

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

International organization is an organization that works within international scope, with international membership and the presence itself. Organization is a group of people who have and share a common interest. So, international organization is a group of people in international scope which has common interest and most of them are interested in a common international issue. In some cases, international organizations have taken an important part to criticize international politics with power in mediation, dispute resolution, peace keeping, applying sanctions and others.

“An international organization is an institutional structure created by agreement among two or more sovereign states for the conduct of regular political interactions. IGOs are distinguished from the facilities of traditional diplomacy by their structure and permanence.” (Jacobson, 1984)

International organization works depending on the purposes, meaning what is the main purpose to build that organization - then it would be their job. Basically, international organization is classified in two types which are INGOs and IGOs. INGO or International Nongovernmental Organization is kind of non governmental organization as usual that works in international scope such as International Committee of the Red Cross. IGOs or intergovernmental

organization is more formal than INGOs and the member state is usually a sovereign state, for example UN, WTO and OIC.

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is the second largest international organization after the United Nation, which consists of 57 countries as the member states and 5 countries as the observers. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation was established in Rabat, Kingdom of Marocco on 12th Rajab 1389 in Islamic calendar or on 25th September 1969. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation mostly consists of Muslim majority countries. They exist as the Islamic organization which has job to represent all Muslim society in the world, to fight for Muslim rights and to express Muslim voice.

According to Charter of the OIC 2008 chapter 1 article 1 point 16 “*the objective of OIC shall be to safeguard the rights, dignity and religious and cultural identity in Muslim communities and minorities in Non-Member state*”. The third charter of OIC strengthens this statement by stating “*The Organization aims to strengthen Islamic solidarity among member states, cooperation in the political, economic, social, cultural and scientific fields and the struggle of all Muslim people to safeguard their dignity, independence and national rights*”.

It was stated earlier that international organization works towards the purpose for what it was built and within its scope. The Organization of Islamic cooperation focuses more on Muslim rights and Islam as their scope of work. The Organization of Islamic cooperation considers itself as the representative of Muslims around the world.

Conflict happens everywhere and in every aspect such as economic, social, politics, religious. One of the sensitive issues is religious issue. One simple example is the arising of the *Islamophobia* phenomena. The movement works to prevent or not like Islam at whole. Islamophobia arises to decline the expansion of Islamic movement and to show off the dislike of Islamic value. Islamophobia is always be related to terrorism. Overgeneralization in society changes the people's mindset to make them believe that all the terrorism or war happening in the world now is caused by Muslims.

Most of all conflicts in the world produce victims or refugee. In Syria's case of ISIS around 4.5 million have become refugees, some of whom go to Europe and other countries for safety reasons. The other cases are Palestine-Israel, Germany, India-Pakistan, China, Rohingya Myanmar and many others.

One of the hottest issues related to religion which still cannot be solved is the issue of Rohingya in Myanmar. Rohingya is Muslim minority group in Myanmar that did not get recognition from the government of Myanmar. Basically Rohingya already stayed in Rakhine since 19th century. They were there in Arakan Kingdom that has been collapsed. The collapse of the Kingdom divided the area into two groups such as Islamic and Buddhist.

Rohingya is Muslim group which comes from middle-east countries and stayed in Arakan Kingdom, now known as Rakhine since 19th century. At that time, Hinduism and Buddhism existed in some parts of Asia. The problem is, Indonesia and Malaysia were not the masses of religion and since that time the Muslims in Myanmar recognize their own selves as the minority group that live in

the Buddhist environment. Even though they lived with the differences, Rohingya was loyal and tolerated by the king and the majority. Then, they also decide to live peacefully as the community without threatening the other community which is Buddhist.

The distinction between two groups became bigger during 1942 when the Japan invasion separated the country into the Buddhist majority regions held by Japan and the Arakan region controlled by the British colonialism. The result is the former area of Arakan Kingdom which collapsed and gave rise to two kinds of group which Rohingya refers to Muslim and Rakhine refers to Buddhist.

Population of Rohingya is 989,000 and all believe in Islam. Rohingya staying at Arakan state comprises a strip of land along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal from the Naf River to Cape Negaris, and stretches north and south touching Bangladesh on the northwest.¹ Although Rohingya already lived in Myanmar since longtime ago, in fact Rohingya did not speak Burmese but they spoke Bengali. It was because their identity could not be merged.

Rohingya is being un-recognized since the independence of Myanmar in 1948. According to 1982 citizenship law, there are 3 kind societies that would be recognized by the government of Myanmar. From those all categories, Rohingya has no space where they should belong to. Being un-recognized by the government of Myanmar, Rohingya did not get their citizenship because the government do believe that they were not included on one of the requirements in Citizenship Law 1982. So, the government of Myanmar gave the Rohingya

¹ Joshua Project. (2016). Retrieved November 8, 2016, from Rohingya in Myanmar (Burma): https://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/11359/BM

society kind of “white card” as the alternative of identity card. The identity card has been used for long-time now, but the white card is just for temporary time since the government of Myanmar still has not recognized where they belong to.

The government of Myanmar did such kind of discrimination to Rohingya society since the independence of Myanmar, which was related to the Japan invasion and ex-British colonialism. Discrimination happens almost every time, meanwhile the crisis happened in 1978, 1992, 2001, 2009 and 2012. In 1978 the tragedy of Dragon King appeared in Myanmar and it was done by the army of Myanmar killing people of Rohingya, rapes women of Rohingya community and destroyed religious heritage sites and buildings. The accident pushed around 200,000 Rohingya people to move to Bangladesh.

Then in 1992 forced labor, summary executions, torture and rapes rearise in the society of Rohingya. Next 9 years, amnesty international was on fire in Myanmar between Muslim and Buddhist in Myanmar. In 2009 when the people of Rohingya fled to Thailand, they were pushed back by the Thai authorities into Andaman Sea. Last issue was in 2012 when the group of Rohingya was accused of raping and killing Buddhist women and they got the grudge by group of Buddhist people who burned their building, killed more than 280 people and as a result more than 120,000 Rohingya fled out of the country.

Rohingya also got discrimination by Buddhist and elite militant in Myanmar. Both groups wanted to obliterate and chased away Muslim in Myanmar especially in Rakhine. Beside discrimination, Rohingya is also hard to get the facilities and services as the society.

Therefore according to the statement above about international organization's rule and the OIC's job, OIC is responsible to contribute in resolving the existing problem such as Rohingya. Due to the responsibility to protect Muslim in the world included Rohingya itself, OIC works hard to solve Rohingya's problem. OIC as the second largest international organization tries to influence member states to help Rohingya's problem, one of it is by telling the Muslim majority country near Myanmar to help Rohingya such as Malaysia and Indonesia. However, it could not solve the main problem since Rohingya has significant number of people and needs citizenship that absolutely could not be given by Malaysia or even Indonesia.

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation fight for Rohingya to get their citizenship and recognized by government of Myanmar which was repealed in the Citizenship Act 1982. OIC held one meeting with the agenda to call on Myanmar to obey on international law and human rights covenants. OIC constrained Myanmar to restore peace and inter-communal harmony by stopping violence and discrimination towards Rohingya which related to ethnic violence which broke up in 2012.

To relieve the situation and to help solve Rohingya's problem, OIC planned to open their branch in Yangon Myanmar. Therefore OIC can control off the entire Muslim minority in Myanmar. Earlier, it's already agreed by the Myanmar sides but then after that there is headline news saying that OIC could not open their branch in Myanmar. This news was followed by action of thousand

monks in form of demonstration and protest in Myanmar by the slogan “Burma is Buddhist country and it rejects Muslim”.

Regarding to the all efforts which have been done by OIC, All Pakistan Muslim League (APML) Chief and former president, Pervez Musharraf was disappointed with the result and said that *“it is unfortunate that the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) has become functionless and has failed completely in protecting the rights of Muslims being victimised across the globe.”*²

Pervez Musharraf also said that it must be handled by OIC as well, because if it was not then there will be gap among religions in the world. He considers this problem as injustice against Muslim. If this kind of problem continues to happen the impact will be on global peace especially the respect among religions.

There are many obstacles that must be faced by OIC. Indeed Myanmar is not a Muslim country or member state of OIC that it will be hard for Myanmar to follow up what OIC’s request. Even though this case is already handled by United Nation, this will be not easy since Myanmar is a sovereign state.

B. Research Question

Why OIC cannot implement their job to protect Muslim rights in solving the case of Rohingya Myanmar?

² Pakistan today. (2015, June 7). *OIC failed to play due role to protect Rohingyas: Musharraf*. Retrieved October 20, 2016, from Organization of Islamic Cooperation: <http://pakistanoday.com.pk>

C. Theoretical Framework

In this thesis, the writer will discuss the effectiveness of OIC when trying to help Rohingya's problem. To analyze it, the writer should know how to measure the stage reached by OIC in helping the issue. So, the writer should use the theory, concept or models which discuss how to measure the successful standard of an international organization.

Concept of International Organizations

Archer (2002) emphasizes 3 roles of international organization:

- a. As the instrument (tools) to get the deal, push the conflict intensity and coordination of actions.
- b. As the arena to compile, consult and initiate decision maker and formulate international agreement.
- c. As the actor, international organization which has ability and also as the autonomous actor which act in their own capacity as international organization and no longer as the executor of member's interests.

According to Holsti (1992) in his book *International Politics A Framework for Analysis*, the role of international organization has limitation in addressing conflict and create peace.³

From the concepts mentioned above by Archer (2002) and Holsti (1992) if we take a look at the problem of Rohingya which got help by the international organization in this case which is The Organization of Islamic Cooperation, we

³ Holsti, K. (1992). *International Politics; A Framework for Analysis*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

found the conformity that International organization has the limitation in solving the problem and would not ensure that it can solve the conflict or create the peace.

Theory of Institutionalization

Institutionalization is the process by which organizations and procedures acquired value and stability.⁴ A political organization or procedures is an arrangement for maintaining order, resolving disputes, selecting authoritative leader and thus promoting community among two or more social forces.

According to Huntington (1968): *“The level of institutionalization of any political system can be defined by the adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence of its organizations and procedures.”*

So, the level of institutionalization of any particular organization or procedure can be measured by its adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence. If these criteria can be identified and measured, political systems can be compared in terms of their levels of institutionalization.⁵

a. Adaptability

Adaptability is an acquired organizational characteristic or the function of environmental challenge and age. Adaptability of an organization will influence the high institution and the rigidity. The more adaptable an organization, the higher institutionalization quality will be produced and the less adaptable an organization the more rigid it will be.

⁴ Huntington, S. P. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. London: Yale University.

⁵ Ibid.

Adaptability can be measured by accounting the amount of environmental challenges and age. The more environmental challenge and the greater age will increase the stage of adaptability in organization. To simplify, old organization will be greater than the younger one because of its familiar and in facing challenges in environment. So the writer can conclude that old organization has been tested by those two criteria.

Adaptability also works in functional term, which is the function of the organization that does not run efficiently which means that the organization will be face crisis.

b. Complexity

The complexity of an organization could influence the quality of the organization. The more complicated organization will be influenced the high institutionalization. Complexity of organization consists of purpose, variety of sub-units, ability to secure and the maintenance of the loyalties.

c. Autonomy

Autonomy is the extent to which political organizations and procedures exist independently of other social groupings and method of behavior. Autonomy involves the relation between social force and political organization. Lack of autonomy will result in corruption in international organization or the decreasing quality in international organization.

d. Coherence

The more unified and coherent an international organization, the higher quality of institutionalization it will produce. So the minimum standard to know

the effectiveness of international organization is by the substantial consensus on the functional boundaries in solving the dispute.

The explanation about the theory above could be related in answering the research question by implementing the theory in Rohingya's problem. The writer uses this theory to examine the successfulness of international organization, in this case the Organization of Islamic Cooperation in helping to solve the Muslim problem which is Rohingya.

In this case, the writer tries to analyze how the Organization of Islamic Cooperation tries to help the Rohingya case and also the writer will cluster the data through the characteristics mentioned by this theory to know the stage of successfulness.

Adaptability can be measured by accounting the amount of environmental challenges and age. In case of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, they faced some environmental challenges which are Myanmar it-self, which is not their member state and also religion background of OIC is totally different with the majority people of Myanmar which is Muslim and Buddhist. As well as the age of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation which is old enough, OIC is already 47 years old since the establishment in 1969. Since that time, OIC is already actively involved in helping international conflict such as Libya conflict, Palestine-Israel, Syria and so on.

Complexity is related to the quality of the organization which consists of purpose, variety of sub-units, ability to secure and the maintenance of loyalties. In

case of Rohingya, OIC takes a look back to their Charter chapter 1 article 1 point 16 “*the objective of OIC shall be to safeguard the rights, dignity and religious and cultural identity in of Muslim communities and minorities in Non-Member state*”. As mentioned before, the purpose of OIC towards Rohingya in Myanmar is clear enough that OIC will be safeguard for the minorities in Non-Member state. Variety of sub-units related to the conflict is in form of department in OIC which is International Cooperation and Humanitarian Affairs Department (ICHAD) that will be focusing on humanitarian conflict like in Rohingya Myanmar about their right of citizenship. Maintaining the loyalties, since long time ago OIC still kept trying to help Rohingya problem even though until now it is still not found the way to solve. The last point is ability to secure, this point the writer did not found yet the answer because the conflict still goes on and the writer will try to analyze in the next chapter.

Autonomy is discussing the relation between social force and political organization. In helping Rohingya’s problem, OIC also includes some non-government organizations related to humanitarian issues and some international organization such as UN to push the government of Myanmar in solving the problem. However, the obstacle that must be faced by the OIC is domestic political organization that is totally opposite with them.

Coherence is discussing how deep the interrelatedness of the issue and the organization. In case of the OIC and Rohingya, actually they are related to each other since the purpose of OIC is to cover up all the Muslim rights no matter whether they are member states or non-member states. Also, the problem in

Myanmar itself is Muslim becoming the main object or the victims in gaining their right and getting the discrimination as the minorities in the country.

D. Hypothesis

To answer the research question, the writer used the concept of International Organization and theory of institutionalization that have been mentioned above. After making in a line between the theoretical framework and research question, the writer got some points of hypothesis which are:

- a. Limitation of Organization of Islamic Cooperation which does not give the guarantee that the case will be successful or not and just work in their own capacity.
- b. Organization of Islamic Cooperation faces the challenges to create peace in Myanmar due to their limitation in addressing conflict.
- c. Organization of Islamic Cooperation with the appointing country has different background that causes them unable to unite in solving the problem.
- d. Political organization in Myanmar did not fully support Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

E. Scope of Research

This thesis would talk about international organization and the approach of international organizations in trying to help solving sovereign state problems. The scope would be concerned on the role of international organization which is the

Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the case of Rohingya or refugee and stateless nation in Myanmar.

F. Methodology

To find out the analysis of the problem, the writer has used the methodology of qualitative approach through secondary data by book, e-book, news, document from the appointed organization and the result of convention related to the issue.

G. Range of Research

In this research, the writer only focused on the topic research which is the limitation of Organization of Islamic Cooperation in solving the Rohingya problem. The writer explained the understanding of the problem and analyzes based on the data in order to answer the research question. The problem still going on until now, the writer gives the time limit which is starting since the problem began 1948 until the current condition early 2017.

H. Purpose of Research

The writer wrote this thesis to know and analyze the hiding reason why until know the Myanmar case could not be solved, even though they got helped from many state and non-state actors.

The writer also wants to know how the international organizations work based on their roles and main purpose by examining the effectiveness. Besides that, the most important objective of this thesis is to answer the research question which will be equipped by proving the hypothesis.

I. System of Writing

Chapter I : Background, Research Question, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Scope of research, Methodology, Range of research, Purpose of research, and Section of research.

Chapter II : Myanmar, The condition of Myanmar, Rohingya, Data about Rohingya, Condition of Rohingya, Government discrimination to Rohingya.

Chapter III : International Organization, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, The role of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Structure of the Organization of Islamic cooperation and Organization of Islamic Cooperation's effort towards the Rohingya case in Myanmar.

Chapter IV : Data analysis through the stage of adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence to answer the research question.

Chapter V : Conclusion