

Review

Why Indonesia's Political Attitude not Strong in Myanmar's Military Coup? Regional Political Studies for Elections and Democracy

Osbin Samosir

Abstract

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Christian University of Indonesia

E-mail: osamosir@gmail.com

The Indonesian government has taken the initiative to reduce political turmoil in Myanmar, one of the ways that are outside the conventions that are usually carried out by Asean countries. Myanmar's military junta has killed hundreds of civilians and detained thousands of followers of Myanmar's democratic government. The activist group Association of Assistant Political Prisoners (AAPP) reported that as of Wednesday, April 7, at least 581 civilians who were demonstrating were killed by the Myanmar Military Junta. The purpose of this study is to find out and reveal why the Indonesian government dared to offer the initiative to stop political unrest in Myanmar and how it affected Indonesia. The informants of this research consisted of officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, international political observers, and lecturers of international relations. The results of this study indicate that: a) The Indonesian government dares to take the initiative to stop political unrest in Myanmar because it ignores very fundamental principles and violates human rights. b) Indonesia is the largest Asean country that has great influence in the Asean environment and because of the close relationship between Indonesia and Myanmar. c) Indonesia's experience in holding simultaneous general elections without interference from civil society or the military. d) Indonesian leadership was born as a natural leader.

Keywords: Indonesia's Role, Military Coup, Myanmar Elections

INTRODUCTION

The political coup in Myanmar by the Military Junta has occurred since February 1, 2021, when the military refused and concluded that there had been fraud in the election results on November 8, 2020, which were won for the third time by its charismatic party. and Myanmar's highly influential leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, since the 2010 2015 and 2020 elections. The Military Junta arrested and detained Myanmar's President, including Aung San Suu Kyi and Myanmar leaders from the National League for Democracy (NLD), defeating the party. formed by former military officials from the United Development and Solidarity Party (USDP).

Civilians rejected the military coup carried out by Myanmar because since 2010 the Myanmar people and youth in particular have enjoyed democratic freedom, so they demonstrated against the military junta coup. As of Wednesday 7 April 2021, 581 demonstrators demanding the return of democracy and rejecting the return of the military to power have been killed by the Military Junta. Thousands of people were arrested and detained and disappeared.

The condition of the Myanmar state since February 2021 has been chaotic due to the Military Junta carrying out a coup against the government due to the November

2020 elections which for the third time (2010, 2015 and 2020) were won by the most influential people in Myanmar. leader, Aung. San Shu Ki. In early February 1, 2021, Myanmar's security forces arrested a number of elected political leaders, ministers and activists in the nation's capital, Naypyidaw, and across the country. The military junta's accusations of electoral fraud became one of the causes of the coup. As of Wednesday 7 April 2021, a total of 581 civilians demonstrating were killed by the Myanmar Military Junta, which has occurred since February 2021 when the people rejected the coup carried out by the Military Junta against the legitimate government. There is no sign of stopping the fighting.

As a friendly and neighboring country, as well as a country that is considered the de facto leader of ASEAN, Indonesia will certainly not remain silent about the fate of its neighbor Myanmar. However, at the same time, the Foreign Minister said that respecting and implementing other principles and values in the Asean Charter, including democracy, respect for human rights, good governance, rule of law, and constitutional government are equally important," he stressed at the meeting. that. press in Jakarta, on the same day. If it fails to respect and apply these principles, Indonesia is worried that Asean will not be able to provide maximum service to its people. "Indonesia also emphasizes the importance of humanitarian access for all people in need, including political prisoners," Marsudi said.

Foreign Minister RetnoMarsudi and nine other Asean foreign ministers met specifically to discuss developments in Myanmar via video conference on Tuesday afternoon (2/3/2021). The meeting was held after Indonesia continued to conduct consultations with a number of countries during visits to Brunei Darussalam, Singapore and Thailand as well as intensive informal communication. The results of the meeting will be announced by Brunei Darussalam as the Chair of Asean this year.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative descriptive research methodology, containing a description of the background of observations, people, actions, and conversations. Data is collected directly from the source. Civil society's resistance to the Military Junta due to the influence of social media's understanding of what democracy is in accordance with the Dramaturgical Communication Theory Erving Goffman in his book *The Presentation of Everyday Life* (1959) states that dramaturgy is the basic theory of how individuals appear in the social world.

For democracy fighters, what the Myanmar military is doing is coercion of will like the theory of Hegemony in Gramsci's sense, namely an attempt to force the surrender of the weaker/lower society to accept the

ideology of a class that is hegemonized by a hegemonic class.

The question arises over Indonesia's interference in the Myanmar conflict: does Indonesia have the right to intervene in Myanmar's internal affairs? Why did Indonesia hold discussions with a number of countries in the ASEAN region regarding Myanmar? Does Indonesia's proposal to hold elections next year not recognize the leadership of the military junta that carried out the coup? What about the Asean Charter which only allows the agreement of all members that can be accepted as Asean's opinion? Should Indonesia garner support with superpower countries that have great influence to provide a deterrent effect to Myanmar, such as America and the European Union?

There were five speakers: Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, DupitoDarma (official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia), Kornelius Purba (Senior Journalist and ASEAN Political Observer from The Jakarta Post), MarzukiDarusman (Former Republic of Indonesia and also former Independent Fact-Finding Mission) . UN International on Myanmar), and the Executive Director of the Center Strategic for International Studies (CSIS) who understands Myanmar's political conflict.

This study uses political communication theory by three major thinkers, namely: The Theory of Prominent Social Reality Construction initiated by Peter L. Berger, Dramaturgy Communication Theory with Assumptions, Essence, and Concepts initiated by Erving Goffman, and Theory of Hegemony by Antoni Gramsci.

Indonesian as the Biggest Hope

As a very influential country in Asean, Indonesia is expected to be a party that garners support for ASEAN countries and countries outside Asean to help resolve internal conflicts in Myanmar. Kornelius Purba said that Myanmar's current situation cannot be separated from its past history.

"Myanmar has been in hiding for 50 years or completely isolated from the outside world under the full control of the Myanmar military. It wasn't until 2010 that they made changes and Aung San Syu Ki was released from house arrest. Aung San Syu Ki is similar to Megawati Soekarno Putri in Indonesia, Aung's father San Syu Ki, Aung San is the founding father of the State of Myanmar. Similar to Suharto where in the Myanmar Law it is stated that 25% of the seats in the Myanmar Parliament are automatically controlled by the army without the need to participate in elections. The Myanmar Parliament made a law so that Aung San Syu Ki could not become President or the Prime Minister because Aung San Syu Ki's husband is British, has died.

What happens in Myanmar, as Berger and Luckman

think, reality is neither scientifically shaped nor revealed by God, but reality is the result of human formation and construction. In other words, humans construct the reality that exists in that society. Reality is dynamic and often has many faces or plurals. Everyone will have a different construction of reality. This is based on experience, preferences, education, environment and interactions between one individual and another, from here everyone will interpret social reality with their respective constructs.

The entry point for Indonesia was when Myanmar greatly admired and followed Suharto with the dual function of ABRI, namely the Golkar Party as a mixture of the military and the bureaucracy. So the leader of the Myanmar coup d'état, i.e. the commander of the Myanmar army, wanted to retire in May 2021. Then he thought that he would have a job after retiring and wanted to come back to power, so he wanted to overthrow the legitimate government. by rejecting the November 2020 election results, accusing a lot of cheating on the victory of Aung San Syu Ki's party. In contrast to 2010, in 2020, the freedom of social media that has been enjoyed by the community, including Myanmar's young people, is very different from the 2010 and 2015 elections, something the Military Junta does not understand.

Then it becomes true The Dramaturgy Theory of Communication by Erving Goffman. Dramaturgy theory is a theory that explains that social interaction is interpreted the same as a theatrical performance or drama on stage. The appearance of the human self when interacting on the stage of life accompanied by the use of various symbols to achieve certain goals is what dramaturgy theory tries to explain. Dramaturgy is actually a sociological perspective that focuses on management in everyday life. Erving Goffman through dramaturgy theory tries to compare the human world with the world of theater and describes a comparison between humans in real life and the actors or actors on stage.

DupitoDarma: what is happening in Myanmar today is not a new dilemma, but an old dilemma. "In the past, it was difficult for Myanmar to enter ASEAN because it did not want to enter the democratic diplomacy road map agreed in the Asean Charter. In the past we and even Western countries did not want to call it Myanmar but called Burma. This is past history repeating itself. The Myanmar military has returned to its identity as the political guardian of the state and nation of Myanmar, and now and now the military wants to return to its rule 60 years earlier.

Military identity in the context of Myanmar in the language of Gramsci's thinkers is a hegemony which in addition to the relationship of domination by using power, but also uses political and ideological leadership because the Myanmar military returns to its natural habitat to become the guardians of the Myanmar state and nation. Hegemony is the victory of the ruling class that is obtained through a consensus mechanism from various

socio-political forces. Hegemony occurs when the lower class society, including the proletariat, has accepted and imitated the way of life, way of thinking, and views of the elite group that dominates and exploits it. Hegemony, according to Gramsci, will give birth to obedience, an attitude of accepting the situation without questioning it again critically because the ideology exposed by the hegemonic class is only swallowed up.

MarzukiDarusman highlighted that what is happening in Myanmar is not a process of change, but metamorphosis. This is not a transition, because the rest of the elements from the past. So, we are dealing with an obsession with dictatorial power. We are dealing with the state army. Not a country with an army. This coup is an accumulation process for approximately 70 years since Myanmar's independence. We are dealing with armed ethnic organizations. Myanmar is a serious problem because the army (Tatmadaw) believes that he is the guardian of the nation. "This is completely wrong. All they protect is the dominant ethnic group. It is impossible for the Tatmadaw to represent the state and nation of Myanmar.

What MarzukiDarusman said above is in line with the thoughts of Social Construction, a contemporary sociological theory initiated by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann. Berger and Luckman argue that community institutions are created and maintained or changed through human actions and interactions, although society and social institutions are objectively real, in fact they are all formed in subjective definitions through the process of interaction.

So this military action in the language of Gramsci's thinkers is a hegemony which in addition to the relationship of domination by using power, but also uses political and ideological leadership because the Myanmar military returns to its natural habitat to become the guardians of the Myanmar state and nation. Hegemony is the victory of the ruling class obtained through the consensus mechanism of various socio-political forces. Hegemony occurs when the lower classes of society, including the proletariat, have accepted and imitated the way of life, way of thinking, and views of the elite group that dominates and exploits them. Hegemony, according to Gramsci, will give birth to obedience, an attitude of accepting the situation without questioning it again critically because the ideology exposed by the hegemonic class is only swallowed up.

MarzukiDarussman explained, "We are dealing with crimes against humanity. I assume in May or June 2021, the Tatmadaw/military will finish everything as expected. At the end of the game plan, a *festina-lente* mindset applies: you have to make decisions as quickly as possible, but be careful. Everyone should understand the constitution, what is compatible with their own nationalism."

Regarding efforts to help resolve conflicts, according

to Kornelius, ASEAN's steps cannot be taken because Indonesia's steps cannot be carried out alone. So Indonesia through its foreign minister must involve the United States and European countries for this Myanmar conflict. If they are to be truly effective, the United States and the West need to impose sanctions immediately. Myanmar is most feared if the accounts of its generals, wives and siblings are immediately blocked. That's what I'm most afraid of. And that has been done by Jo Baiden. This is because the export of Myanmar's coffee, coal and the like will be purchased directly by China.

What Marzuki Darusman dan Kornelius Purba said above is in line with the idea of Social Construction, a contemporary sociological theory initiated by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann. Berger and Luckman argue that society's institutions are created and maintained or changed through human actions and interactions, although society and social institutions are objectively real, in fact all are formed in subjective definitions through the process of interaction.

From a democratic point of view, Philips Vermonte criticized that the Tatmadaw's military power seemed too long, namely 60 years of rule. The current situation by itself made it very difficult to handle the situation. Somehow the Tatmadaw must be in the picture of the solution as well. It should be the goal of the international community to play a role in helping Myanmar too. I hope Indonesia in particular can have a better solution to stop the conflict. It must not be long before there is a disturbing force from outside. But the current situation which means Myanmar's armed ethnic groups make it very difficult to intervene. Philips said, "I think there are several possible scenarios that might be the result of this situation. First, the armed and civilian groups have to stop the bloody situation too. They have to sit down and negotiate. Because we are already facing situations especially in the 80s and 90s."

Meanwhile, Dupito is in the position that Indonesia is still at the forefront of efforts to resolve the settlement of Myanmar but needs to renew the Asean Charter, "Indonesia's position is still constructive as a gateway. But for some people, Indonesia's attitude is effeminate. ? Working hard also doesn't solve the problem. If he stays away from us, we can no longer be interlocuter. That is indeed a continuing dilemma. It is better that the Asean Charter must be amended. For example, there is no need for full consensus on matters that violate the rights of the most important, there is an emergency in that country, then that means say a majority so that 7 to 8 members can make decisions on behalf of Asean against that country. For example, if there is a discussion at the UN about Myanmar, then Asean must be asked whether to intervene or not. As it is today, Asean is not in a position to just adhere to a general principle: the path of peace.

Dupito said, "This dilemma will continue to haunt us while at the same time we will maintain stability. What is

the stability function? If up to 500 people have disappeared, died and were killed by the Military Junta, will Asean remain silent? Is Indonesia still silent? So it's a humanitarian crisis. If Asean can't do something, Asean has lost its meaning, there is no benefit when facing the most severe crisis, it is faced not by the government but by the population, where the Asean political and security community is in this condition. Because Asean has divided itself into three pillars of Asean society: economy, social culture and political security. Where is Polkam? Polkam means security, peace and human rights, nowadays they don't even exist.

Philips Vermonte describes a number of possible scenarios in Myanmar: "*First*, return power to Myanmar's election results. The Tatmadaw will of course demand something to negotiate. They will ask for amnesty. Of course it will not be made public. In my opinion, this is the best-case scenario that ASEAN and both Myanmar sides are very likely to facilitate. *Second*, release all political prisoners including Aung San Syu Ki. Scenario number two focuses on results. Both sides should share power in Myanmar. This is clearly a difficult solution for the people of Myanmar. They demand to overcome the Tatmadaw's political power as quickly as possible. So this needs some flexibility. This will reflect the Thai scenario. The NLD winning party or the military-owned CRPH losing party will not take power alone. Both sides need a third power to reconcile. Whoever the choice is, both sides need to answer. Can be individuals or figures."

Third, change the constitution to be more democratic. Scenario number three focuses on external forces such as the international community. If the deaths are still increasing and the killings continue to be unstoppable, international powers must intervene within the scope of the UN mechanism. Fourth, Federal Democracy. The last scenario is the period of discussion about the future constitution and other types of countries in the hands of Asean. Asean has also come a long way in finding conflict resolution. It is ASEAN's duty to resolve this dispute.

Kornelius Purba emphasized, Against the possibility of tough steps by the international community to Myanmar, Indonesia may need to consider gathering support not only for an economic boycott, but also giving a strong deterrent effect to the Myanmar military. If only an economic boycott will not be effective, for example it is not allowed to sell Myanmar's exports to the boycotting country, it will not be effective because China will buy all of Myanmar's merchandise. The reason is that China needs Andaman seaports that enter the Indian Ocean.

Kornelius Purba explained, "The need for an international crackdown on the two acts most feared by Myanmar's Military Junta leaders. First, if the military assets and bank accounts of the generals will be frozen by America. If the problem is simply a shortage of the domestic state budget, the Myanmar military government

doesn't care. So the assets of Myanmar soldiers and generals must be frozen. If America freezes all its banks, surely all other banks will join because they are afraid that US President Joe Biden has frozen all the accounts and military assets of the Myanmar generals and that is what the Myanmar army is most afraid of. Second, the problem of Rohingya Muslims because the United Nations has decided Myanmar as the perpetrator of the crime. Crimes against humanity against the Rohingya: Crime Agency on Humanity. This general is very afraid of being brought before the human rights court in The Hague, Netherlands, and if that happens the generals will automatically go to prison and many cases have been proven. The Congolese leader is in jail, the Bosnian leader is in jail, the Serbs are in jail. That's what the military junta leader fears the most if he goes to jail for crimes against the Rohingya. However, because of the second factor, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam are afraid of Indonesia because Indonesia really cares about humanitarian cases in the Rohingya."

Indonesia cannot be too harsh because Indonesia is very concerned with the issue of the Rohingya in Myanmar, while the Myanmar army has committed acts of killing humanity in the Rohingya as decided by the United Nations. Indonesia can be accused of having shrimp behind a rock, for the sake of its Rohingya. What is now important for Indonesia and the international community is how in Myanmar there is always strong resistance by civil democracy and that is the most important factor and has been implemented. Domestic demonstrations are in collaboration with Facebook and Twitter and as a result, now that Facebook and Twitter have been banned in Myanmar, civil society must continue to be encouraged to fight the coup."

There must have been an invisible international diplomacy because America has an interest in Myanmar's economies controlled by China. For Joe Biden it is very important to prioritize human rights along with the economy, and Joe Biden will be fussy to press on this issue. America has frozen the accounts of the son of this Coup leader general's son and the amount of 1 billion dollars that has been frozen by America. If the property is frozen, the Myanmar military will be very disturbed."

Big Obstacle to Indonesia's Efforts

Great difficulty is blocking the efforts of Indonesia and Asean countries to take a stand on the bloody military coup of Myanmar, the biggest problem is precisely the principles in the Asean Charter which bind all member countries. DupitoDarma explained,

"Asean is difficult, the problem is that Asean is different from the European Union. If the European Union is not by consensus, while Asean is all by consensus, it will be very difficult to discuss sensitive issues in Asean

including discussing political issues in Myanmar. It is difficult to find consensus. Because statements issued on behalf of Asean must be approved by all members. In Europe, there is an executive who can speak out on behalf of the European Union. If in Asean no one can speak on behalf of Asean, otherwise the approval of all members. Therefore, ASEAN is not a Legal Entity and is included in the decision-making process with the NTA, cooperation with Australia all Asean members must sign, otherwise it is invalid. It is a very rough compromise and always happens."

Dupito said that difficulties among Asean countries: Thailand is still controlled by the regime due to a military coup as well. Similar to Hun Sen in Cambodia, Hun Sen is also a dictator in Cambodia. He will not want to issue criticism of Myanmar. Moreover, Myanmar has a back-up with China, because Myanmar is directly adjacent to China. The relationship between Chinese military officials and Myanmar has never been cut off from the past." Under these conditions, what should Indonesia do? Should we just keep quiet? Is it like what the Foreign Minister did in communicating with the Foreign Minister of the military Junta? Will Indonesia give legitimacy to the military junta. The problem is, how do we have a dialogue with them? If our interest is to save democracy, save human rights in Myanmar, like it or not, we have to have a dialogue by reminding Myanmar that what the Myanmar military has done has violated the principles -Asean principles.

In my opinion, if the Asean charter is still pure, 100% pure consensus means that every country has a veto right. How the Asean countries agree that is not in line with what Asean wants, of course Malaysia will be tough but Malaysia is naughty too. Malaysia repatriates all asylum seekers to their respective countries, except for the Rohingya asylum seekers, on the basis of religious sentiments. Malaysia's attitude is very contrary to the principles of international law, which means that if the asylum seekers will face a situation that endangers them, harms them, or even endangers their lives, they cannot return the asylum seekers, it is the job of the UN agency to regulate it. What do you think Indonesia wants to do?"

Kornelius Purba, Indonesia as the de facto leader of ASEAN must take a firm stance:

"There is an ASEAN principle of non-interference, other countries should not interfere in domestic conflicts. But what is happening in Myanmar is like a conflict at home, where neighbors, their children and their wives are beaten to death until they bleed, why should we stay silent? Indeed, I have suggested that although it is very difficult to gather the ten de facto ASEAN leaders specifically to discuss Myanmar. Thailand will be difficult because the current Thai leader Prayut Chan-o-cha is the result of a coup also by the army from the hands of Prime Minister Yingluck Sinawatra which was taken over by the current prime minister. Thailand definitely refuses to

intervene, because the result of the current government is the result of a coup. Laos and Cambodia definitely don't want to be with Vietnam because they are Buddhist countries that are the same as Myanmar."

Dupito is sure that a superpower like America, currently led by the Democratic Party, is unlikely to remain silent. But something is to be done, to stop the mass killing of the people. If Asean does not come out of this case well, then Asean's name will be very, very bad.

The Indonesian Government's Effort

What political efforts have been made by Indonesia? Regarding these efforts, Minister of Foreign Affairs RetnoMarsudi said: "When the military took control of the government on February 1 and rejected the November 2020 election results, all of us in Southeast Asia and the international community were caught up with mixed feelings, especially shock of disbelief and disappointment. The promises made by Myanmar since joining Asean in 1997 do seem further away than before.

Military action in Myanmar as expressed by Erving Goffman's dramaturgical theory assumes that identity is presented to the public at a certain event and place. An important aspect of dramaturgy theory in the context of communication is the concept of audiences and the relationship between individuals and audiences in a certain time and place. Through impression management, individuals must control their own presentations to evoke audience reactions to the presentations presented. In dramaturgy theory, we can see two elements at once, namely impression management and self-reflection.

The ASEAN response was immediately carried out on February 1, the ASEAN chair issued a statement based on discussions with all ASEAN member countries. In a climate of uncertainty, the situation on the ground is unclear and the chairman's constantly evolving statements provide direction to Asean member states, also providing something that the international community can do.

Minister of Foreign Affairs RetnoMarsudi is at the forefront and center of diplomatic efforts in the region and beyond. He is in constant communication with the Foreign Ministers of Asean member countries, with key countries outside the region, with the United Nations, with key organizations, and other personalities. Minister Retno's repeated diplomacy in February to Brunei, Singapore and Thailand helped lay the groundwork for the informal Asean Foreign Ministers' Meeting which then took place earlier this month on 2 March 2021.

According to the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, informal AMM (Asean Foreign Ministerial Meetings) are important in at least three respects: that ASEAN calls for acts of military violence to take place,

the need for exercise of restraint for the parties to seek peaceful solutions through dialogue and reconciliation, and reaffirmation of Asean's readiness to assist with positive peaceful and constructive way.

The group's position in the one month period since the outbreak of this situation has grown significantly to unite common views, and that is for one Asean country, Myanmar, to listen, understand and respond to the views of the other nine. ASEAN member countries. And finally it is important that a large number of Asean member countries including Indonesia make clear their views that this situation is detrimental to regional stability.

Currently the UN Security Council, UN Human Rights Commission, UN Human Rights Council, Asean Partners, and civil society are the main powers, and various other organizations supporting Asean's efforts to find a resolution. Foreign Minister RetnoMarsudi on her part understands this well and she continues to work over the phone and through virtual meetings to maintain and build support. Concern for the humanitarian situation in Myanmar and the impact of that situation on the country's future and regional security and prosperity. President Joko Widodo last week called for a meeting of Asean leaders. He spoke with ASEAN Chairman His Excellency Sultan Bolkuah of Brunei Darussalam earlier this week and hopefully such a meeting will take place in due course.

For Indonesia, the outcome of the summit should provide clarity on how ASEAN will handle the situation in Myanmar with a spirit of non-intervention, as well as the principles of the goals, and provisions of the Asean charter, and the spirit of the Asean family, and the Asean Community for its part Myanmar needs to have the opportunity to inform other Asean member states how they intend to fulfill their obligations under the Asean charter and responsibilities to achieve the Asean community.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Seeing how sad the bloody conflict in Myanmar by the Junta Military coup is, our conclusions and recommendations:

1. Asean countries without exception mobilize support for ending the bloody conflict in Myanmar. The support of non-ASEAN countries, including the European Union and the United States requires a firm stand in the name of humanity to stop the deadly violence carried out by Myanmar's military junta.
2. It is unethical to allow the Military Junta to kill unarmed civilians because civilians exercise their democratic rights to demand Myanmar's return to democracy which has been running since 2010.
3. It is urgent to ratify the Asean Charter so that there are opportunities for other countries to seek peace in the

event of a similar conflict like in Myanmar.

4. It is important to follow the EU format which allows EU institutions to intervene in conflicts occurring within member states. Asean associations must follow such a policy format.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research is only a small part of the proposed efforts to increase respect for human rights at the ASEAN regional level. The benefit of this research is that the Myanmar case provides insight into the importance of intervening on behalf of Asean organizations in complex humanitarian cases such as the one in Myanmar. The weakness of this research is that not many similar studies have been conducted for serious humanitarian cases in the Asean region.

So that further research is expected, including from other researchers outside Indonesia, to see the point of view of each country. This follow-up research is very important to encourage the urgency of upholding human rights as the responsibility of the management of Asean organizations to declare a country has committed gross human rights violations.

REFERENCES

Interview And Webinar

- Darusman, Marzuki (The former of Republic Indonesia and also the former of the UN International Independent Fact Finding Mission on Myanmar) "The perspective of the human rights and democracy in Myanmar" in a webinar entitled *Myanmar Crisis: Regional and International Solutions* on Friday March 26, 2021.
- Interview with Dupito Darma as Deputy Executive Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Tuesday March 23, 2021.
- Interview with Kornelius Purba, Senior Journalist and Observer of Foreign Politics from The Jakarta Post on Tuesday, March 23, 2021.
- Retno Marsudi as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia delivered by his excellency Sidharto R Suryodipuro (The Director General for Asean Cooperation Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia) in a webinar entitled *Myanmar Crisis: Regional and International Solutions* on Friday March 26, 2021.
- Vermonte, Phillips (The executive Director for Center Strategic and International Studies-CSIS) "The Role of External Powers In The Resolution in Myanmar" in a webinar entitled *Myanmar Crisis: Regional and International Solutions* on Friday March 26, 2021.

Books and Journals

- Baihaqi, Muhammad Imam. *Construction of the Social Reality of Police Image on Net 86 Reality Show on Net.Tv*. Jakarta: SyarifHidayatullah State Islamic University, 2016.

- Berger PL, Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality, a Treatise in the Sociologic of Knowledge*. New York: Penguin Books, 1966.
- Bogdan RC, Biklen SK (1982). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Budiardjo, Miriam. *Basics of Political Science*. Jakarta: Publisher PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1993.
- _____, Miriam. *Democracy in Indonesia: Parliamentary Democracy and Pancasila Democracy, Compilation of Essays*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1987.
- _____, Miriam (peny.). *Symposium on Capitalism, Socialism, Democracy*. Jakarta: Publisher PT Gramedia, 1984.
- Bungin, Burhan. *Sociology of Communication*. Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2007.
- Burns E. McNall, et al. (1989). *Western Civilization: Their History and Their Culture*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984.
- Dahl, Robert A. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- _____, Robert A. *On Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989
- Dahl RA (2001). *Regarding Democracy*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia
- Edhi WS (2010). *Class Clashes in Emile Zola's Novel Germinal*. Semarang: Faculty of Humanities, Diponegoro University Semarang
- Goffman E (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Doubleday Anchor: Garden City, New York
- Gramsci, Antonio. *Prison Notebooks (Notes From Prison)*. Yogyakarta: Student Library, 2013.
- Hatta M (1952). *Collection of Essays (I)*. Djakarta: "Bulan Bintang" Publisher
- _____, Mohammad. *Colonialism and National Problems*. Daulat Ra'jat Number. 11, 30 December 1931.
- _____, Mohammad. *Indonesia in the World Association*. Daulat Ra'jat Number 40, October 20, 1932.
- _____, Mohammad. *New and Old Collectivism*. Daulat Ra'jat Number 75, 10 Oktober 1933.
- The Asian Democracy Index Research. *The Case of Indonesia in 2014*. Center for Political Studies (Puskapol) UI, published in the UI Postgraduate, JISalemba Raya, Central Jakarta, Friday (12/12/2014).
- Collection of Minutes of Sessions from the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Investigation Agency (BPUPKI) (29 May 1945 - 16 July 1945) and the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) (18 and 19 August 1945) relating to the Compilation of the 1945 Constitution*. Jakarta: State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, [without year].
- Brown BE, Roy CM, eds. *Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings* (8th edition). Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1996.
- Irwan, H. *The Hegemony of the Ruling Class Against the Subordinate Class in the Novel Kubah by Ahmad Tohari* (Overview of Antonio Gramsci's Hegemony). Makassar: Faculty of Languages and Letters, Makassar State University, 2018.
- Kahin, Audrey. *Rebellion to Integration: West Sumatra and the Indonesian Polity, 1926-1998*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999.
- _____, Audrey R. (ed.). *Regional Dynamics of the Indonesia Revolution: Unity from Diversity*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985.
- Khan, Rais A., et al. *An Introduction to Political Science*. Georgetown, Ontario: Irwin-Dorsey Limited, 1977.

- Laffan M (2015). *History of Islam in the Archipelago*. Yogyakarta: Bentang Pustaka
- Leeds CA (1975). *Political Studies* (2nd edition). London: MacDonnal& Evans, Ltd
- Magnis-Suseno SJ, Franz (1995). *Seeking the Figure of Democracy: A Philosophical Study*. Publisher PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta
- _____, Franz, *The Ideals of Bung Hatta State* (paper in a national seminar on Dissecting Bung Hatta's Struggle Thought). National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, 14 August 2002.
- Maarif, Ahmad Syafii. *Islam in the Frame of Indonesianness and Humanity: A Historical Reflection*. Jakarta: Mizan, 2015.
- Lontar Scientific Magazine*, December 2009, Vol. 4, (Semarang, 2019).
- Mas'oe'd, Mochtar and Colin MacAndrews (eds.). *Comparison of Political Systems*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 2000.
- Polama, Margaret M. *Contemporer Sociology*. Jakarta: PT. RajagrafindoPersada, 2003.
- Surjo, Djoko et al. *Religion and Social Change: Studies on the Relationship between Islam, Society, and Indonesian Socio-Political Structures*. Yogyakarta: Center for Social and Southeast Asian Studies, UGM, 2001.
- Zainuddin, A. R. *Islamic Political Thought: Islam, the Middle East and the Clash of Ideologies*. Jakarta: Pencil-324 Pubisher, 2004.

Webiste

- <https://www.bbc.com>, Sunday March 1, 2021.
- <https://www.kompas.com>, Thursday March 4, 2021.
- <https://kabar24.bisnis.com>, Saturday March 20, 2021.
- <https://kabar24.bisnis.com>, Saturday March 20, 2021.
- <https://www.republika.co.id>, Wednesday April 7, 2021.