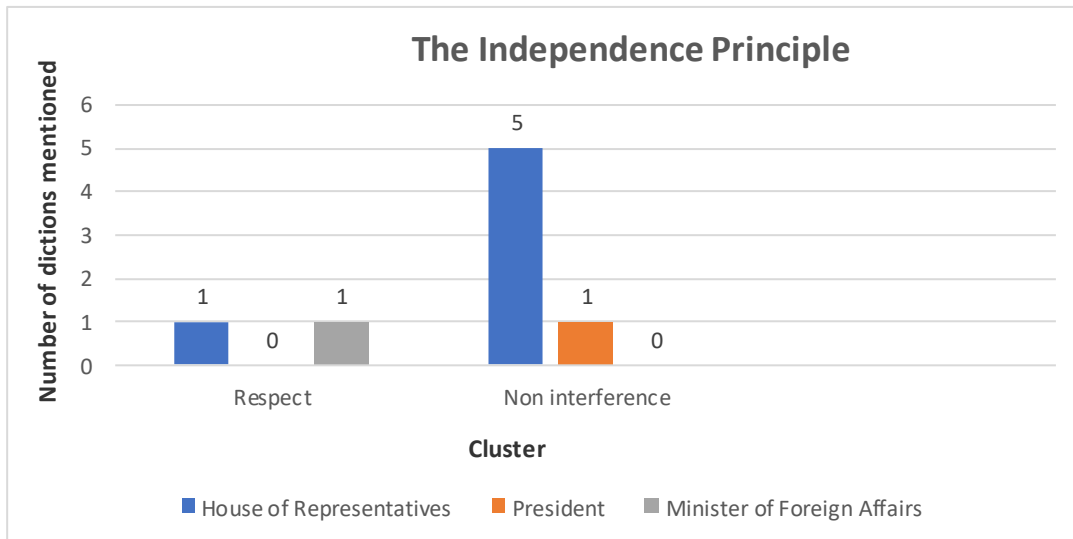


Chart 1.5  
Source: Data Processing

Regarding the first cluster, only one diction was mentioned by the DPR RI members, i.e., *menghormati kedaulatan* (respecting sovereignty). Meanwhile, DPR RI members did not mention the diction *kedaulatan sebuah negara harus dihormati* (a state's sovereignty should be respected). The diction *menghormati kedaulatan* (respecting sovereignty) was mentioned by Fadli Zon, who shared his concern about the political crisis, i.e., coup d'état, which would hinder the resolution of humanitarian tragedy of Rohingya people, and stated that other country's sovereignty should be respected. However, he said, non-interference should not mean that ASEAN was passive regarding situations in Myanmar (DPR, 2021).

Indonesian president, Joko Widodo did not mention any dictions in this cluster. However, the minister of foreign affairs, Retno Marsudi mentioned one diction in this cluster, i.e., *kedaulatan sebuah negara harus dihormati* (a state's sovereignty should be respected). This diction was mentioned by minister Retno Marsudi, who stated that the Indonesian government engages in intense diplomacy to resolve humanitarian conflicts in Rakhine, Myanmar and the diplomacy was performed carefully without causing commotion, considering that Rohingya conflict was a sensitive issue related to sovereign a state that should be respected (Kompas, 2017).

Regarding the non-interference cluster, almost all dictions in this cluster were mentioned by DPR RI members once each. Only the diction *tidak punya kepentingan* (had no interest) was not mentioned by DPR RI members. The diction *tanpa bermaksud mengintervensi* (did not mean to intervene) and *tanpa mencampuri atau intervensi* (without intervention) was mentioned by the member of Commission I of DPR RI, Jazuli Juwaini during the plenary assembly in DPR RI Building, Senayan, Jakarta on 28 August

2017. He urged the Indonesian government to take stance in responding the violence against Rohingya Muslim community which did not mean to intervene Myanmar's domestic affairs. He believed that Indonesia was responsible for participating in maintaining the world's order and should respond to human right violation committed by Myanmar Government (DPR, 2017m). Further, Jazuli Juwaini stated that without intervention or intervening in certain countries such as Myanmar, however, if there were a slaughtered or killed human lives in a country, it must be stopped (DPR, 2017m). Meanwhile, the diction *bukan intervensi atas kedaulatan* (not an intervention of sovereignty) and *bukan ingin mengintervensi kedaulatan* (did not intend to interfere sovereignty) were mentioned by Jazuli Juwaini after attending AIPA Political Committee Assembly in Singapore, 5 September 2018. He stated that Rohingya issue discussed in the 39th AIPA General Assembly of Political Committee was not an intervention of Myanmar's sovereignty and instead it was a form of care for human rights that should be met (DPR, 2018f). He also stated that DPR RI delegation did not intend to intervene a state's sovereignty. However, because it is related to basic human right, DPR delegation intends to find solutions for Rohingya. Furthermore, the diction *tanpa mengintervensi politik* (without political intervention) was mentioned by the vice speaker of DPR, Taufik Kurniawan, who urged Indonesian government to provide concrete solutions for humanitarian crisis of Rohingya ethnic, without political intervention in Myanmar and Indonesia should provide solution more on the humanitarian aspect to eliminate genocide a group of people (DPR, 2017q).

Meanwhile, the president only mentioned one diction in non-interference cluster, i.e., *tidak punya kepentingan* (had no interest) which was mentioned only once. It was mentioned when the president met the member of national coordination meeting of Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB) on 28 November 2017 in Presidential Palace, Jakarta. The president stated that Indonesia had built communications with Myanmar and Bangladesh without being known by the public, such as meeting with Myanmar military and Bangladesh Prime Minister, which could be realized because Indonesia was perceived to be neutral and had no interest (Setneg, 2018c).

Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi did not mention any dictions in this cluster. However, she mentioned a diction in the cluster of respect, i.e., a state's sovereignty should be respected.

## **Conclusion**

Humanitarian crisis in Myanmar had brought misery for Rohingya ethnic, and the Myanmar government's discrimination had caused prolonged misery. The violence on 9 October 2016 caused a hundred people to die, another hundreds of people to be detained in military prison, 1200 building destroyed, tens of women raped, and 150.000 refugees left without foods and medicine. This condition made Indonesia, as an ASEAN member and a country upholding peace, opposed the prolonged humanitarian crisis in Rakhine State. Indonesia, through DPR RI (the house of representatives of Indonesia), President, and the minister of foreign affairs, engaged in humanitarian diplomacy to solve humanitarian crisis on Rohingya ethnic.

Our content analysis of the news in 2015-2021 on DPR RI members, the president, and the minister of foreign affairs' statements showed that out of four principles of humanitarian diplomacy (i.e., humanity, impartiality, neutrality, and independence), the principle of humanity was the most dominant principle upheld by DPR RI members, President, and minister of foreign affairs. In other words, DPR RI, President, and the minister of foreign affairs focused more on relieving the suffering of the most vulnerable parties in humanitarian crisis, in this case was Rohingya ethnic. The issue of peace became the focus of DPR RI members, President, and the minister of foreign affairs although other issues such as human rights & humanity, basic needs fulfillment and refugee resolution were often brought up or under the spotlight by members of the DPR RI, the President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs when conducting humanitarian diplomacy.



However, this did not mean that the other three principles of humanitarian diplomacy were not implemented by members of the DPR RI, the President or the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The three principles of humanitarian diplomacy such as impartiality, neutrality, and independence were still being implemented even though they received less attention. This was reflected in the statements of members of DPR RI, the President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs who mentioned a lot of diction which means humanity principle compared to the meaning of the other three principles of humanitarian diplomacy.

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