

**EFFORTS OF INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT TOWARDS
BANGLADESH FOR DEALING WITH REFUGEE PROBLEM**

Thesis



By

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Supervisor:

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**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
PROGRAM MAGISTER ILMU SOSIAL
POSTGRADUATE PROGRAM
PARAHYANGAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY**

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EFFORTS OF INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT TOWARDS BANGLADESH FOR DEALING WITH REFUGEE PROBLEM

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ABSTRAK

Orang-orang Rohingya disebut-sebut sebagai orang yang paling dituntut di dunia dan mereka cenderung mencari suaka di Bangladesh karena itu adalah negara tetangga Myanmar. Namun, setelah pembantaian baru-baru ini pada 25 Agustus 2017, Bangladesh telah menghadapi gelombang pengungsi terbesar. Oleh karena itu, untuk meringankan beban Bangladesh, pemerintah Indonesia telah memberikan bantuan kepada Bangladesh. Dalam tesis ini, dicoba untuk mencari tahu apa saja bantuan langsung seperti bantuan kemanusiaan dan bantuan tidak langsung yang diberikan oleh Indonesia terhadap Bangladesh. Tesis ini juga membahas tentang hubungan bilateral antara Bangladesh dan Indonesia untuk menunjukkan hubungan baik antara negara-negara dan juga tentang sejarah dan penyebab migrasi kuat Rohingya. Seiring dengan hubungan dengan Bangladesh, ada upaya untuk memberikan gambaran sekilas tentang strategi Indonesia untuk menjaga hubungan baik dengan Myanmar melalui diplomasi kemanusiaan. Dalam tesis, teori liberalisme institusional telah digunakan untuk menunjukkan pembantaian terhadap Rohingya adalah pelanggaran hak asasi manusia dan untuk alasan masyarakat internasional serta pemerintah Indonesia telah memperpanjang tangan mereka melalui bantuan kemanusiaan yang juga merupakan salah satu konsep dari tesis. Akhirnya, konsep diplomasi kemanusiaan telah ditambahkan untuk menggambarkan bantuan kemanusiaan sebagai bagian dari diplomasi kemanusiaan.

Kata kunci: bantuan kemanusiaan, diplomasi kemanusiaan, Rohingya, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Liberalisme kelembagaan, migrasi paksa.

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ABSTRACT

Rohingya people are mentioned as the most prosecuted people in the world and they tend to seek asylum in Bangladesh as it is the neighboring country of Myanmar. However, after the recent massacre in 25th August, 2017, Bangladesh has faced the biggest influx of refugee. Therefore, to ease the burden of Bangladesh, Indonesian government has extended the helping hand towards Bangladesh. In the thesis, it is tried to find out what are the direct assistances such as humanitarian assistance and indirect assistances are given by Indonesia towards Bangladesh. The thesis also discussed about the bilateral relationship between Bangladesh and Indonesia to show the good relationship between the countries and also about the history and causes of Rohingya's forceful migration. Along with the relationship with Bangladesh, there was a try to give glimpse of Indonesia's strategy to maintain good relationship with Myanmar through humanitarian diplomacy. In thesis, institutional liberalism theory has been used to show massacre against Rohingya is a human right violation and for the reason international community as well as Indonesian government have extended their hand through humanitarian assistance which is also one of the concepts of the thesis. Finally, humanitarian diplomacy concept has been added to describe the humanitarian assistance as a part of humanitarian diplomacy.

Key words: humanitarian assistance, humanitarian diplomacy, Rohingya, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Institutional liberalism, forced migration.

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Bandung, 2018.

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ACRONYMS

ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Anions
APSC	ASEAN Political Security Community
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ARSA	Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army
ACT	Aksi Cepat Tanggap
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for MultiSectoral Technica and Economic Cooperation
BCIM	Bangladesh–China–India–Myanmar Forum
BTB	Bangladesh Tourism Board
CIRDAP	Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific
D8	Developing-8
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GHR	Global Humanitarian Response
G2G	Government to Government
HPC	Humanitarian Principle Cycle
HC	Humanitarian Coordinators
HCT	Humanitarian Country Team
IASC	The Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IHA	Indonesian Humanitarian Aid
IASFM	The International Association for the Study of Forced Migration
IORA	Indian-Ocean Rim Association
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IOM	International Organization for Migration
INKA	industri Kereta Api
KNB	Kemtriaan Negara Berkembang
LNG	liquid Natural Gas

MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NLD	National League of Democracy
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
PTA	Preferential Trade Agreement
PPD	Partnership in Population Development
SOS	Sympathy of Solidarity
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAFTA	The South Asian Free Trade Area
SPS	The Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures
TBT	Technical Barriers to Trade
UN	United Nation
UNCAC	United Nations Convention against Corruption
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational,Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Research Background

Bangladesh and Indonesia shares a good bilateral relationship especially in the sector of economic and cultural. The details about the bilateral relationship in the chapter two has been described with proper arguments. Again, Indonesia and Myanmar has also good diplomatic relationship which I have broadly discussed in the chapter 4. Indonesia has been a very crucial actor in dealing with Rohingya refugee as an ASEAN member Indonesia have to maintain good bilateral relationship with Myanmar but also have to maintain its domestic politics by not hurting religious sentiment of its own country and additionally as a good friend of Bangladesh , in this drastic situation Indonesia also playing an active role , such as bridging gap between Bangladesh and Myanmar by lobbying both countries in the recent refugee problem of Bangladesh. Not only that, Indonesia extended its hand by consisting humanitarian alliance for delivering humanitarian assistance to the Rohingya refugee who are presently residing in Bangladesh. Later on, the introduction of the Rohingya has been discussed in details.

The Rohingya refugee have been forcefully driven from Myanmar and It has been always a crucial problem and also barrier between Bangladesh and Myanmar relationship though both nations share border and always been a good friend in other relationship such as economic or cultural.

The bilateral relationship between Bangladesh and Myanmar had started right after independence of Bangladesh on 16 December 1971. In fact, Myanmar is one of the first countries who recognized Bangladesh as an independent country on 13 January 1972. The cordial and warm relationship have started after the establishment of the embassy of Myanmar in Dhaka, Bangladesh on 21 March 1972¹. Both Bangladesh and Myanmar share economic, political, socio-cultural relationship. They both are members of regional cooperation BIMSTEC, BCIM and SAARC. The politics of Myanmar are very different from Bangladesh. Myanmar has had a military junta since 1962.² Pederson (2013) explained Myanmar as a repressive military ruled and internationally isolated country.

The bilateral issues between Bangladesh and Myanmar are mainly Rohingya refugees, maritime boundary, land border management, trade and investment, connectivity, energy and natural resources, regional and sub-regional cooperation.³

¹ Website of Myanmar Embassy in Bangladesh,
<http://www.myanmarembassydhaka.com/myanmar-bangladesh-bilateral-relationships/> (retrieved on March 21)

² Prospects of regional cooperation in trade, investment and finance in Asia: an empirical analysis on BIMSTEC countries and Japan, Swapan K. Bhattacharya Biswas. Bhattacharyay, CESIFO Working Paper No. 1725 Category 7: Trade Policy May 2006

³ Collective Action in Burma - Utrecht University Repository, ET Steehouwer - 2014

In 1979 Bangladesh-Myanmar signed land boundary agreement, on border business and economic alliance, three MoUs signed in 1989, border trade protocol and Bangladesh-Myanmar Friendship Road Link signed by both parties in 1994 and in 2007 respectively. Finally, joint Commission for Bilateral Cooperation and also a MoU to establish a Joint Business Council (JBC) were signed between two parties in 2011.⁴ In the field of culture, travel and economic/ trade both countries share a significant and friendly bilateral relationship.

The relationship between Bangladesh and Myanmar is becoming deep after the election Aung san Su Kyi was keen to develop good relationship with neighbors as well as with Bangladesh. Bangladesh is also trying to overcome the past situation and developing the diplomatic relationship.⁵ As a part of developing the tie, Bangladesh always tries to show the cultural similarity between tribes of Bangladesh and Rakhine people of Myanmar. Bangladesh also arranged a program to introduce Bangla culture in Bengali new year at Bangladesh embassy Myanmar. The political delegates attended the program, which is a positive sign. The program was actually arranged by tribe of Bangladesh and they point out the cultural similarity such as their dress, food, house and also their appearance.⁶

⁴ Myanmar – Bangladesh Relations: Challenges and Opportunities by Myint Maung Tun , Myanmarisis , 2016

⁵ Bangladeshi Newspaper, the independent ;
<http://www.theindependentbd.com/home/printnews/54742> ; retrieved on 27 February

⁶ <https://www.bdembassyangon.org/celebration-of-bangla-new-year-and-thingyan-2016/>; retrieved on 21 March

Having the similar economic challenges, there are many fields of joint working in agriculture, energy, services and banking sector between the two countries. Establishing a special economic zone , based on agriculture in Cox's Bazar and Bandarban, has also been proposed.⁷ Myanmar's geographical position is very important for the neighboring countries because its rich in natural resources. This country can be used as an important gateway to China and Southeast Asian countries. The country could become a potential source of natural gas supply. Bangladesh also showed interest in importing gas from Myanmar.⁸

Along with India and China, Bangladesh and Myanmar have already started work with BCIM Corridor⁹. Though Bangladesh is the 4th largest rice producer in the world and already have signed agreement with Vietnam and Cambodia for feeding 160 million people, still Bangladesh has to import rice from neighboring country Myanmar as Burmese rice has demand in Bangladesh. Despite of border and Rohingya problem, food minister Qamrul Islam declared, "We'll buy 100,000 tons of white rice from Myanmar at \$442 a ton," according to the September

⁷ <http://www.newagebd.net/print/article/2665> ; retrieved on 22 march

⁸ <https://consult-myanmar.com/2015/11/17/fresh-move-to-import-gas-from-myanmar/> ; retrieved on 22 march

⁹ Bangladeshi Newspaper, The Daily Star;<https://www.thedailystar.net/business/bcim-corridor-deepen-trade-ties-1296658> ; retrieved on 22 march)

report.¹⁰ On the other hand, Bangladesh has good market value in Myanmar in the field of pharmaceutical. Bangladesh exported pharmaceutical products worth 577,245,16 US dollar to Myanmar according to EPB 2016-17 report.¹¹

Bangladesh – Myanmar has many internal conflicts. Myanmar's slow pace of democracy took a significant step when the leader of National Party Aung San Su Kyi was elected. Through this new era of democracy begins in Myanmar, Myanmar's political situation has changed significantly after the democratic government came to power. As a result, other countries like Bangladesh have also made a possibility of improving Myanmar's bilateral relations. Following the coup of 1962, the government of Myanmar's under-construction government led the country with a narrow national sentiment.

They have emphasized on military solutions to solve the bilateral crisis with neighboring countries for political solutions. This situation has changed slightly in the 2015 election due to the conquest of Aung San Suu Kyi-led National League for Democracy (NLD). After more than 50 years, the first elected civilian leader

¹⁰ Indonesia Newspaper, Jakarta Globe;<http://jakartaglobe.id/international/bangladesh-sets-aside-rift-myanmar-ease-rice-shortage/>; retrieved on 24 march)

¹¹Government website of Export promotion bureau of Bangladesh ; <http://www.epb.gov.bd/site/files/51916ae6-a9a3-462e-a6bd-9ef074d835af/Statistic-Data-2016-2017> ; retrieved on 23 March

Thin Kia took the responsibility of the new president of the country. After coming to power, he started a comprehensive reform program.¹²

Myanmar adopted Panchsheela policy to ensure peaceful coexistence between the two countries.¹³ Like India, Bangladesh also wants to remove the existing bitterness of bilateral relations with its neighboring countries including Myanmar. Myanmar's foreign policy remained unchanged after the new government came, but there was a change in strategies to tackle the problem¹⁴.

Both Myanmar and Bangladesh are putting more emphasis on existing problems in their political proposals. However, at the same time, both sides know that existing obstacles will not be eliminated in one day. Keeping this in mind, the two countries are trying to deepen bilateral relations. The major obstacles to Myanmar-Bangladesh were the dispute over the Rohingya issue, the maritime boundary and the Naf river boundary. Other problems are not as intense as before like Rohingya problem.

Bangladesh has a historic relationship with Myanmar. Myanmar has seen Bangladesh in light of controversy over Rohingya issue for several years. Bangladesh also considered Myanmar through a controversy arising from issues

¹² BBC world news; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-34805806>; retrieved on 24 march

¹³ Online News Paper Global Times ; <http://www.globaltimes.cn/daily-specials/peace-principles-60th-anniversary/index.html> ; retrieved on 24 March

¹⁴ The NLD and Myanmar's Foreign Policy: Not New, But Different, Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 36, 1, 89–121 by Maung, Aung Myoe (2017)

related to communal violence and shelter in this minority group of Rakhine state. However, Myanmar was able to realize that the attitude of relations between the two countries needs to change. Bangladesh was also willing to extend the relationship by removing the refugee issue.

However, the issue became intense again when violence burst significantly in Rakhine state on August 25, 2017 and numbers of Rohingya who have fled to Bangladesh exceeded half a million. There were already about 300,000 Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh before this latest exodus. "We are dealing with an unprecedented flow of people in terms of numbers," said Peppy Siddique, project manager of International Organization for Migration. According to newspaper February 5, 2018, the total number of Rohingya is 560,000. It is the biggest refugee settlement in the world, according to UNHCR.¹⁵ Which is now 900,000 , according to report.¹⁶

The latest violence can be seen on August 25, 2017 when Rohingya insurgents who became aggressive and rebellious to get their rights, attacked 30 police posts and they were armed with knives and used homemade bombs for the destruction. A group named 'Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA)' accepted responsibility for the attack. The group, which is from remote hill area Ma Yu of North Rakhine was formerly known as 'Haraka al-Yakin'.

¹⁵ Official website of United Nations; news section;
<https://news.un.org/en/story/2017/09/564722-un-and-partners-aiding-unprecedented-flow-refugees-myanmar> ; retrieved on 2 April

¹⁶ Website of UNHCR , in the sector of Data;
https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/myanmar_refugees ; retrieved on 27 July

After the attack, the Myanmar army started an operation on Rohingya. In response to the attack military troops, backed by Buddhist mobs killed and raped people of Rakhine state. Their homes are burned also. For that reason, huge number of Rohingya people fled in Bangladesh border to save their lives. Through satellite images the destruction of Rohingya Muslim villages had been proved.¹⁷

1.2 Research problem identification:

In the above it has been already mentioned that the main problem between Bangladesh and Myanmar is the Rohingya refugee problem, the problem became more intense after the recent massacre on 25th August though this is not the first time Rohingyas are been forcefully displaced from their homeland. It is being said that they are "the world's most persecuted minority". They are an ethnic group, most of them are Muslim, and who have lived for decades in Myanmar, where majority of people is Buddhist. Presently, there are almost 1.1 million Rohingyas who dwell in the Southeast Asian countries. The Rohingya talks Rohingya or Ruaingga, a dialect that is different to others spoken in Rakhine State and within Myanmar. After the independence of Myanmar, violent conflicts broke out among various ethnic groups in many places of Myanmar. Therefore, being vulnerable and unsafe that time Rohingya people wanted autonomous area for themselves though they were rejected by calling foreigners.¹⁸

¹⁷ BBC news ; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41160679> ; retrieved on 2 April

¹⁸ Aljazeera news; <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/08/rohingya-muslims-170831065142812.html>; retrieved on 2 April

However, they were given identity under the generational provision because according to the provision Rohingya families who had lived in Myanmar for at least two generations could get the identity cards. It means still they were accepted in Myanmar, not only that, that time, many of them had served in the parliament also. Military coup in 1962 were a curse for the Rohingya people. They were no longer getting any access to education, jobs or any social status. Finally, in 1982, the government of Myanmar passed a law regarding citizenship where they are not thought as one of the country's 135 official ethnic groups.¹⁹

Therefore, the sufferings and exclusion of Rohingya ethnic officially had begun from 1982. Till now, this is one of the controversial issue in the international arena. Bangladesh has been always a victim with the Rohingya refugee problem being a neighboring country. However, the latest influx of approximately 900,000 Rohingya people has become a huge problem for Bangladesh government.²⁰ As being a small and developing country, Bangladesh is not able to bear the burden of 900,000 people, so it urges help from Indonesia as Indonesia has been always concern for the Rohingya refugee problem and has access in Myanmar for talking about the issue because Myanmar is an isolated and allows limited permission to media or Unite Nation for discussing about the issue.

¹⁹ The Washington Post ;
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/04/29/the-battle-over-the-word-rohingya/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.fa798108925b ; retrieved on 2 April

²⁰ Rohingya Refugee Crisis and Forest Cover Change in Teknaf, Bangladesh by Mohammad Mehedy Hassan , Audrey Culver Smith , Katherine Walke, Munshi Khaledur Rahman 2 and Jane Southworth, Published: 30 April 2018

1.2.1 Research Focus

The foreign minister's initiative to visit Myanmar and Bangladesh in 2016 is the prove that Indonesia is very serious about the issue. As part of the initiative, in the meeting of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers in Myanmar, Indonesia Foreign Minister Retno Marsuudi came to Dhaka on 20 December 2016. Myanmar State Councilor and Aung San Suu Kyi held a meeting in Myanmar on 19 December 2016 with the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN countries to update the latest state of violence in Rakhine province. While visiting Bangladesh, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ratanoto Marsudy went to Kutupalong Rohingya refugee camp in Teknaf, Ukhia. Bangladesh Foreign Minister AH Mahmood Ali and State Minister for Foreign Affairs Shahriar Alam accompanied her. After visiting the refugee camp, the Indonesian minister stated, "The situation of the refugees is very bad and the international community should do more to help the refugees." The Foreign Minister of Indonesia also met Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina alongside meeting with the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh.²¹

Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina had visited Indonesia on March 6 to participate the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) Summit, an alliance of Indian Ocean Territory. The conference held in Indonesia's capital Jakarta on 5-7 March,2017. In the sideline of the Summit the Prime Minister had bilateral meeting with Indonesian President Joko Widodo. In the meeting, Bangladesh

²¹ Newspaper Kompas ;
<https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2016/12/20/18270131/retno.kunjungi.pengungsi.rohingya.kita.harus.lebih.keras.bantu.mereka> ; retrieved on 2 May

Prime Minister plead the Indonesian president to play an effective role in repatriating the Myanmar refugees from Bangladesh.²²

As only Indonesia has access to light upon the Rohingya refugee issue with Myanmar. Indonesia can lobby on behalf of Bangladesh for the safe repatriation of Rohingya refugee as their origin is in Rakhine state, Myanmar. Indeed, Indonesia has proposed 4+1 formula for proper and quick solution for the issue. They have also tried to be a median for solving the issue. Other effort Indonesia is putting for alleviating burden of Bangladesh is by providing humanitarian assistance.²³The efforts of Indonesia in dealing with problem either politically or through humanitarian response and how Indonesia is taking valuable steps for maintaining relationship with both of the nations are the main research focus of the thesis.

1.2.2 Research Question

How does Indonesia assist Bangladesh government in tackling the Rohingya refugee problem?

1.2.3 Objective and Contribution of the research

1.2.4 Objective:

This research is aimed at describing Indonesia's efforts in assisting Bangladesh to deal with Rohingya refugee problem.

²² Newspaper, The Daily Star; <https://www.thedailystar.net/country/PM-reaches-Jakarta-to-join-IORA-Summit-1371718> ; retrieved on 2 May

²³ Newspaper , independent Bangladesh ; <http://www.theindependentbd.com/post/112604> ; retrieved on 2 May

1.2.5 Contribution:

This research will provide reference for scholars who are concerned with issue of refugees and humanitarian aid.

1.3 Literature review:

There are some articles which argues about the relationship with ASEAN and Bangladesh such as the article named is ‘An Evaluation of the Trade Relations of Bangladesh with ASEAN: Justification of Being a Future Member’ (Mohammad Shahidul Islam, Iftekhar Uddin Ahmed Chowdhury, 2012). In the study, writer used statistical data to show the opportunity of Bangladesh to reduce trade dependency on the western world by developing relationship with ASEAN countries. The statistical theory such as financial ratio, percentage, mean, growth, covariance, and hypothesis test have been used to prove his two arguments: a) The growth rate of total trade deficit of Bangladesh with ASEAN and the growth rate of total trade deficit with the whole world are equal and b) The export-import ratio of Bangladesh to ASEAN countries and the export-import ratio with whole world are equal. In the paper he used export import data from 1999-2010. He concluded the article by stating that the ration of export-import between Bangladesh and ASEAN countries are mostly stable.²⁴

²⁴ An Evaluation of the Trade Relations of Bangladesh with ASEAN: Justification of Being a Future Member by Mohammad Shahidul Islam and Iftekhar Uddin Ahmed Chowdhury

Some articles also made argumentations about role of ASEAN in Rohingya crisis , like ‘Comparative Study of the Roles of ASEAN and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation in Responding to the Rohingya Crisis’ by Irwin Jati (July 2017) and ‘ASEAN Human Rights Dilemma: The Plight of the Rohingyas in Myanmar’ by Rohaida Nordin, Dayang Faizah bt Awang Maliki (December 2016), Devica Rully Masrur and Hamed Hashemi, both articles argued about the roles of ASEAN and limitations of the role because of their policy of non-interference. The First article is based on the comparative studies in the sector of providing humanitarian assistance toward Rohingya crisis. the comparison is between two recognized regional organizations, ASEAN and OIC. The arguments of the both articles focused on bilateral and multilateral approach of ASEAN and argued that ASEAN’s non-intervene principle and organizational policy has limited the power of ASEAN in this case. However, the writer of the previous article concluded his writing by saying that, OIC was much more responsive in the humanitarian assistance rather than ASEAN and the other article was concluded through referring some recommendation to deal with the dilemma and also saying that ASEAN should give a second thought of its mechanism policy.²⁵

The next existing article is about latest exodus and humanitarian assistance to Rohingya refugee. The article namely, ‘Rohingya Crisis and The Concerns for Bangladesh’ by Md Thuhid Noor, Md Shahidul Islam & Saha Forid (December 2017) describes that how the last exodus of Rohingya refugee can be threat to host

²⁵ Comparative Study of the Roles of ASEAN and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation in Responding to the Rohingya Crisis by Irwan Jati

country in the field of food security, national security, environmental issues and tourism as the host country itself is a poor and over populated country. The Rohingya refugee camp is situated in the Cox's Bazar which is one of the main tourist attractions of Bangladesh. The article also focused on restricted and unrestricted humanitarian assistances of the International community and also evaluate the responsibility of Bangladesh as a host country. The article showed concern for the host country and pointed out the miserable situation of Rohingya refugees and also Bangladesh by mentioning Rohingya refugees 'unbearable burden' and concluded by urging consideration for taking them back by Myanmar with the help of international legal instruments.²⁶

The thesis paper titled, 'Bangladesh-Myanmar bilateral relations and regional implication' by Sonia Farhana Rahman (July 2014), focused on diplomatic relationship between Bangladesh and Myanmar and what r their internal conflict. How Myanmar's long term military rule is the main obstacle for them to build the relationship. However, the ice between the countries now going to melt little by little as Myanmar is now in the transition from military to democratic country. Writer used the realism theory in her thesis to describe the national security of both countries.

Mainly, she describes the probability to build the relationship gracefully which will be beneficial for both of the counties as they are the neighbors, she argued that, if the problems such as Rohingya Problem, land and maritime border

²⁶ 'Rohingya Crisis and The Concerns for Bangladesh' by Md Thuhid Noor, Md Shahidul Islam & Saha Forid (December 2017)

conflicts, drug trafficking issues between Myanmar and Bangladesh can be solved or at least can be reduced the diplomatic relationship would be great as Bangladesh has with other neighboring countries. Additionally, she also argues that regional and sub-regional corporation such as BIMSTEC, SAARC, ASEAN, BCIM, ARF has contribution to build up the friendly relationship between the nations.²⁷

As we all know Rohingya community has been prosecuted and forcefully driven away from Myanmar for many years. AKM Ullah in his article namely 'Rohingya Refugees to Bangladesh: Historical Exclusions and Contemporary Marginalization' (June 2011) argued that they had been abused and tortured by Myanmar Military government and forcefully migrated. They fled to Bangladesh for a safe life but Bangladesh is seeing them as burden and forced to repatriated as Bangladesh cannot provide them proper assistance. He started his writing with a meaning quote of Kofi Anan saying, no one can understand the sufferings of refugee if they are not forcefully displaced. He explained how exclusion policy of Myanmar junta government forced them to leave the country.

He named them Arakani minorities and also described that historically they were deprived from their basic needs and rights which violated human rights of this minority group. In the end he concluded that the conflict is prone to cleansing

²⁷ 'Bangladesh-Myanmar bilateral relations and regional implication' by Sonia Farhana Rahman (July 2014)

ethnic minorities with the consent of state and Bangladesh doesn't want to give them shelter as it doesn't have ability to protect them.²⁸

1.4 Theoretical framework

To understand the research topic and to find out the answer of the research question, theories can be a logical and legal instrument. In my research I would like to refer the theory of diplomacy, forced migration, liberalism, conflict theory, humanitarian assistance and humanitarian diplomacy.

Firstly, the main reason to choose 'diplomacy' as one of the theories is to understand relationship between two countries diplomacy is needed. Therefore, firstly, I would like to give to reference to diplomacy theory. According to KM Panikar it is the art of forwarding one's interest in relation to other countries. The relation is developed through negotiation and it is the method of adjusting and managing the relationship by the ambassadors (Harold Nicolson). Through mutual consent diplomatic relationship is established.

It is the mechanism to represent country to the other nation and promoting national interest by peaceful means (Hans j Morgenthau). Sir Earnest Satow defined it as an application of intelligence and a tact for conducting official relationship between governments of two independent states.²⁹ Again Frankel

²⁸ 'Rohingya Refugees to Bangladesh: Historical Exclusions and Contemporary Marginalization' by AKM Ullah

²⁹ European scientific journal february 2015 edition vol.11, no.4 issn: 1857 – 7881 (print) e - issn 1857- 7431 504 International politics of gay rights and nigeria-us diplomatic relations Faith Olanrewaju, Felix Chidozie Adekunle Olanrewaju

argued it as an inevitable outcome of the coexistence of separate political units (states) with any degree of contact. Therefore, diplomacy is the process through which two independent nations start their legal and open relationship.³⁰

The diplomacy can be bilateral or multilateral. If the relationship is between two countries that mode of diplomacy called bilateral relationship. Diplomacy craft ways for progressing the relationship between two countries and bilateral diplomacy refers when where and how the ways can be made. The relationship is mainly strategic and peripheral. However, sometimes it can be based on shared values or interests. New sector of collaboration may appear through sudden incidents or created circumstances. As we know foreign mission is very important to promote nation to host country and the chief mission always follow the instruction of foreign ministry of his/her country and always targets to know the power of host country.

The aim of the mission is always to build political, social, economic and cultural relationships. In fact, embassies and consulates are the best tool to hold up country's interest 'to promote trade and investment, to build up a country's image, to project a nation's culture, to communicate with diaspora communities, to kick-start negotiations, and to buttress summit diplomacy'. Thus a mission is and

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³⁰ Definition of Diplomacy by Arden Ndege, scribd

always be a great source of information about the host country with a proper perspective.³¹

The framework for diplomatic work, Vienna convention 1961 has been followed always.³² However, the scope has been expanded such as persuasiveness which is important to deal with leading actors and decision –makers of host country. So, in the modern diplomacy, the main task of bilateral diplomacy is to promoting own country in every sphere like trade, investment, and tourism, as well as cultural affairs.

Multilateral diplomacy is defined as the practice of involving more than two nations or parties in achieving diplomatic solutions to supranational problems. Modern diplomacy is public and open diplomacy. The core idea of public diplomacy 'is one of direct communication with foreign peoples, with the aim of affecting their thinking and, ultimately, that of their governments'. In modern age, diplomacy start with the establishment of embassy.

The relationships are also conducted by means of consulates, meetings, conference, summit meetings and also telecommunication. From the definition it is clear that the main function of diplomacy is to negotiate agreements between

³¹ Introduction: The Challenges of 21st-Century Diplomacy by Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur, The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy, Edited by Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur, Print Publication Date: Mar 2013 Subject: Political Science, International Relations, Political Institutions Online Publication Date: Aug 2013 DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199588862.013

³² Website of United Nations ; <http://legal.un.org/avl/ha/vcdr/vcdr.html> ; retrieved on 11 April

states but there are few more functions which are reporting, lobbying, supporting the activities of business from home, assisting distressed nationals and propaganda. Sometimes, state can facilitate as a third party in the conflict of two countries. in the diplomatic language it is called mediation. Mediation is not a new thing in modern diplomacy. mediation have seen as an instrument for international diplomacy and conflict resolution since thirty years.³³In my research, I will use theory of diplomacy to draw the relationship between Bangladesh-Indonesia, Indonesia- Myanmar and Myanmar-Bangladesh.

Secondly, to show the reason behind the exodus of Rohingya refugees, the necessity of the theory of force migration is beyond description. Therefore, it will be needed to understand the thesis deeply. ‘Forced migration’ is one of the types of migration where migration means “A process of moving, either across an international border, or within a state. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants”³⁴.

The migration can be of ‘refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification.’ The movement can be within state or across international border including one person

³³ Oxford handbook on modern diplomacy Edited by Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur, Print Publication Date: Mar 2013 Subject: Political Science, International Relations, Political Institutions Online Publication Date: Aug 2013

³⁴ Glossary on Migration, IOM:2004

or group of person.³⁵ There are various types of migration including Internal (movement within a state/country/continent), Emigration (movement from home country), Immigration (movement to receiving country), Return(movement back to where a person comes from) , Seasonal (movement influenced by a season or climate conditions) , Transit(temporary migration), Regular(movement within regulatory norms), Irregular(movement outside regulatory norms), Labor(A movement with the purpose of employment), Forced(movement which an element of coercion exist).

The reasons for migration can be economical (to earn good sum of money or search better work or life), political (escape from persecution or war), social (to be with family members), environmental (natural disaster like drought or flood or erosion) and sometimes development projects (constructing bridge).³⁶

In the discipline of anthropology, sociology, geography and law, the cause and consequences of human displacement has been always analyzed. Through the analysis the study of forced migration has been pictured. In the twentieth and early twenty-first century, this form of migration has been broadly discussed. IASFM (International Association of the study of forced migration) defined it as ‘a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or

³⁵ Website of IOM; Key Migration Terms, IOM:2011 ; <https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms> ; retrieved on 23 April

³⁶ Theories and typologies of migration: An Overview and a Primer by Russell King

environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects'³⁷ which covers the comprehensive idea of forced migration.

Alexander Betts has argued that, people flee to neighboring country or more far from their home mostly in search of protection as they become victim of authoritarian regimes and human rights violation. In migration language they are called refugees (prosecuted people because of armed conflict) as they seek refuge to other country. Again, there are large number of people who are forced to leave their home but remain within their country are called IDP or internally displaced person. the reason for internal displace can be conflict induced or development induced. indirectly both categories are forced to seek access to rights and entitlements and also safety outside their home community.

The cause of forced migration is more or less same as the reason of migration excluding economic and social reason though 'Forced migration is often assumed to have a political basis, being based on flight from persecution or conflict' (Alexandar Betts). Alexander Betts analytically refer displacement and political factors as respectively dependent and independent variable. According to him, 'the causes of human displacement are closely connected with trends in the international system, geopolitics, and the global political economy'. It can affect other sectors of international politics such as, 'conflict, peace-building, state-building, terrorist recruitment, sources of foreign direct investment, trans-national

³⁷ Mission of the IASFM ;Art Hansen, 1st President of the IASFM (International Association for the study of the Forced Migration); <http://www.efms.uni-bamberg.de/iasfm/mission.htm> ; retrieved on 12 April

crime', here human displacement can be an important independent variable.³⁸ In my thesis, I will use the theory to describe the migration of Rohingya refugee to the neighboring country Bangladesh.

Thirdly, Liberalism can also be a theory to understand my thesis. Liberalism has come into the notion after the second world war. It is the contrast theory of realism, they believe, naturally human is in good character and peace loving and can control their aggression. According to Franchise Fukuyama, progress in human history can be measured by the elimination of global conflict and the adoption of principles of legitimacy and observed the extent to which liberal democracies have transcended their violent instincts. Liberals argue for 'the progress and perfectibility of the human condition as well as a degree of confidence in the removal of the stain of war from human experience' (Gardner,1990).³⁹

The main point of liberalism is war is inevitable and unavoidable but if conditions for anarchy can be controlled, there can be cooperation between states. The step for the cooperation was first taken by Woodrow Wilson, the United States president with his 14-point preamble to create peace throughout the international system after Europe has witnessed great anarchy around the world. He focused on cooperation and that is how the idea of liberalism evolved.

³⁸ Forced Migration and Global Politics by Alexander Betts

³⁹ Liberal Theories of International Relations: A Primer by Andrew Moravcsik; Princeton University, 2010

However, the liberal theory didn't work and faced a major blow because just after few year creating 14 points world has witnessed second world war. So, until cold war specialist were skeptical about the theory. the reason behind the failure of the theory was absent of institution.⁴⁰

Liberalism became popular after cold war because of adopting international laws, arms control and the idea of international organization was getting attention. liberal theorist, Michael W. Doyle, explained liberalism as same as 'a family portrait of principles and institutions', focused on the essential principle of freedom of the individual and associated with negative freedom (freedom from arbitrary authority), positive freedom (social rights essential for promoting the capacity for freedom), and democratic participation or representation.⁴¹ Institutions are essential for exercising these rights. Therefore, necessity of institution has been drawn by several liberal theorist and the concept of intuitional liberalism was born.

Institutional liberalism mainly gives importance to the idea of complex interdependence which was first argued by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in the 1970's. they argued about four characteristics of institutional liberalism which differs it from realist theory which are multiple channels is needed for interacting

⁴⁰ Excerpt from International Relations – an E-IR Foundations beginner's textbook edited by Stephen McGlinchey; <http://www.e-ir.info/2017/01/09/international-relations-theory/>; retrieved on 12 April

⁴¹ International relations theory and the end of the cold war by Richard Ned Lebow and Thomas Risse-Kappen, editors New York Columbia university press, 1996

among states , these multiple channels will help state and non- state actors for creating links between them, all issues should be focused equally in the terms of security (no high or low politics) and decline of military force.

Robert Jackson and Robert Sorenson argued that ‘Internationally, Institutional Liberals believe that power should be used in the interests of liberal values but with caution and restraint’. It has also a social objective because its needed for a sustainable cooperation which increase the attention of people mostly, they added because ‘it improves the human condition and provides a rationale for building cooperative institutions that can facilitate better lives for human beings.’ After world war the international institutions were forms with some basic principles ‘espoused by the United States, and American power was essential for their construction and maintenance’.

That the existing international institutions used to deal with the security, monetary policies as well as trade. Mostly, they were not very legalized. Sometimes to gain some benefits, partially, ‘sovereignty’ became a ‘bargaining resource’ to negotiate as example in the sector of states’ regulatory policies. Though the style of cooperation noticeably makes the international regimes such as sets of (principles, norms and rules and well defined actors) meaningful and strong. Liberal institution argues that "global governance and international organizations should be emphasized as a way to interpret international relations. “Institutionalism focused on the general purpose of the international system and the role of international organizations in supporting the countries.

It is the focus of international organizations and international regimes based on the rules, norms and principles that help control the interaction of state and non-state actors on issues such as human rights, which makes the institutional argument so compulsory. As a means of earning interest for the states, other regimes and institutions emphasize the use of multilateralism and cooperation. International regimes such as policies, norms, principle, rules and procedures include what David Keohhan emphasizes on behavior: ‘they imply obligations, even though these obligations are not enforceable through a hierarchical legal system’⁴²

As institutional liberalism argues about humanitarian law and instruments to explain what makes human rights violation, it would be a proper theory to explain violation of human right of Rohingya people by Myanmar government.

Fourthly, in theoretical field, ‘conflict’ has become accepted after World War II. For the recent decades, many theories have been described ‘conflict’ as a part of human life. The word “conflict “comes from the Latin word conflicts, which means collision or clash. Some theorists like Glasl (1994) argues that ‘Conflict is an interaction between actors (individuals, groups, organizations, etc.) where at least one actor senses incompatibilities between their thinking, imagination, perception, and/or feeling, and those of the others’.⁴³

⁴² Introduction to International Relations, Theories and Approaches; fifth edition by Robert Jackson and George Sorenson

⁴³ Handbook; Team and Organizational Development as a means for Conflict Prevention and Resolution by Friedrich Glasl and Rudi Ballreich

Again, according to Coser (1956) it's a 'struggle between opponents over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources'.⁴⁴ Another definition of conflict which is very meaningful that is "A social factual situation in which at least two parties (individuals, groups, states) are involved, and who: i) strive for goals which are incompatible to begin with or strive for the same goal, which, can only be reached by one party; and/or ii) want to employ incompatible means to achieve a certain goal." (Wasmuth, 1996:180- 181)⁴⁵.

Therefore, conflict evolves when disagreements take place between two actors. In a complete meaning "Conflict is a disagreement through which the parties involved perceive a threat to their needs, interests or concerns."⁴⁶ The major elements of the definition above, defines main factors of a conflict and they are: Disagreement, Parties involved, Perceived threat and needs, interests and concerns. These elements may have various shapes, forms and importance for a conflict as well as the level of intensity of a conflict.

From those elements, Needs, interests and concerns can be tangible (such as money, food, water and other resources) or intangible (such as feelings of

⁴⁴ Social Conflict and the Theory of Social Change by Lewis A. Coser; The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 8, No. 3. (Sep., 1957), pp. 197-207

⁴⁵ Thesaurus and Glossary of Early Warning and Conflict Prevention terms (abridged version) by Alex P. Schmid Piom ; Website of reliefweb ; <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/82548F38DF3D1E73C1256C4D00368CA9-fewer-glossary-may98.pdf>

⁴⁶ Conflict En Route to Destiny by L. Jones Sr. Michael L. Jones Sr, Michael L. Jones, Google book

security, love or revenge)⁴⁷ The classification of conflicts depends on some factors such as the conflict parties; the context of the conflict or the areas of social life in which the conflict takes place (for example, political, economic, cultural, etc.); the motivations or needs behind the conflict; the consequences of the conflict; the duration of the conflict; the intensity of the conflict and the absence or presence of violence in the conflict. In the basis of actors, conflicts are categorized in intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, intrasociety and international/global. Intergroup and intrasociety conflicts are basically pictured politically.

Intergroup/intrasociety conflicts can be found within one country ‘when one group is fighting for independence or increased social, political or economic power’. These conflicts refer ‘conflicts between nation states, global and regional competition over natural resources, conflicts in various international organizations over political issues, armed interventions involving significant loss of life, ethnic or religious conflicts, wars for self-determination and/or the creation of new nation states’⁴⁸

International conflicts are usually monetary/economic and/or political biased. However, not necessarily armed, though generally, international conflicts often involve violence or terrorism. international conflicts can become intractable.

⁴⁷ Understanding political and intangible Elements in Modern wars by Greg Simons

⁴⁸Research gate; Introduction Conflicts and Social Psychology by Daniel Bar-Tal

Intractable conflicts refer to long-standing conflicts which can be seen between ‘individuals, groups, communities or nation states that resist all attempts at management, and continue escalating towards ever-higher levels of hostility and intensity’. There are many contemporary intractable conflicts. Some of these conflicts take place within states and some take place between states.⁴⁹

International humanitarian law explained two types of armed conflicts, namely, international armed conflicts (opposing two or more States) and non-international armed conflicts (between governmental forces and nongovernmental armed groups). IHL treaty law also establishes a distinction between non-international armed conflicts in the meaning of common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and non-international armed conflicts falling within the definition provided in Art. 1 of Additional Protocol II. Legally there are no existing armed conflict. However, according to situation armed conflict can be interchange from non-international to international, international to non-international.⁵⁰The thesis focused on the conflict between Myanmar and Rohingya people, cause and the consequence of the conflict I can explain by using conflict theory.

Fifthly, ‘humanitarian assistance’ theory can describe the legal framework for delivering humanitarian aid. There are two types of humanitarian assistance,

⁴⁹ Understanding International Conflict: Some theoretical gaps by Miroslav Nincic; University of Michigan

⁵⁰ International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC); Opinion Paper; How is the Term "Armed Conflict" Defined in International Humanitarian Law? March 2008

they are humanitarian aid and development aid. The process of development aid is longer-term whether humanitarian necessarily should provide quickly, often emergency response is needed. The pillars of humanitarian assistance based on mainly international humanitarian law and rights of citizens in affected countries. More than 128 million people across the world needs humanitarian assistance.

Armed conflict is and will be a driver of humanitarian need in 2018 also.⁵¹ In the case of armed conflict there is no specific and particular political solutions that's why it creates crises and as a result not only violence, destruction, genocide happens but also people are displaced internally and to neighboring countries.⁵² Aid which seeks, to save lives and aims to decrease suffering of a crisis affected people is called humanitarian assistance. Providing immediate assistance to victims of an emergency is the main and essential step.⁵³

However, humanitarian action by the United Nations systems not only limited to relief, also involve long-term rehabilitation and development. There are three categories of assistance - direct assistance, indirect assistance and infrastructure support. Moreover, the UN is committed to provide humanitarian

⁵¹ Website of United Nation's OCHA;
<http://interactive.unocha.org/publication/globalhumanitarianoverview/>; retrieved on 12 April

⁵² Website of OECD; The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience, published by: Steering Committee of the Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda; Editor: David Millwood; retrieved on 22 April

⁵³ Reliefweb; Glossary of humanitarian terms- World Health Organization; retrieved on 14 April

assistance with full respect for the sovereignty of States. It is provided according to some basic humanitarian principles which are principles of humanity, impartiality and neutrality, as stated in General Assembly Resolution 46/182.⁵⁴ Through the principles accountability of the humanitarian community is usually measured. In the case of first principle which is humanity, the most vulnerable people are considered to be served first.

Neutrality means humanitarian assistance must be provided without engaging in hostilities or taking sides in controversies of a political, religious or ideological nature. Lastly, Impartiality refers that humanitarian assistance must be provided without discriminating as to ethnic origin, gender, nationality, political opinions, race or religion. Last principle is 'humanitarian action must be autonomous from the political, economic, military or other objectives that any actor may hold in relation to areas where humanitarian action is being implemented' which refers as principle of independence.⁵⁵

UN General Assembly resolution 46/182 (1991) sets the framework for the coordination and delivery of UN-led international humanitarian action. To prepare, manage and deliver humanitarian response there is a humanitarian program cycle (HPC) which includes coordinated series of actions. It contains five

⁵⁴ Website of United Nation's ECOSOC;
<https://www.un.org/ecosoc/sites/www.un.org.ecosoc/files/documents/2009/resolution-2009-3.pdf>; retrieved on 14 April

⁵⁵ Humanitarianism and the Principles of Humanitarian Action in Post-Cold War Context, by Alpaslan Özerdem and Gianni Rufini

elements which coordinated in a systematic and logical manner. The success of HPC relied on effective emergency preparedness, effective coordination with national/local authorities and humanitarian actors, and information management. Core HPC elements are Needs assessment and analysis, Strategic response planning, Resource mobilization, Implementation and monitoring and Operational review and evaluation.⁵⁶

Monitoring of the responsibilities of an occupying power, the legal regulations of the humanitarian program are basically based on humanitarian aid given by States. If the conflict is international armed conflict, ‘there is a strong foundation in international law’ which allows humanitarian actors to demand that humanitarian assistance be facilitated. There are other humanitarian laws for making path to states to provide humanitarian assistance gracefully. Such as ‘States other than the occupying power are obliged to permit the free passage of relief goods and to guarantee their protection’ (Article 59 para. 3 GC IV) and also ‘States are obligated to permit the transit and transport free of charge ‘(Article 61 para. 3 GC IV). According to Article 23 GC IV, regarding blockades and “total war” situations, permits all States to allow the free passage of goods which is severe necessary to the victims. The obligation covers “consignments of medical and hospital stores”.

⁵⁶ Website of OCHA; Guide for Governments: International Humanitarian Action ; retrieved on 21 April

Moreover, essential foodstuffs and clothing are only to be granted free passage if they will be provided to vulnerable groups of children under fifteen, expectant mothers and maternity cases (Article 23 para. 1).⁵⁷

Coordination is very important for effective humanitarian aid. Almost 15 years later, a major reform of humanitarian coordination which also known as the Humanitarian Reform Agenda, introduced a number of new elements to dramatically enhance humanitarian response capacity, predictability, accountability and partnership in 2005. In addition, ‘humanitarian reform represents an ambitious effort by the international humanitarian community to reach more beneficiaries, with more comprehensive, needs-based relief and protection, in a more effective and timely manner’⁵⁸The Cluster Approach was one of these new elements. ‘Clusters are groups of humanitarian organizations, both UN and non-UN, in each of the main sectors of humanitarian action, e.g. water, health and logistics. They are designated by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) and have clear responsibilities for coordination.

The aim of the cluster approach is to strengthen system-wide preparedness and technical capacity to respond to humanitarian emergencies, and provide clear leadership and accountability in the main areas of humanitarian response.’ There

⁵⁷Website of ICRC, The legal framework of humanitarian access in armed conflict by Felix Schwendimann, Diplomatic Officer in the Section for International Humanitarian Law, Directorate of International Law, Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs; retrieved on 21 April

⁵⁸ Website of OCHA; https://www.unocha.org/ochain/2007/chap1_4.htm; retrieved on 14 April

are six core cluster function such as related to service delivery; HC/HCT strategic decision-making; planning and strategy development; advocacy; performance monitoring and reporting; and national capacity building and contingency planning.⁵⁹ The concept of humanitarian assistance will help to understand the process and provision of providing humanitarian aid in regard to my thesis paper.

Finally, humanitarian diplomacy will be used as theory in the research because Indonesia is applying humanitarian diplomacy with both Myanmar and Bangladesh.

To know Humanitarian diplomacy, we should know about diplomacy which I have already explained above and the word humanitarian is related with humanity without any doubt. the complete definition is different from the view of different humanitarian actors including governments, international organizations, NGOs, the private sector, and individuals According to the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies: 'Humanitarian diplomacy is persuading decision makers and opinion leaders to act, at all times, in the interests of vulnerable people, and with full respect for fundamental humanitarian principles.'

The Red Cross and Red Crescent societies work mostly in peace, natural disasters, and with social and saving work and modern humanitarian action, as pioneered by ICRC founder Henry Dunant, has been motivated by some

⁵⁹ Website of UNHCR; <https://emergency.unhcr.org/entry/61190/cluster-approach-iasc>; retrieved on 14 April

'fundamental humanitarian principles' what I have explained in the paragraph of humanitarian assistance. However, the original International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), since its foundation in Geneva in 1863, has emphasized its activities on assisting non-militant in armed conflicts and according to them, 'Humanitarian diplomacy aims to synchronize public and governmental support and resources for humanitarian operations and programs, and to facilitate effective partnerships for responding to the needs of vulnerable people'

Again, one of their lawyer explained it as 'The ICRC's humanitarian diplomacy is a strategy for influencing the parties to armed conflicts and others—States, non-State actors and members of civil society. Its purpose is purely humanitarian and it is carried out through a network of sustained relationships—bilateral and multilateral, official and informal.' In the oxford handbook of modern diplomacy Jan Egeland describes the complicated section of humanitarian diplomacy. He argued that humanitarian negotiations with armed groups is the most crucial and problematic. According to UN, humanitarian negotiations specifies similar to those negotiations which are 'undertaken by civilians engaged in managing, coordinating and providing humanitarian assistance and protection for the purposes of: (i) ensuring the provision of protection and humanitarian assistance to vulnerable populations; (ii) preserving humanitarian space; and (iii) promoting better respect for international law.'

In my thesis I will use the humanitarian diplomacy theory because Indonesia was one of the first countries to offer humanitarian assistance in

the immense refugee exodus from Myanmar's Rakhine state into neighboring Bangladesh through humanitarian diplomacy.

These theories are very relevant with my thesis topic and definitely a great logical way to conduct my research. The theories can be applied to know the reason, history, the nature of the relationship between related countries and also can contribute to provide a legal instrument for the humanitarian assistance.

1.5 Research methodology and Data Collection

1.5.1 Research method

Qualitative research method will be used in the thesis to define the objective and the nature of the thesis. The research is based on analysis which means the approach of the thesis is qualitative. According to Michael Quinn Patton *'Qualitative Research is Characterized by its aims, which relate to understanding some aspect of social life, and its methods which (in general) generate words, rather than numbers, as data of analysis.'*⁶⁰

Therefore, the method can act as a network to bind all the aspects of chosen theories and also can help to understand the writing step by step. Moreover, the statement of the problem and the reason can be described through analyzing the theories where qualitative research method provides the foundation.

The qualitative research method is analytical method which works as an umbrella which describes a layout of interpretive techniques which describe,

⁶⁰ Research Gate; Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods, by Michael Quinn Patton. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage 2002, Reviewed by Karen Locke, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia

decode, translate or comes with the meaning not the frequency of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world(Van mannen ,1979).⁶¹The thesis will be conducted using descriptive qualitative method, using descriptive data from the diverse source which associated with foreign policy, diplomacy, bilateral relationship among Bangladesh, Myanmar and Indonesia and also conflicts in Myanmar and they method humanitarian assistance to Bangladesh by Indonesia.

Basically, documentary research method will be applying on the project where documentary research method refers to ‘Results from previous studies Documentary research method refers to ‘the analysis of documents that contains information about the phenomenon we wish to study (Bailey 1994). The documentary research method is used in investigating and categorizing physical sources, most commonly written documents, whether in the private or public domain (Payne and Payne 2004)’⁶²

Mostly, the secondary data will be used in the research. Online sources like data from online academic accessible reports, journals, websites from the embassy of Indonesia, Bangladesh, Myanmar, websites of foreign ministries, e-books, online national and regional newspapers can be collected. Additionally, offline sources like hard books, journals, newsletter, newspaper, magazines from libraries can also be used for data collection.

⁶¹ Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation 4th Edition by Sharan B. Merriam (Author), Elizabeth J. Tisdell (Author)

⁶² Research Gate; Documentary Research Method: New Dimensions, Jashim Uddin Ahmed

Some academic institutions have addressed the Rohingya problems and also the bilateral relationship such as trade relationship or border dispute between Bangladesh-Myanmar, therefore, data from those websites can also be considered. Data can be collected also from political statements, historical claims, international law stipulations in regard to human rights and humanitarian assistance and also audio-visual materials from international news networks.

The reason for deploying secondary data is because of the time limitation though the primary data can be taken from the foreign ministry of Indonesia and embassy of Bangladesh through interview.

1.5.2. Data collection technique:

The writer collected data through observations and documents from the diverse sources, such as books, foreign journals, mass media, conference papers, internet, and from the various source libraries that are related to the purpose of the research.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter one

This Chapter describes research background, research focus and objective contribution. This chapter also describes literature review, conceptual framework and research method.

Chapter two

Indonesia and Bangladesh bilateral relationship will be described on this chapter. Basically, the beginning of the relationship, historical relationship between the countries, the growth of the relationship and how the interests of both countries strengthen the relationship.

Chapter three

In this chapter, the discussion will be on the refugee crisis in Myanmar and how the crisis is affecting Bangladesh. The reason behind the crisis and also influx of the refugee to Bangladesh will be analyzed on this chapter.

Chapter four

As the thesis is about humanitarian assistance to Bangladesh by Indonesia, therefore, the discussion will take place about how and what kind of assistances are being delivered.

Chapter five

The Chapter will light upon on the conclusion of the thesis.