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## CRITICIZING INDONESIAN INITIATIVES IN THE JUNTA MILITARY COUP-D'ETAT IN MYANMAR: A STUDY OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATIONS

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### ABSTRACT

The Indonesian government have taken the initiative to reduce political unrest in Myanmar, one way that is outside of the common custom of the agreements of ASEAN countries. The activist group, Association of Assistance for Political Prisoners (AAPP) reported as of Monday, April 12, at least there are 713 civilians who were demonstrating were killed by the Myanmar Military Junta. The purpose of this research is to find out and reveal why the Indonesian government has the courage to offer the initiative to stop political unrest in Myanmar and how it affects Indonesia. The informants of this study are 5 persons. Theories in this research are Social Reality Construction by Peter L. Berger, Dramaturgy Communication by Erving Goffman and Hegemony Theory by Antony Gramsci. The results of this study indicate that: a) ASEAN countries mobilize support to stop the bloody conflict in Myanmar, without exception, which including the European Union and United States. b) It is unethical to let the Military Junta kill unarmed civilians because civilians exercise their democratic rights, demanding that Myanmar return to democracy that has been running since 2010. There are also few recommendations from this research: a) It is urgent to ratify the ASEAN Charter, so there is an opportunity for other countries to seek peace in the event of a similar conflict as in Myanmar. b) It is important to follow the European Union format which allows EU institutions to intervene in conflicts that occur within a member country.

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### 1 INTRODUCTION

The conditions of the Myanmar country since February 2021 were chaotic due to the Military Junta carrying out a coup against the government resulting from the November 2020 election which for the third time (2010, 2015 and 2020) was won by Myanmar's very influential leader, Aung San Suu Kyi. The dawn of February 1, 2021, Myanmar security forces arrested a number of elected political leaders, chief ministers and activists in the nation's capital, Naypyidaw, and across the country.

The Military Junta's accusation of fraudulent election implementation became one of the reasons for the coup. Until Wednesday 7 April 2021, a number of 581 civilians who were demonstrating died were killed by the Myanmar Military Junta that have 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.

Therefore, as a neighboring and friendly country, Indonesia will not remain silent seeing the situation that is happening in Myanmar. This time, this common custom or tradition was abandoned due to the actions of the ruling Military Junta which overthrew it through a coup of a democratic civilian government supported by Myanmar's reformist and democracy figure, Aung San Suu Kyi. The Military Junta government in Myanmar took force the government which in the last ten years had started trying to run democratically and carried out reforms on authoritarian government systems.

Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi said although ASEAN holds the principle of non-interference, realizing democracy for Myanmar is no less important. Foreign Minister Retno conveyed this in an informal meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers virtually on Tuesday (2/3/2021). Indonesia emphasizes that all ASEAN member countries are obliged to carry out the principles and values stated in the ASEAN Charter as a whole, such as the principle of noninterference.

"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 in a press briefing on the same day. If it fails to respect and implement 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," he said.

Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi and nine other ASEAN foreign ministers met specifically to discuss developments in Myanmar via a 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 as stated by (DeVito, 2011) informal communication that is determined is not determined by the organization. Moreover, (Mulyana, 2005) said that informal communication does not depend on the organizational structure. The results of the meeting will later be announced by Brunei Darussalam the Chair of ASEAN this year.

In an election on November 8, 2020, Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy (NLD) won for the third time, beating the United Development and Solidarity Party (USDP). Myanmar has entered into chaos since February 1, 2021 when the army seized power and detained Myanmar's most influential leader who supports the NLD party, Aung San Suu Kyi along with most of the leadership of the NLD party. The NLD won a landslide election in November 2020, which the military said was fraudulent.

Burgener communicated with the military in writing on February 15, 2021. Schraner Burgener said he believed the military was shocked by the protests against the coup. "Right now we have young people living in freedom for 10 years, they have social media, and they are well organized and very determined. They don't want to go back in a dictatorship and in isolation," he added.

Civil society resistance to the Military Junta due to the effects of social media understanding that democracy is in accordance with the thought of the Dramaturgy Communication Theory by Erving Goffman in his book *The Presentation of Everyday Life* (1959) says that dramaturgy is a basic theory of how individuals appear in the social world and this is supported by (Sulaiman, 2013) where Communication for development that results in participation, dialogue, and dissemination of knowledge is important so that Civil society resistance to the Military Junta due to the effects of social media. The 15-member UN Security Council has raised concerns over the emergency. But the international body did not condemn the coup last month because it was opposed by Russia and China. The two countries view this condition as Myanmar's internal affairs.

## 2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Although Indonesia has a number of opportunities to help resolve the military coup conflict in Myanmar, there are a number of problems. The main problem is that as a neighbor who lives next to Myanmar in ASEAN, is Indonesia right to intervene in Myanmar's problems and be able to diplomacy by not being patronizing but offering what Indonesia can do as a friend of ASEAN countries to help Myanmar? Indonesia's political communication approach must be able to position itself as a friend, not as someone who wants to interfere in matters because in the ASEAN in-

tegrity pact (6) cannot interfere because Bambang Setiawan (1990: 407) argues, "political communication" is the process of conveying opinions, attitudes, and behavior (6) of people, institutions, or political forces in the context of making political decisions, while what is meant by politics is nothing but the life of the state.

Under these conditions, Indonesia's steps will not be sure to succeed. One of the reasons for this was the emergence of rumors/hoaxes about Indonesia's proposal to hold a new election, which suddenly caused unrest among the national dissident movement in Myanmar. Pro-democracy supporters on the streets who went on a national strike said Indonesia's proposal was unacceptable, because all parties had to respect the results of the recently held elections. For democracy fighters, what the Myanmar military is doing is an imposition of the will like the Hegemony theory in Gramsci's sense, namely an attempt to force the submission of a weaker / lower society to accept the class ideology that hegemony by the hegemonic class.

In addition, the national strike movement opposes other countries' attempts to involve the military ruling in Myanmar because the move is interpreted as an acknowledgment of its legitimacy. "The role of ASEAN, especially Indonesia is very important in not accepting the Military Junta as a government. They are not a government. We want ASEAN, Indonesia to respect our voice and the results of the 2020 general election, to listen to the voices and interests of the Myanmar people," said a women's rights activist, Khin Lay in Yangon, in an interview with BBC News Indonesia.

The idea for next year's re-election was put forward by the Military Junta Leader could be another entry point for Indonesia to offer an option. If re-election is to be held, there must be independent international observers including ASEAN countries, as initiated by the Indonesian foreign minister and ASEAN countries, to close the loophole of fraud because According to Urofsky (2001: 2), in order to run a just and prosperous democratic government, there are no principles to follow understand and practice democracy in a real way, among others, is a government based on the constitution as a result of mutual agreement including the founders of the country, free democratic elections. With Indonesian political communication that is very familiar with the stereotypes of the Myanmar state society, Indonesia can get a win-win solution, influencing Myanmar to really prioritize the democratization process.

Moreover, Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi himself has emphasized that the Indonesian government is committed to communicating with all parties in Myanmar, "I repeat, with all parties including the military and the CRPH (Committee of Representatives of Pyidaungsu Hluttaw). The hope is that the courage of the Indonesian government and a number of other countries in the Southeast Asia region to communicate politically through a statement of their stance on the deep concern of the political situation in Myanmar, of course, raises criticism because it deviates from the general practice of agreements between governments in the Southeast Asian region.

Another problem that will arise in the future regarding the political communication of the Indonesian government that responds to the current conditions in Myanmar is the Myanmar state's own assessment of the attitude of the Indonesian government which will continue to disturb relations among countries between regions, a harmonious and strong relationship between countries because political communication is indeed used to formally link communication between countries (Amminuloh, 2013) and in addition (Nimmo, 2007: 8) says "political communication is communication that refers to political activities". The definition of political communication can be put forward by Pawito (2009), both of whom say that political communication is "a public discussion about the allotment of public resources - namely regarding the distribution of income or income received by the public, official authority - i.e. who is given the power to make decisions- making legal decisions, making regulations, and implementing regulations; and official sanctions – that is, what the state provides as a reward or perhaps punishment". This understanding puts forward the interaction between the state (the state) and the people or the public. Southeast Asia, which has been well developed, will be disturbed and likely to crack. Even worse, the risk arises if Myanmar withdraws from regional cooperation, or Myanmar cuts off international relations. These risks will very likely emerge in the future relations between countries that break up in the ASEAN region.

### 3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

- 1) Why does the Indonesian government dare to take political communication initiatives in responding to internal conflicts in the country of Myanmar, even though every country in the ASEAN region is not allowed to take care of the internal problems of each country
- 2) What risks might the Indonesian Government face in the future on Indonesia's political communication initiative against Myanmar?

### 4 RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative research methodology which has descriptive characteristics, contains an overview of the background of observations, people, actions, and conversations. Data collected directly from the source. Researchers become part of the main instrument of analysis and form words in sentences. This research will use literature study and in-depth interviews with a number of competent parties. This means that research relies on literature studies and a number of interviews. The literature study in question is to look at in-depth studies of official sources on cooperation in the ASEAN region and regional principles as well as what is happening currently in the responses of a number of ASEAN countries to political conflicts in Myanmar.

There are five people as sources for this research, namely: The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Dupito Darma (official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia), Kornelius Purba (Senior Journalist and ASEAN Political Observer from The Jakarta Post), Marzuki Darusman (The former of Republic Indonesia and also the former of the UN International Independent Fact Finding Mission on Myanmar), and Philips Vermonte (Executive Director of the Center Strategic for International Studies (CSIS) who understands Myanmar's political conflict.

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

### 5 RESULTS OF RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

#### **Indonesian Central Role**

As a very influential country in ASEAN, Indonesia is expected to be the party that will garner support for ASEAN countries and countries outside ASEAN to help resolve internal conflicts in Myanmar. The following description will outline the hopes for Indonesia, the difficulties that Indonesia will surely face, and of course what Indonesia has done and is still going to do.

#### ***Opportunities and Hopes for Indonesia***

Regarding the conflict caused by the military coup in Myanmar, there are a number of opportunities for Indonesia to help resolve the conflict. The position of Indonesia, which is considered the most competent country and has great influence in ASEAN, is expected to try to reduce the bloody conflict over the military coup that occurred 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 total isolation from the outside world under full control by the Myanmar military. It was only in 2010 that they made changes and Aung San Syu Ki was released from house arrest. His party Aung San Syu Ki won the election but not accepted by the army. Aung San Syu Ki is similar to Megawati Soekarno Putri in Indonesia, Aung San Syu Ki's father, Aung San is the founding father of the State of Myanmar. In 2015 another election was held and Aung San Syu Ki's party won again. Then the army compromised but similar to Soeharto where the Myanmar Law says 25% of the seats in Myanmar's Parliament are automatically controlled by the army without the need to participate in elections. So it is always said that Aung San Syu Ki is Myanmar's de facto leader. Myanmar only joined ASEAN in 1997 along with Cambodia and Laos. Myanmar Parliament made a law so that Aung San Syu Ki could not become President or Prime Minister because of this Aung San Syu Ki's husband, who is currently British, has died."

What happened in Myanmar, just like Berger's and Luckman's thoughts, reality was not formed scientifically nor was it revealed by God, but reality was the result of human formation and construction. In other words, humans construct the realities that exist in that society. Reality is dynamic and often has multiple or plural faces. Everyone will have a different construction of a reality. This is based on experience, preferences, education, environment and interactions between one individual and another, from here everyone will interpret the social reality with their respective constructs.

The entry point for Indonesia when Myanmar really admired and followed Suharto with ABRI's dual function, namely the Golkar Party as a mixture of the military and the bureaucracy. So the leader of the Myanmar coup, namely the commander of the Myanmar army, wants to retire in May 2021. Then he thinks that he will have a job after retiring and wants to come to power again, so he wants to overthrow the legitimate government by rejecting the November 2020 election results, accusing a lot of fraud against the victory of Aung San Suu Kyi's party. Ki National League for Democracy (NLD) which won an absolute 87% for the third time. Then the Coup was held and arrested the Myanmar leaders, the President of Myanmar and Aung San Suu Kyi. Unlike in 2010, the social media freedom in 2020 that has been enjoyed by the public, including Myanmar's young people, is very different from the previous elections in 2010 and 2015, something that the Military Junta does not understand. So, it becomes true the Communication Dramaturgy Theory by Erving Goffman. Dramaturgy theory is a "theory that explains that social interaction is defined as the same as a theater performance or play on a 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 as well as to describe the comparison between humans in real life with the players or actors on stage.

Seeing Myanmar's current position is not a new dilemma but an old one, as conveyed by Dupito Darma, "In the past, it was difficult for Myanmar to enter ASEAN because it did not want to enter the road map for democratic diplomacy that was agreed upon in the ASEAN Charter. In the past, we and even Western countries did not want to call it Myanmar but called it Burma. This is past history that is repeated. The Myanmar military has returned to its identity as the ruler that it uploaded, and now the military wants to make a comeback."

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

Marzuki Darusman highlighted the subject of history matters Military Coup conflict in Myanmar, "It is not a process of change, but a metamorphosis. It is not a transition, because it remaining elements from the past. It always push and pull. This is will end until the situation is transformed in Myanmar. So, we are dealing with the obsession of dictatorial force. We are dealing with the army of the state. Not state with an army. Because according to the international law, there are three main aspects of the state: government, territory, and people."

Marzuki explained that this coup was the accumulate process for about 70 years since the independence of Myanmar. The situation here that the territory of Myanmar is not the under the armed forces purview, but we are dealing with ethnic armed organization. Myanmar is a serious problem because of the army (Tatmadaw) believes that he is the guardian of the nation. Marzuki explained, "This is absolutely mistaken. What they protect is just a dominant ethnic group. There is no way that Tatmadaw represents Myanmar state and nation. The junta cannot be recognized because he is no more as the ethnic armed organization. There has been a revolution of the country. The military has offered what they call as "a disciplined flourishing democracy" as a concept of civilianization in process coup d'état making the junta lead the country. But Myanmar have a counter tool called federal democracy to fight against junta. This model of the state is going to represent future government of Myanmar. In fact, by this new model of the government, NLD has won the election until 2020 and now we can call it as a regime."

What Marzuki Darusman said above is in line with the thought 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, even though society and social institutions are objectively real, in fact all are formed in a subjective definition through a process of interaction. Marzuki called this as a trial and error, people of the Myanmar facing with Light Infantry Division of 33rd and 77rd that in the past, the LID making 1,5 million of refugees now in cox bazar. Marzuki said, "We are dealing with crime against humanity. I assume on May or June 2021, Tatmadaw has to finalize everything." Marzuki's serious note regarding the Myanmar coup is that the end of game plan that all ethnic groups have to be planning the mindset of *festina-lente* meaning that we should make the decision as soon as possible, but careful. All people must be understand the constitution, what nationalism fit for their own.

Regarding efforts to help resolve the conflict, according to Kornelius, ASEAN's steps cannot be taken because Indonesia's steps cannot go alone. So Indonesia, through its foreign minister, must have involved the United States and European countries for this Myanmar conflict. If it is to be truly effective, the United States and the West need to immediately impose sanctions. Myanmar is most feared if the accounts of the generals, wives and siblings are immediately blocked. That is what is most feared. And that has been done by Joe Biden. Because Myanmar's exports of coffee, coal and the like will be bought directly by China."

In terms of democracy, Philips Vermonte criticized that the military power of the Tatmadaw seeming have gone for too long that was 60 years of powers. The current situation itself making it very difficult to tackle down the situation. Somehow Tatmadaw must be in the picture of the solution as well. This has to be the goal of the international community to play role to help Myanmar as well. I hope Indonesia especially can have preferable solution to stop the conflict. It must be not so long if there is intervening the powers from the outside. But the current situation which mean the armed ethnic groups of Myanmar making it very hard to intervened. Philips said, "I think there are some chances of scenarios that likely to be the outcome of this situation. The first that the armed group and civil must stop the bloody situation as well. They have to sit and negotiate. Because we already face the situation especially 80s and 90s."

Meanwhile, Dupito sees that Indonesia's position is still at the forefront of efforts to resolve the Myanmar conflict but needs to renew the ASEAN Charter, "Indonesia's position is still constructing as gate-man. But for some people, Indonesia's position is transvestite. Said Dupito, "What do we do? Doing hard doesn't solve the problem. If he stays away from us, we can no longer be an interlocutor. That is a continuing dilemma. It is better if the ASEAN Charter must be amended. For example, there is no need for full consensus on matters that violates the most important rights, an emergency situation in that country, so that means let's say a majority so that seven to eight members can make decisions on behalf of ASEAN against that country. ASEAN must intervene actively or not. But if ASEAN is asked at this time, ASEAN has no position other than just saying restrain in order to return to the path of peace. Still it just does not mean anything for the current condition. So we don't know what to do either."

ASEAN hopes to do something about the Myanmar conflict, but it can never act as long as the consensus is still valid. At most, there will be Concern country, if only a few ASEAN countries group. Even that is not easy, of course Singapore is only the economy which is in its interests. It is impossible to expect Thailand to take a tough stance against Myanmar because it is the same government as the result of the coup.

This dilemma will continue to haunt us while at the same time we will maintain stability. What function stability? When hundreds of people have been killed and lost by the Military Junta, will ASEAN remain silent? How can Indonesia be silent? So it is a humanitarian crisis. If ASEAN cannot do something, ASEAN is obsolete, meaning that there is no benefit when facing the worst crisis faced not by the government but faced by the population, the authorities for a country and ultimately the ASEAN country because we are talking about political and security ASEAN community. Because ASEAN has divided itself into three pillars of ASEAN society: economy, socio-culture and politics. Where is political and security? Security, peace and human rights don't even exist right now.

Meanwhile Philips Vermonte outlined a number of possible scenarios in Myanmar. First, transfer back the power of the election of Myanmar. Tatmadaw of course will demand something to negotiate. They will ask for the amnesty. Of course it is not going to announce publicly. I think the best scenario is the groundwork for this situation either facilitated by the ASEAN and also

both side of the Myanmar. Second, release all the political prisoners including Aung San Su Kyi. Scenario number two focus on the outcome. I think both side have to share power in Myanmar. It is obviously the difficult solution for the people of the Myanmar. They are demanding to tackle down politics power of Tatmadaw as soon as possible. So these need to be some flexibility. This going to reflect Thailand scenarios. The NLD or CRPH will not take the power alone. Both sides need third power to reconcile. Who ever that be is the choice of the both sides needs to answer. It can be individual or figures.

Third, change the constitution into more democratic. Scenario number three focused on external power such as international community. If the death still raised and killing continuously not getting to stop, the international power have to intervene within the scope of UN mechanism. Fourth, Federal Democracy. Last scenario is the term period for discussing about the future constitution and the type of other country within the hands of the ASEAN. ASEAN have a long journey through finding conflict resolution as well. It is the duty of the ASEAN to solve this dispute.

Regarding the possibility of a harsh step by the international community towards Myanmar, Indonesia needs to consider garnering support not just an economic boycott, but also to provide a strong deterrent effect to the Myanmar military. Kornelius Purba emphasized that just an economic boycott would not be effective, for example, not selling Myanmar exports to a boycotting country would not be effective because China would buy all Myanmar merchandise. The reason is that China needs the Andaman sea port to enter the Indian Ocean. Kornelius suggested the need for international crackdown to have an effective deterrent effect on the leaders of the Myanmar Military Junta. Kornelius said,

"The Myanmar Military Leader afraid is if the military's assets and bank accounts belonging to the generals will be frozen by the Americans. If the problem is that there is a shortage of the domestic state budget, the Myanmar military government does not care. Then the assets of the Myanmar army and generals must be frozen. If America freezes all its banks- banking, surely all other banks will join because they are afraid of the US President Joe Biden has frozen all the accounts and military assets of Myanmar generals and that is what the Myanmar army is most afraid of."

Kornelius firmly reminded what Myanmar military fears are two things: first, if all its accounts are frozen, and second, the problem of Rohingya Muslims because the United Nations has decided Myanmar as the perpetrator of crimes against humanity. The generals of the Military Junta were terrified very afraid of being brought to the human rights court in Den Haag-Netherlands, and if that happens a military junta general will automatically go to jail and a lot has happened. The Congolese leader has gone to prison, the Bosnian leader has been imprisoned, the Serbs are already in prison. That is what the Military Junta leader is most afraid of if he goes to prison for crimes against Rohingya. But because of these two factors also make Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam afraid of Indonesia because Indonesia really cares about the humanitarian case in Rohingya.

With regard to the internal summit of the ASEAN countries in April 2021, according to Kornelius, Myanmar is very unfit to attend because of a very embarrassing humanitarian event. Because if he is invited to the ASEAN Summit, <sup>5</sup> means that we recognize the current leader of Myanmar. Indonesia cannot be too harsh because **Indonesia is very concerned about the** Rohingya issue **in Myanmar**, while **the Myanmar** army has committed acts of killing humanity in Rohingya as decided by the United Nations. Indonesia could be accused of "having prawns behind a rock", for the benefit 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 work together with Facebook and Twitter and as a result, now that Facebook and Twitter are banned in Myanmar, civil society must continue to be encouraged to fight the coup. Kornelius believes that there must be an invisible diplomacy because America has an interest in the Chinese-controlled Myanmar economies. For US President Joe Biden it is very important to prioritize human rights in line with the economy, and Joe Biden will be fussy to press on this issue. America has frozen the account of the son of the leader of the coup d'etat general and an amount of 1 billion dollars that has been frozen by America. If the assets were frozen, the Myanmar military would be very disturbed.



### *Major Obstacles for Indonesia's Efforts*

Dupito Darma explained that great difficulties hinder the efforts of Indonesia and ASEAN countries to take a stand on the Myanmar military coup, the biggest problem is precisely the principles in the ASEAN Charter which bind all member countries. ASEAN is having difficulties, because ASEAN's authority is different from that of the European Union. The European Union is not based on consensus, meanwhile ASEAN is all based on consensus. So it will be very difficult to discuss sensitive issues in ASEAN, including discussing political issues in Myanmar. Because even if Myanmar does not agree, it will be very difficult to find consensus. Because the statement issued on behalf of ASEAN must be approved by all names of members. In Europe it has executives who can speak out on behalf of the European Union. If in ASEAN no one can speak on behalf of ASEAN, if it does not have the approval of all members then it is not valid. That's a very crude compromise and it always happens.

Then the question is, for the current coup, what is Indonesia willing to do? At a time when Thailand is still controlled by the regime resulting from a military coup as well. Similar to Hun Sen in Cambodia, Hun Sen is also the dictator in Cambodia. He will not want to issue criticism against Myanmar. In addition, Myanmar has a back-up with China, because Myanmar is directly adjacent to China. The relationship between the military top brass of China and Myanmar has never been cut off from the past."

So said Dupito Darma, if the ASEAN charter is still 100% pure consensus, how can ASEAN countries agree on something that is not in line with what ASEAN wants? of course Malaysia will be tough but Malaysia is naughty too. Malaysia returns all asylum seekers to their respective countries, except Rohingya asylum seekers, on the basis of religious sentiment. This attitude of Malaysia is very contrary to the principles of international law, meaning that if the asylum seeker will face a situation that endangers them, harms them, especially endangers their life, they are not allowed to repatriate the asylum seeker, the task of the UN agency is to regulate that.

Although the ASEAN charter limits the involvement of ASEAN countries, according to Kornelius Purba, Indonesia Indonesia as the de facto leader of ASEAN must take a firm stance:

"There is an ASEAN non-interference principle, other countries should not interfere with domestic conflicts. But what happened in Myanmar is exactly like a conflict at home, where a neighbor, children and their wives have been beaten until they bleed until someone dies. How come we just keep quiet? I have indeed suggested it, even though it is very difficult to gather the ten de facto ASEAN leaders specifically to discuss Myanmar. Thailand will definitely refuse difficult interference because Thailand leader Prayut Chan-o-cha is now the result of an army coup also from the hands of the previous Prime Minister Yinluck Sinawatra. Laos and Cambodia certainly don't want to be with Vietnam because they are the same Buddhist countries as Myanmar.

For Dupito Darma, when all member countries must agree, that is proof of ASEAN's weakness as well as its strength because ASEAN will not be divided. One example of weakness is in the case of the South China Sea which has not been resolved until now, because when Indonesia, Malaysia and Vietnam try to find a solution, but Cambodia is held by Beijing by its tail, it will never be resolved. Dupito is sure that a superpower like America, which is currently led by the Democrat Party, will not possibly be silent. But something is to be done to stop the mass killing of the people. If ASEAN does not get out of this case, the name ASEAN will be very, very bad.

### **The Indonesian Government's Efforts on Myanmar Coup**

Realizing as the country most expected to play an active role in reducing the conflict in Myanmar, the Government of Indonesia through the [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia](#) expresses such concerns, "When the military took over the control of government on first of February and repudiated the outcome of the November 2020 elections, all of us in Southeast Asia and international community were caught with a mixed set of feelings, mainly shock disbelief and disappointment. The promise that Myanmar made since it joined ASEAN in 1997, does seemed even further away than ever before.

Military action in Myanmar as expressed by Erving Goffman's dramaturgy theory assumes that identity is presented to an audience at a certain event and in a certain place. An important aspect of dramaturgy theory in the context of communication is the concept of audiences and the re-

lationship between individuals and audiences in a certain time and place. Through impression management, individuals must control their own presentation to evoke audience reactions to the presentations presented. In dramaturgy theory, we can see two elements at once, namely impression management and looking-glass self-mirrors.

ASEAN's response was immediate on first of February, the chair of ASEAN issued statement on the basis of discussion with all ASEAN member states. In a climate of uncertainty, a situation on the ground was unclear and evolving the chair's statement provided guidance to ASEAN member states, it also provided something that the international community can rally around. Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi was at front and center in the diplomatic effort in the region and beyond. She was continues to be in communication with Foreign Minister of ASEAN member states, with key countries beyond the region, with United Nations, with others key organizations, and personalities. The shuttle diplomacy that minister Retno undertook in February to Brunei, Singapore, and Thailand help to lay the groundwork for the informal ASEAN Foreign Minister Meeting that subsequently took place earlier this month on March the 2nd.

According to the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the informal AMM (ASEAN Foreign Ministerial Meetings) is significant in at least three ways: <sup>14</sup> the group called for accession of the violence, the exercise of restraint <sup>10</sup> the parties to seek peaceful solution through dialogue and reconciliation, and reiteration of ASEAN's readiness to assist in a positive peaceful and constructive manner. The group's position in a period of one month since outbreak of this situation has evolved significantly to come together with common views, and it was for one ASEAN state, Myanmar, to listen, to understand, and to respond to the views of the other nine ASEAN member states. And finally it was significant that a significant number of ASEAN member states including Indonesia made clear their views that this situation is detrimental to regional stability.

Today the U.N Security Council, The UN <sup>13</sup> Human Rights Commission, The U.N Human Rights Council, ASEAN Partners, and major power civil society, and various other organizations supported ASEAN's effort to find a resolution. These have been expressed openly as well as through diplomatic channels. Their support cannot be taken for granted and it is not being taken for granted. We enjoy the support because of the credibility that ASEAN has built over time. It is a support based on ASEAN's past ability to resolve regional issues and this support has to be earned and much work lies head of us for all ASEAN member states.

Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi on her parts understand this well and she continues to work the phones and through virtual meeting to maintain and build the support. Our concern for the humanitarian situation in Myanmar and the impact the situation is having on the future of the country as well as regional security and prosperity. Presiden Joko Widodo last week call for a meeting of ASEAN leaders. He spoke with the chairman of ASEAN his majesty Sultan Bolkiah of Brunei Darussalam earlier this week and hopefully such a meeting will take place in due course.

A number of considerations merit further thought. How to stop violence and start dialogue leading to peace? All side must show flexibility to allow this to take shape ASEAN has offered its services. Is this situation undermining ASEAN's effectiveness as an institution? ASEAN's enduring purposes and goals in any field have been reached through a process of working together.

The Indonesian government recognized, if Myanmar's internal problem continues to exist, major competing powers may use this situation against the competing powers and thus provide centrifugal force to ascent centrality. Is the situation leading to instability in the region? Myanmar crisis may examine not only the Rohingya situation, it may prompt refugees to flow to neighboring countries looking for safety. We are already seeing early indications of this.

In addition, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, finally, is this situation derailing economic aspirations? Myanmar's economic is facing challenges to the extent that it may be paralyzed as there are signs of banking crisis as well as falling investment as an important part of the ASEAN economy community. The situation in Myanmar could hamper ASEAN's regional economic integration. The aforementioned situation are among those that in ASEAN Summit may have to address.

For Indonesia, the outcomes of such a summit must provide clarity on how ASEAN would address the situation in Myanmar in the spirit of non interference, as well as the purposes principles, and provisions of the ASEAN charter, and the spirit of ASEAN family, and ASEAN community for it's part Myanmar needs to have the opportunity to inform the other ASEAN member

state how it intends to fulfill its obligation under ASEAN charter and responsibilities to achieve ASEAN community.

### 6 CONCLUSION

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

1. ASEAN countries mobilize support to stop the bloody conflict in Myanmar, without exception. The supports of non-ASEAN countries, including the European Union and the United States need a firm stance on behalf of humanity to stop deadly violence by the Myanmar Military Junta.
2. It is unethical to let the Military Junta kill unarmed civilians because civilians exercise their democratic rights demanding that Myanmar return to democracy that has been running since 2010.
3. It is urgent to ratify the ASEAN Charter so that there is an opportunity for other countries to seek peace in the event of a similar conflict as in Myanmar.
4. It is important to follow the European Union format which allows EU institutions to intervene in conflicts that occur within a member country. ASEAN associations should follow such a policy format. (Berger and Luckmann 1966) (Bogdan and Biklen 1982) (Bonasir 2021) (Darma 2021) (Darusman 2021) (Goffman 1959) (Gramsci 2013) (Marsudi 2021) (Nadira, Kelompok Etnis Siap Melawan, Myanmar Terancam Perang Saudara 2021) (Purba 2021) (Puspasingrum, Menolak Mundur Militer Myanmar Nyatakan Siap Hadapi Sanksi Dan Isolasi 2021) (Vermonte 2021).

### 7 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research is only a small part of the proposed efforts to improve respect for human rights at the ASEAN regional level. The excellence of research is that the Myanmar case opens up horizons on 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 there have not been many similar studies conducted for serious humanitarian cases in the ASEAN region.

So further research is expected, including from other researchers outside Indonesia to see the point of view of their respective countries. This follow-up research is very important to push for the urgency of human rights enforcement as a responsibility from the management of the ASEAN organization to declare a country has committed serious violations of human rights.

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