

Submitted	Review Process	Revised	Accepted	Published
15-12-2022	09-04 s/d 08-05-2023	22-05-2023	31-05-2023	30-06-2023

Jurnal Studi Sosial dan Politik. Vol. 7, No. 1, June 30, 2023 (34-49)

ISSN: 2597-8756

E-ISSN: 2597-8764

Jurnal Studi Sosial dan Politik Published by FISIP, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah Palembang

Bureaucratic Foreign Policy Model in Handling Humanitarian Conflict in Myanmar: Comparison between Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo

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Abstract

The humanitarian conflict in Myanmar, which has garnered worldwide attention due to its human rights violations and the resulting displacement of Rohingya people to neighbouring countries, including Indonesia. The conflict spanned two leadership periods: Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Joko Widodo (Jokowi). However, there were notable differences in the foreign policies pursued by both leaders. The research aims to find out the differences in bureaucratic models between SBY and Jokowi that influenced their respective foreign policy approaches. The theoretical frameworks employed in this research include Graham T. Allison's theory of foreign policy formulation, the concept of bureaucracy put forth by Parkinson, and the notion of patrimonial bureaucracy. A descriptive qualitative approach was adopted for this research, utilizing a literature study method that drew from journals, articles, and other relevant sources. Data analysis was conducted in a descriptive and correlational manner to elucidate and explain the relationship between bureaucratic models and foreign policy decisions. The findings revealed disparities in the foreign policies pursued by Indonesia during the SBY and Jokowi administrations regarding the Rohingya conflict in Myanmar. These differences can be attributed, in part, to the variances in bureaucratic models adopted by the two leaders. SBY's leadership was characterized by a Parkinsonian bureaucracy, resulting in an outward-focused foreign policy approach. Conversely, Jokowi's leadership reflected a patrimonial bureaucracy, which tended to prioritize domestic concerns. However, it is important to note that bureaucratic models alone cannot serve as the sole basis for formulating foreign policy, as numerous other factors also exert influence.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, Politics, Diplomacy, Bureaucratic Model, Humanitarian Conflict, Myanmar

Abstrak

Konflik kemanusiaan di Myanmar telah menarik perhatian dunia karena pelanggaran hak asasi manusia dan pengungsian masyarakat Rohingya ke negara tetangga, termasuk Indonesia. Konflik ini berlangsung selama dua periode kepemimpinan, yaitu Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) dan Joko Widodo (Jokowi). Namun, terdapat perbedaan mencolok dalam kebijakan luar negeri yang dilakukan kedua pemimpin tersebut. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui perbedaan dalam model birokrasi antara SBY dan Jokowi yang mempengaruhi pendekatan kebijakan luar negeri mereka masing-masing. Kerangka teoritis yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini meliputi teori formulasi kebijakan luar negeri yang dikemukakan oleh Graham T. Allison, konsep birokrasi yang dikemukakan oleh Parkinson, dan konsep birokrasi patrimonial. Pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif digunakan dalam penelitian ini dengan memanfaatkan metode studi literatur yang didapatkan dari jurnal, artikel, dan sumber relevan lainnya. Analisis data dilakukan secara deskriptif dan korelasional untuk menjelaskan hubungan antara model birokrasi dan keputusan kebijakan luar negeri. Temuan penelitian mengungkapkan adanya perbedaan dalam kebijakan luar negeri yang dikejar oleh Indonesia selama kepemimpinan SBY dan Jokowi terkait konflik Rohingya di Myanmar. Perbedaan ini dapat ditarik kesimpulan, sebagian, dari perbedaan model birokrasi yang diadopsi oleh kedua pemimpin tersebut. Kepemimpinan SBY ditandai dengan birokrasi Parkinsonian yang mengarah pada pendekatan kebijakan luar negeri yang berfokus ke luar. Sebaliknya, kepemimpinan Jokowi mencerminkan adanya birokrasi patrimonial yang cenderung memprioritaskan masalah domestik. Namun, penting untuk dicatat bahwa model birokrasi sendiri tidak dapat menjadi satu-satunya dasar dalam merumuskan kebijakan luar negeri, karena masih banyak faktor lain yang turut mempengaruhi.

Kata Kunci: Kebijakan luar negeri, Politik, Diplomasi, Model Birokratis, Konflik Kemanusiaan, Myanmar

INTRODUCTION

This research discusses the differences in bureaucratic models applied by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo affecting their foreign policies. To see the differences in Indonesia's foreign policy, this research uses a case study of the humanitarian conflict in Myanmar by intriguing to explore as it has garnered global attention. For example, In 2012, Rakhine, as a multi-ethnic region, experienced conflict between Muslim and Buddhist populations (Kipgen, 2013; Chowdhury, 2020). The conflict triggered by ethnic diversity, leading to discrimination against the Rohingya as a minority (Sahana & Jahangir, 2019). In fact, the discrimination against the Rohingya has persisted since Myanmar's independence in 1948 (Kusuma & Sitorus, 2019). The Myanmar government seems to have neglected the Rohingya, especially after the election of the Myanmar civilian government in 2010 (Lee, 2014). The Rohingya are considered not part of Myanmar's indigenous population but illegal immigrants from Bangladesh (Mohajan, 2019; O'Brien, 2020; Pamini et al., 2013; Parnini, 2013). The Rohingya could no longer bear the suffering, they fled with the intention of seeking asylum and Protection, particularly Their destination was neighbouring countries closest to Myanmar, including three ASEAN countries: Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia (Ahsan Ullah, 2016; Mahmood et al., 2017; Sundari et al., 2021; Susetyo & Chambers, 2020a).

Indonesia, as a member of ASEAN, is also serves as a destination for Rohingya fleeing the conflict, aiming to resolve it's conflict. Especially with the existence of ASEAN as a

regional organization that puts Indonesia in one Circle with Myanmar. Within the ASEAN framework, Indonesia maintains a close relationship with Myanmar, considering it a priority. However, due to the principle of non-intervention in each country, ASEAN member countries are limited in their abilities to intervene significantly. This constraint arises from regulations that discourage excessive interference in domestic matters. Consequently, this hampers the implementation of regional mechanisms (Ramadhani & Maburrah, 2021). Recognizing the limitation of non-intervention, Indonesia has taken proactive measures by appearing as a representative of the humanitarian struggle, adopting the concept of humanitarian diplomacy. This diplomacy constitutes a significant aspect of Indonesian's foreign policy, as advocated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Retno Marsudi, to resolve conflicts based on humanitarian values (Setiawan & Hamka, 2020). Another reason is that, Historical experiences of colonization also motivate Indonesia to engage in resolving conflicts through peaceful channels, considering the shared sense of past colonialism with Myanmar (Triwahyuni et al., 2021).

Formulating foreign policy entails various considerations, including national interest and numerous influencing factors. Apart from that, the views of the President or leader of the country play a crucial role in shaping foreign policy. However, foreign policy decision-making does not solely rest with the President, as other factors, such as domestic political dynamics, also exert influence. The state of domestic politics impacts the national interests pursued by a country, consequently influencing changes in foreign policy (Sulaeman & Tiara, 2021). This research aligns with these considerations, aiming to determine how the bureaucratic model affects foreign policy in addressing the Myanmar issue.

Previous studies have discussed Indonesia's efforts in mediating the Rakhine humanitarian conflict during the administration of SBY and Jokowi eras. However, non of these studies specifically discussed the influence of the bureaucratic model on foreign policy. Which constitutes a novelty in this research, in addition to utilizing references from the past four years. For instance, Kusuma & Sitorus (2019), highlighted diplomatic approach employed with the Myanmar government, emphasizing adherence to the ASEAN way and the 4+1 promotion while involving civilian actors in channeling aid to the Rohingya population. Another article underscores Indonesia's commitment to its free and active foreign policy, evidenced by its sustained engagement in conflict resolution efforts. SBY's leadership is noted for frequent communication with Myanmar, whereas the Jokowi era witnessed slower decision-making compared to the previous administration (Matthew, 2020). Additionally, the Indonesian parliament pursued diplomacy by raising the Myanmar conflict in international forums, such as the Asia Pacific Group. The outcomes of these forums reflect the perspectives of each state legislature on the urgent need to halt the conflict (Ainurrofiq & Kurniawan, 2022). Nevertheless, previous studies cannot serve as the primary references as they do not specifically address the bureaucratic model. Nonetheless, they contribute by elucidating Indonesia's involvement in the Myanmar Conflict.

The research question is approached through the utilization of Graham T. Allison's Foreign Policy Formulation Process theory, as presented in his book "Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis (Wilson, 1972)." According to Allison in Smith (1980), three models explain the process of formulating a country's foreign policy, each varying in the factors that primarily influence decision-making. The first model is the rational actor model, which views the state as a unitary actor making rational decisions to choose the optimal course of action (Moenir et al., 2020). The second model posits that decision-making in foreign policy involves relevant organizations or ministries, utilizing standard operating procedures (SOPs) as a basis for policy formulation (Smith, 1980). SOPs are determined through negotiations to ensure appropriate guidelines for decision-making (Zahidi, 2020). The third model is the

bureaucratic model, In this model, key decision-makers significantly influence the decision-making process. Additionally, this model highlights the political dynamics of bargaining power and confrontation among bureaucrats and their influence on the country's leader. According to this model, leaders making decisions in foreign policy are influenced by negotiation concepts that are also prevalent among domestic bureaucrats. Foreign policy is, to some extent, shaped by domestic politics, regardless of the leader in power. Bureaucrats often play a role in managing relations with other countries and have the potential to sway the ruling leader, thereby appearing to hold significant influence over the President or leader of the country (Wargi, 2021). Additionally, the author also incorporates the concepts of Patrimonial and Parkinson bureaucracy to explain the bureaucratic model. Patrimonial bureaucracy, similar to Weberian bureaucracy, is susceptible to politicization as it relies on emotional relationships and lacks formal scope. Consequently, this bureaucratic model emphasizes the leader's loyalty and charisma (Wahyudi, 2018). Conversely, Parkinson's bureaucracy, known as a bloated bureaucracy in Indonesia, features an extensive structure. This bureaucratic model is characterized by numerous overlapping institutions established by the state, resulting in the recruitment of many public officials whose assigned tasks are often unconsidered and seemingly ineffective (Sumantri, 2022).

By addressing these interrelated aspects, this research offers a comprehensive analysis of the foreign policy models employed by SBY and Jokowi in the context of the humanitarian conflict in Myanmar. It contributes to a deeper understanding of Indonesian foreign policy dynamics and the country's role in resolving humanitarian crises. In order to do that, this research is structured into three main parts, each addressing specific aspects of the foreign policy models employed by two Indonesian presidents, SBY and Jokowi, with a particular focus on their approaches to resolving the humanitarian conflict in Myanmar. First, it delves into the foreign policy model of SBY, which examines the principles, strategies, and priorities that characterized SBY's approach to international relations during his tenure. This section explores SBY's specific actions and policies related to Myanmar and evaluates the effectiveness of his approach in addressing the conflict and alleviating the humanitarian situation. Second, it focuses on the foreign policy model of Jokowi, which highlights unique approach to foreign affairs and how it influenced his response to the crisis. This section explores Jokowi's initiatives, strategies, and priorities in addressing the conflict, including diplomatic engagement, regional cooperation, and efforts to provide humanitarian assistance. Third, it examines the commonalities and differences between their approaches, identifying areas of convergence and divergence. It explores the factors that influenced the evolution of Indonesia's foreign policy towards Myanmar and the implications of these linkages for resolving the humanitarian crisis. By studying the linkages between SBY and Jokowi's foreign policy models, this research provides a comprehensive understanding of how Indonesia's approach to humanitarian conflicts has evolved over time.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research adopts a descriptive qualitative approach commonly employed in social science research (Creswell et al., 2007). The qualitative approach is well-suited for describing and understanding phenomena in their natural contexts and exploring their relationships with existing theories (Anwar, 2020). In this context, the author employed data collection techniques through literature studies obtained from various sources (Huberman & Miles, 2002). These sources include official websites such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia, and UNHCR Indonesia. Additionally, the author utilized journal articles, online news websites, books, and other validated portals as references.

The data analysis in this research involves several stages: data collection, data correlation, and data presentation. Descriptive and correlative data analysis techniques were employed to establish the relationship between the objects of study and connect them to the theory being used (Anugrah, 2019). The analysis includes summarizing the data obtained using visual presentations, such as diagrams, to enhance the clarity and understanding of the findings. These visual representations aid in providing a concise and comprehensive overview of the collected data. Furthermore, to elucidate the role of bureaucrats in formulating foreign policy, the author incorporates the Graham T. Allison model III foreign policy analysis theory and the Parkinson and Patrimonial bureaucratic models. The Graham T. Allison model III is a widely recognized framework for analysing foreign policy decisions, which takes into account the rational actor model, organizational process model, and government bargaining model. The Parkinson and Patrimonial bureaucratic models provide additional insights into bureaucratic behaviour and decision-making within the context of foreign policy.

By employing these analytical frameworks and data analysis techniques, the research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the foreign policy models employed by SBY and Jokowi, their approaches to resolving the humanitarian conflict in Myanmar, and the linkages between their foreign policy approaches.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Foreign Policy in Resolving the Rakhine Conflict

The Rohingya conflict in Myanmar originated from the discriminatory actions perpetrated by the people of Myanmar, particularly in the Rakhine region, against the Rohingya, who are a Muslim ethnic minority. The situation escalated further with the Myanmar government's assertion that the Rohingya are not recognized as part of their nation and that their citizenship is denied. This denial is often attributed to perceived physical similarities between the Rohingya and the people of Bangladesh, although it should be noted that Bangladesh also does not formally recognize them. The emergence of this conflict can be traced back to a long history of discrimination, which has progressively evolved into a dire situation with characteristics of genocide. The treatment endured by the Rohingya community constitutes a severe violation of their fundamental human rights. It encompasses a range of atrocities, including violence, displacement, restrictions on movement, denial of citizenship, and limited access to essential services such as healthcare and education. The international community has expressed deep concern and condemnation regarding the Rohingya crisis. Numerous human rights organizations and global institutions have denounced the discrimination and violence faced by the Rohingya, emphasizing the urgent need for accountability and justice. Efforts to address the Rohingya conflict involve both humanitarian and diplomatic interventions. Humanitarian organizations strive to provide assistance to the displaced Rohingya population, offering shelter, healthcare, and other essential support (Wahyuningrum, 2021). Diplomatic initiatives focus on engaging with the Myanmar government and advocating for a sustainable resolution that upholds the rights and well-being of the Rohingya people. These efforts seek to address the root causes of the conflict, promote peacebuilding, and ensure the safe and voluntary return of displaced Rohingya individuals to their homes, accompanied by full recognition of their rights and citizenship.

The Rohingya conflict serves as a stark reminder of the ongoing challenges faced by marginalized communities and the pressing need for international cooperation in addressing human rights violations. It underscores the importance of upholding principles of equality, non-discrimination, and respect for the rights and dignity of all individuals, regardless of their ethnicity or religious background.

Figure 1. Rakhine Map

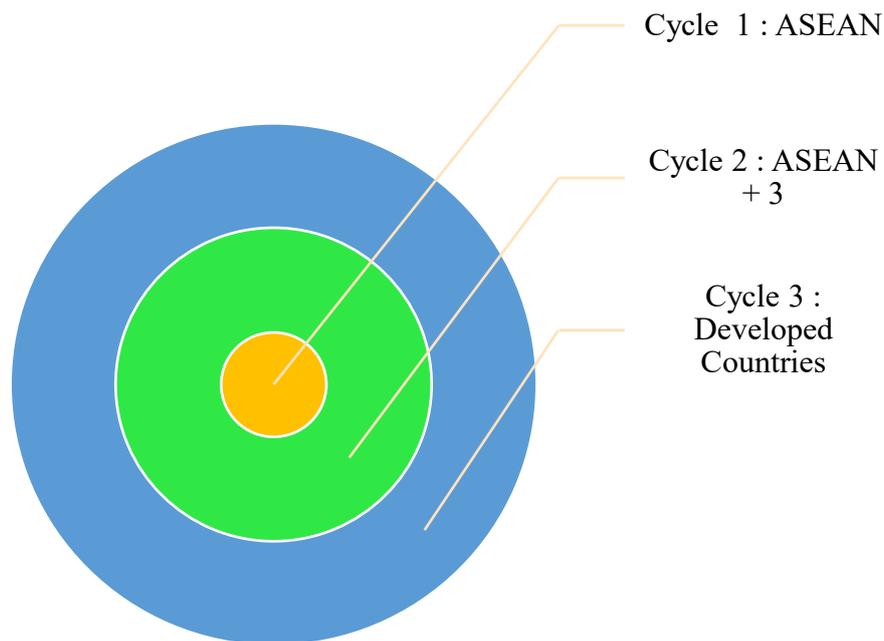


Source: Fakta.berita

During the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration, led Indonesia with proactive and prominent foreign policy. The aim was to build and enhance Indonesia's international image by engaging in political visits to various countries and actively participating in international forums. SBY's motto "thousand friends, zero enemies," reflected his intention to foster international cooperation rather than conflict in Indonesia's foreign policy (Utari & Wardhani, 2021). The efforts to cultivate a positive international image prompted SBY to actively respond to international issues. Cooperation and diplomacy were viewed as more advantageous methods, as they reduced the risk of tension and adhered to regional norms to prevent harm to either party (Rosyidin & Dir, 2021). This initiative can be seen from SBY international political engagements during his first term as President, visiting neighbouring countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, Australia, and East Timor (Widiatmaja & Albab, 2019). Furthermore, as ASEAN member countries share close ties due to their geographical proximity, SBY's foreign policy can be described through three main strategies aimed at positioning Indonesia as a leader within ASEAN, the regional organization.

The first strategy involved prioritizing active involvement and contributions to regional organizations, including ASEAN, ASEAN+3, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), East Asia Summit (EAS), and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) (Bisley, 2017). SBY's second strategy focused on optimizing the performance of existing multilateral and bilateral cooperation, recognizing the mutual benefits derived from agreements (Wargi, 2021). In addition to enhancing Indonesia's international political image, there was also an effort to restore the positive image of Islam, considering that the majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim. Therefore, Indonesia strongly opposed any form of terrorism or violence carried out in the name of Islam. In alignment with SBY's goal of restoring the image of Islam, Indonesia played a role in addressing the humanitarian conflict in Rakhine, which involved the persecution of the Rohingya ethnic group. This action demonstrated solidarity and aligned with SBY's foreign policy strategy that prioritized regional organizations, specifically ASEAN.

Picture 1. Concentric Circles of Indonesia's Foreign Policy



Sources: Politik (2022)

In term circle, ASEAN holds the foremost position on Indonesia's "priority scale." Therefore, when issues arose in Myanmar, solidarity actions were triggered to address them. Despite not being directly affected at the time, the tension resulting from the Rohingya crisis also placed significant pressure on the Myanmar government. As a partner country, Indonesia recognized the importance of demonstrating solidarity and providing assistance in resolving the conflict, especially considering that it involved fellow Muslim brothers and sisters who were becoming victims of human right violations (Gauchan et al., 2019). This aligned with SBY's commitment to restoring the image of Islam and prompted him to took action.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's approach to addressing the humanitarian conflict in Rakhine involved diplomatic efforts, with the expectation that the Myanmar government would promptly and wisely resolve the Rohingya issue. Given the friendly and historical relationship between SBY and Myanmar, a cautious and balanced strategy was adopted to navigate the conflict. The chosen path emphasized the democratization process and economic approaches. However, SBY aimed to avoid resolving the problem in Rakhine through tense measures such as economic sanctions. As Myanmar was a cooperation partner and fellow ASEAN member, it was expected that interference in the internal affairs of other countries would be minimized (Rosyidin & Dir, 2021).

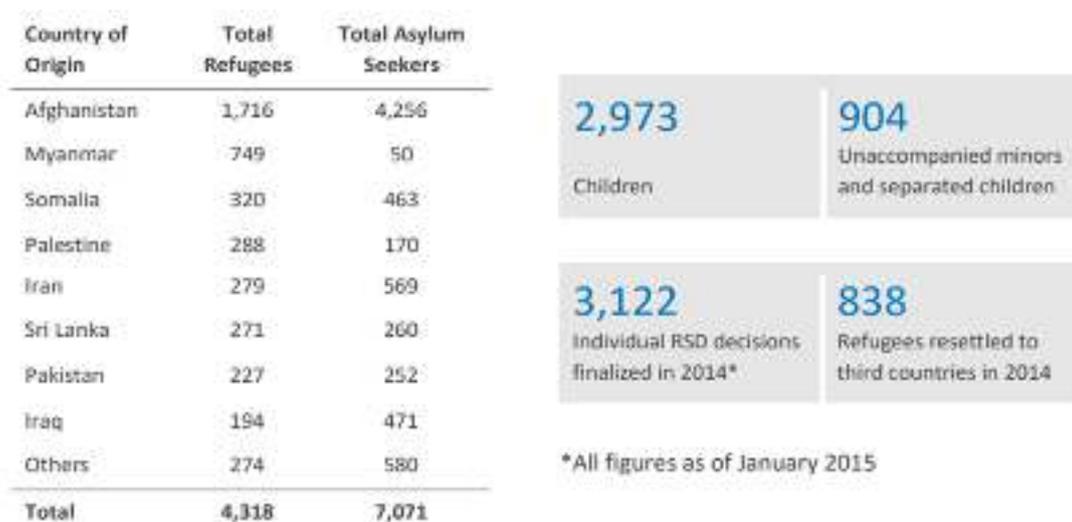
Despite the bilateral negotiations that have been presented, the expected outcomes were not fully realized. When the humanitarian issue of the Rohingya was raised during the ASEAN meeting in Cambodia on August 17, 2012, the Indonesian Foreign Minister exerted pressure on the Myanmar government to reduce the conflict and acknowledge the Rohingya as citizens (Shukri, 2021). Additionally, Jusuf Kalla was dispatched to personally assess the situation and engage in negotiations with the Myanmar government regarding conflict resolution (Pudjiastuti, & Wong, 2023). The Indonesian government also provided assistance to the conflict area through governmental initiatives and contributions from humanitarian organizations and Islamic groups such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah (Triwahyuni et al., 2021). Therefore, the resolution of the conflict was closely linked to the role of the foreign ministry, with then-Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa playing a vital role (Heiduk,

2016). In various international forums such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the United Nations, and ASEAN meetings, the Indonesian Foreign Minister consistently emphasized the need for a resolution and exerted pressure on the Myanmar government to address the conflict and discrimination (Smith & Williams, 2021). Through these strategies, SBY outlined his objectives for Indonesia's foreign policy, actively contributing to conflict resolution in Rakhine and enhancing Indonesia's global standing.

Jokowi's Foreign Policy in Handling the Myanmar Conflict

The humanitarian conflict in the Rakhine region of Myanmar remained unresolved until the end of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration. Consequently, there was a moral responsibility for President-elect Joko Widodo to carry out forward SBY's efforts in resolving the conflict that has caused suffering to the Rohingya Muslim population. Despite sincere attempts made by SBY's administration to address the conflict promptly, the challenge persisted due to the Myanmar government's refusal to recognize the Rohingyas as part of their country and the non-intervention stance of ASEAN member states during SBY's tenure.

Figure 2. Number of Refugees in Indonesia in 2015



Sources: UNHCR Indonesia (2015)

Based on the data above, the number of Myanmar refugees from the Rohingya conflict still reaches 749 peoples, even though it has been three years since the conflict in Rakhine peaked. This could be attributed to the pervasive discrimination face by these individuals, leading them to choose fleeing over returning to their home country. Moreover, Myanmar also does not recognize them as citizens further complicating the situation. As a result, President Joko Widodo, who continues to lead the country, were compelled to find immediately solutions to the conflict and facilitate the departure of Myanmar refugees from Indonesia.

In his leadership, Jokowi has been perceived and considered as cooperative in decision-making processes. Jokowi's vision and mission encompasses not only politics and economics but also human rights which emerged as a new security concern in the current era of inter-state interactions. However, unlike Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's outward-looking approach, Jokowi tends to prioritize national interest with an inward focus. He has been places emphasized on domestic-oriented policies, although this does not imply a disregard for international organization that do not directly impact Indonesia. instead, Jokowi has implemented a down-to-earth diplomacy policy within the context of his foreign policy (Widiatmaja & Albab, 2019).

Grounded diplomacy can also be interpreted as a policy that prioritizes domestic interests and focuses on building a strong foundation within the country. This was evident in Jokowi's particular emphasis on the socio-economic sector, recognizing its crucial role. However, it could be noted that Jokowi's foreign policy were not solely focusses on domestic affairs, as he remains engaged in international forums. Rather, his foreign policy approach has primarily centered around comprehensive economic cooperation. This is demonstrated through initiatives such as the Indonesia-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (IJEPA), Free Trade Area Agreement, G20, and Bilateral Investment Treaty (Rosyidin & Kusumawardhana, 2022). Additionally, Jokowi also prioritized human rights in his foreign policy, including efforts to protect Indonesian citizens abroad, especially the agreement to safeguard the right of migrant workers in Malaysia (Azis et al., 2020).

Although Jokowi also understands human rights, but he is not very vocal in international forums discussing this issue. So, Jokowi tends to send his delegates to be active in the forum. For example, regarding the South China Sea, Jokowi sent representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense. In carrying out Jokowi's inward-looking foreign policy, there are four things that can be indicated. The first is related to Indonesia's foreign policy and goals. In principle, it has not changed, still adhering to the principle of free and active. However, its implementation is different when it wants Indonesia to be strong, sovereign, and independent and focuses on protecting Indonesian citizens working abroad / migrant workers and a developing economy. Second, the Government of Indonesia responds quite well to security and economic issues that develop in the region and globally. Third, in the context of democratization, Indonesia plays a very good role by prioritizing human rights (Susetyo & Chambers, 2020). In addition, efforts to enforce the law, strengthen democratic institutions, eradicate corruption, and reform the bureaucracy have been able to raise Indonesia's image in the international arena. Fourth, Jowokiw's leadership style uses a rational actor-type model, so it seems to pressure Jokowi to master the nation's problems, both internal and external affairs. And bureaucratic reform can actually lift Indonesia's image in the international arena. Fourth, Jowokiw's leadership style uses a rational actor-type model, so it seems to pressure Jokowi to master the nation's problems, both internal and external affairs. And bureaucratic reforms can actually raise Indonesia's image in the international arena. Fourth, Jowokiw's leadership style uses a rational actor-type model (Widiatmaja & Albab, 2019).

In response to the conflict in Rakhine, Jokowi also differed in his decision-making process. In addition, during Jokowi's administration, the Rakhine conflict heated up with the emergence of new problems related to the newly formed ARSA (Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army) group. Through the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as appointed by Jokowi, to resolve and be active in his foreign affairs. On 6 December 2016, Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi visited Myanmar to observe directly as well as proposed a formula to resolve this humanitarian conflict called "Formula 4+1" (RI's effort to) (Ziegler & Shafira, 2018). The formula includes several strategies, among others:

- a. Security Restoration
This is intended to restore security conditions, especially in conflict areas, namely Rakhine, Myanmar, so that the efforts of armed conflict and violent discrimination have been eliminated in Rakhine.
- b. Refrain from committing acts of violence
The parties involved in the Myanmar conflict are expected to refrain from aggravating the situation and not use violence in response to the case.
- c. Protection of human rights without discrimination

The human rights protection created should be comprehensive, regardless of ethnicity, among the Rohingya and Buddhists. So the focus is on solving the problem based on humanity.

d. Prioritizing access to humanitarian assistance

Emphasizing the hope that the Myanmar government does not limit the existence of existing humanitarian assistance so that the distribution of aid can be evenly and thoroughly distributed to victims affected by the conflict.

In addition to the four strategies described above, there has been several important strategies proposed to resolve the humanitarian conflict in Rakhine. These were implemented on the recommendation of former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, whose main point was to protect human rights and not violate them. In addition to the above efforts, Indonesia also formed Indonesian Humanitarian Alliance for Myanmar (AKIM) (Kusuma et al., 2021; Rasyid et al., 2022). This organization is used as a tool to reach out to Myanmar. It was initiated by the Indonesian government, which combined 11 community organizations in Indonesia, such as the Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center, Dompot Dhuafa, and others. The program is clear evidence that the Indonesian government is addressing the conflict in Myanmar. AKIM has several goals, both in the education sector by building schools, in the health sector by providing health facilities, and in the economic sector by providing livelihoods for affected communities (Ramadhani & Maburrah, 2021).

Linkage of SBY and Jokowi's Bureaucratic Model with Foreign Policy

When addressing the humanitarian conflict in Myanmar involving the Rohingya ethnicity, there are notable differences in the decision-making approaches of two Indonesian presidents, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Joko Widodo (Jokowi). These differences can be observed in their outwardly oriented and inwardly oriented approaches, respectively. Additionally, the context of decision-making is influenced by the bureaucratic models that existed during their respective presidencies. In this sense, the decision-making differences between SBY and Jokowi can also be influenced by the bureaucratic models that existed during their presidencies. The bureaucratic structures and processes in place during their terms may have shaped their approaches to addressing the Rohingya conflict. Factors such as institutional frameworks, policy-making procedures, and the roles of different government agencies could have influenced how the presidents formulated and executed their decisions in response to the humanitarian crisis.

Therefore, the contrasting approaches of SBY and Jokowi in addressing the Rohingya conflict reflect their outwardly oriented and inwardly oriented approaches, respectively. These approaches are influenced by the different ways they engage with the international community and prioritize domestic considerations. Moreover, the decision-making context, including the bureaucratic models of their respective presidencies, also plays a role in shaping their responses to the humanitarian conflict in Myanmar. So, the differences between the two presidents in addressing the same conflict, namely the humanitarian conflict in Rakhine, are explained in the following table.

Table 1. Differences Foreign Policy between SBY and Jokowi

Aspect	SBY	Jokowi
Orientation Context	Outward Looking	Inward Looking
Foreign Policy Objective	Building Indonesia Good Reputation in the international arena	Realizing and Advanced Economy and Protection of Human Rights
Post-Conflict Action	Coordinate and communicate by sending Jusuf Kalla to Resolve the conflict	Only Limited to issuing firm statements and being concerned; concrete action was only taken in 2017
Solution Offer	Distribution of Humanitarian Aid	Issuing the 4+1 formula
Power Instrument	Soft-Power Diplomacy	Soft-Power Diplomacy

Source: Politik, (2022)

From the differences in the policy above, it is necessary to analyze what is behind the differences in this matter. Because the concept of history between SBY and Jokowi comes from different backgrounds, it creates different views. Moreover, the bureaucratic model in their leadership is also different. In addition, the bureaucratic model brought by Jokowi in his second administration also shows differences (Faedlulloh et al., 2019). According to Allison, the existence of a bureaucratic political model ensures that in a decision-making process, there is a very important influence from bureaucrats. In making these decisions, we do not only focus on those who make policies but what influences them. This model consists of many individuals and organizations that carry out the political process. In this case, domestic political dynamics influence the policy formulation process in the context of foreign policy. It is intended as a political concept carried out by bureaucrats and leaders of a country to bring about the dynamics of foreign policy created (Mohsi, 2019).

The differences in bureaucratic models between the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Jokowi governments have affected the foreign policy products produced. Because of the differences in the foreign policy issued by the two regimes, Jokowi's handling of the Myanmar conflict was considered rather slow because since Jokowi took office in 2014, it was only in 2017 that he started with concrete actions, in contrast to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who seemed swift in handling it and even sent his deputy Jusuf Kala to review the conflict area directly. This was triggered by the Parkinson's bureaucracy model or fat bureaucracy that occurred during SBY's administration. This bureaucratic model is a tendency to use an organization or bureaucracy by increasing the number of people working in the bureaucracy. SBY used this bureaucratic model by appointing deputy ministers whose performance was not very influential. In addition, SBY also created many new institutions whose objectives were considered unclear and instead spent a lot of budgets.

SBY's move was widely criticized by the public because it was considered to use his capacity as President to give jobs in the bureaucracy, especially to those closest to him. This then became an evaluation in the SBY era. Coupled with the number of apparatus working in the bureaucracy who are expected to be able to carry out maximum services, it turns out that they are not. This is because the additional positions are at the central level, not at the level that

is directly related to the community. This is certainly very wasteful of the budget, especially for employee salaries. The next problem is the overlapping institutional system or task force that has just been formed. Then the distribution of human resources that have been recruited is uneven, so there are often gaps among the employees themselves. According to Uchok S. Gaddafi, quoted by Kompas Newspaper, said that the formation of new institutions and task forces is one way for SBY to avoid the problems that have befallen him because it is not only the formation of many institutions that is in question.

However, if one institution has not finished well, another is formed with almost the same main task. This is what is called a fat bureaucracy with many human resources, but the government cannot be implemented optimally and professionally. Unfortunately, when SBY was accused of this, he chose to remain silent and did not respond. He only acknowledged that the bureaucracy was indeed heading in a fat direction, but no action was taken from within the country as if one institution had not been completed properly and then another institution with almost the same main task was formed. This is what is called a fat bureaucracy with a lot of human resources, but the government cannot be carried out optimally and professionally.

This has also affected the policies issued by SBY to deal with the humanitarian conflict in Myanmar. The reason is, in accordance with SBY's foreign policy direction, which is Outward-Looking by building a good image of Indonesia from abroad, it seems to make Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono only focus on going out. In accordance with the bureaucratic model he adopted by entrusting domestic affairs to the many institutions he formed, he focused on carrying out his work abroad. Parkinson's bureaucratic model caused many domestic problems, but Yudhoyono still chose to solve international problems first. This is done to gain international sympathy so that domestic affairs tend to be prioritized. The existence of Parkinson's bureaucratic model during SBY's era was actually not directly recognized. However, many criticisms in SBY's government are related to the characteristics of Parkinson's bureaucracy. In addition, if it is associated with Allison's bureaucratic model, then in implementing his foreign policy, it is not only SBY as President who makes decisions. However, there is his Minister of Foreign Affairs and several other subjects that have been formed by SBY, who can issue policies.

In contrast to the Jokowi administration, which adheres to the patrimonial bureaucracy model. The bureaucracy has distinctive characteristics in its activities in government; the first is that there are appointments based on personal interests, existing positions are used as an effort to reap their own benefits, and public officials have access to participate in running the government. The government, both in the field of administration and field work directly and also decorates politics and governance. This Patrimonial bureaucracy model is characterized by the rampant level of Collusion Corruption and Nepotism (KKN). In fact, the practice of KKN has long occurred within the scope of the reform-era government. Apart from the fact that Jokowi's focus is inward-looking, is the existence of a patrimonial bureaucratic model. Moreover, there are bureaucratic problems that make people begin to question the role of the government in its legitimacy. So, Jokowi first fixes domestic problems, with many levels of corruption committed by bureaucratic employees and a lack of professionalism that has an impact on the performance of the bureaucratic apparatus. So that in addressing international issues, Jokowi only expressed concern and only started real action in 2017. Because before 2017, Jokowi's focus was different from SBY because it was also influenced by the condition of the domestic bureaucracy that needed to be handled (Sugianto, 2019). In addition, the presence of a number of religious and humanitarian organizations that helped the Rohingya during the Jokowi era seemed to make Indonesia not prioritize the conflict in Myanmar. This is one of the factors that made Indonesia during the Jokowi era considered slow in handling it.

CONCLUSION

There are differences in Indonesia's foreign policies implemented to deal with humanitarian conflicts in Myanmar due to differences in leadership periods. The Rohingya conflict in Myanmar passed through two leadership periods, namely Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Jokowi. So that because each leader is different in interpreting their foreign policy, it affects the handling of existing cases. This is due to SBY with his outward looking and Jokowi with his inward-looking. However, according to Allison, in the formulation of foreign policy, there are many influences and not from the pure thought of the President. So that the bureaucratic model that existed during the leadership of SBY and Jokowi also influenced their foreign policies.

SBY with Parkinson bureaucracy or bloated bureaucracy, which is characterized by the formation of many institutions and the appointment of employees who do not fit the function. This bureaucratic model causes many existing institutions to be considered capable of overcoming problems in the country. So that SBY's focus is more out to build a positive image of Indonesia, in contrast to the patrimonial model that exists in Jokowi's government, characterized by high levels of KKN. Due to the lack of legitimacy that existed in the government at that time, Jokowi focused on fixing domestic problems and restoring public legitimacy. Meanwhile, foreign policy was mostly integrated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and several organizations that participated in resolving the Myanmar conflict. So although the bureaucratic model affects the differences in foreign policy, it does not affect the whole. This is because there are many other factors that influence Indonesia's foreign policy in handling the Myanmar conflict. In addition to Indonesia's own domestic influences, there are influences from outside with the existing non-intervention attitude that makes Indonesia different in handling the conflict in Myanmar.

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