

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Jepang Akan Bangun Kapal Induk Modern. (2018, 12 12). Diambil kembali dari VOA Indonesia Web Site: <https://www.voaindonesia.com/>

Teori Tindakan Komunikatif: Rasio dan Rasionalisasi Masyarakat. (2019). Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.

Ackerly, B. A., Stern, M., & True, J. (2006). *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Amnesty International. (2004, Mei 18). *Tentang: Myanmar: The Rohingya Minority: Fundamental Rights Denied.* Dipetik Februari 14, 2020, dari <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa16/005/2004/en/>

Amnesty International. (2018, November 12). *Amnesty International withdraws human rights award from Aung San Suu Kyi.* Dipetik Mei 2020, 16 , dari <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/11/amnesty-withdraws-award-from-aung-san-suu-kyi/>

Anadolu Agency. (2017, Agustus 31). *About: US warns Myanmar after violence against Rohingya.* Dipetik Maret 1, 2020, dari <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/us-warns-myanmar-after-violence-against-rohingya/898105#>

Anwary, A. (2018). Atrocities against the Rohingya Community of Myanmar. *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs, 31, Nos. 1/2,* 91-102.

Arab News. (2017, September 5). *About: OIC condemns abuses against Rohingya*

in Myanmar. Dipetik Maret 1, 2020, dari

<https://www.arabnews.com/node/1155966/saudi-arabia>

Arendt, H. (1958). *The Human Condition* (2nd ed.). Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Arfi, B. (2017). *Teori Dekonstruksi Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Armstrong, A. C. (1915). The Principle of International Ethics. *The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 17-22.

Aron, G. (2018). Reframing the Crisis in Myanmar's Rakhine State. *US Institute of Peace*, 1-5.

ASEAN. (2020, Maret 3). *About: ASEAN Political – Security Community*. Dipetik Maret 3, 2020, dari <https://asean.org/asean-political-security-community/>

ASEAN Intergovernmental Commision on Human Rights (AICHR). (2019, Desember 3). *The European Union and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations held their third Human Rights Policy Dialogue*. Dipetik Maret 26, 2020, dari <https://aichr.org/news/the-european-union-and-the-association-of-southeast-asian-nations-held-their-third-human-rights-policy-dialogue/>

Asian Development Bank (ADB). (2019). *About: Poverty in Myanmar*. Dipetik Maret 10, 2020, dari <https://www.adb.org/countries/myanmar/poverty>

Australian Institute of International Affairs. (2017, September 12). *About: The International Community's Response to the Rohingya Crisis.* Dipetik Maret 1, 2020, dari <http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/international-community-response-rohingya/>

Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS). (2019). *Jumlah kunjungan wisman ke Indonesia Juni 2019 mencapai 1,45 juta kunjungan.* Dipetik November 8, 2019, dari www.bps.go.id

Bahador, B. (2007). *The CNN Effect in Action: How the News Media Pushed the West Toward War in Kosovo* (1st ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bak, M., Jenkins, M., & Cakl, O. (2019). Overview of corruption and anti-corruption in Myanmar. *Transparency International*, 23.

Bakry, U. S. (2007). *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional.* Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Bangkok Post. (2018, Agustus 8). *Thai-Myanmar border commerce to double by 2026.* Dipetik Maret 28, 2020, dari <https://www.bangkokpost.com/business/1517678/thai-myanmar-border-commerce-to-double-by-2026>

Barany, Z. (2019). The Rohingya Predicament. Why Myanmar's Army Gets Away with Ethnic Cleansing. *Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)*, 1-27.

- Barton, G. (2017). *Biografi Gus Dur. The Authorized Biography of Abdurrahman Wahid*. Yogyakarta: Mahabbah Bekerjasama dengan IRCiSoD dan LKiS.
- Bashar, I. (2013). Jihadists at the Gate? A Preliminary Enquiry into the Reaction of the Jihadist Movement to Communal Violence in Myanmar. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 5, 14-16.
- Bastos, J., Ibarrola-Armendariz, A., Sardinha, J., Westin, C., & Will, G. (2006). Identity, Representation, Interethnic Relations and Discrimination. *Amsterdam University Press*, 201-232.
- Bellamy, A. J. (2015). The Changing Face of Humanitarian Intervention. *St Antony's International Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 15-43.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckman, T. (1991). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. England: Penguin Books.
- Bertens, K. (2013). *Etika*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Billig, M. (2008, September). The language of critical discourse analysis: the case of nominalization. *Discourse & Society*, 783-800.
- Bissinger, J. (2012). Foreign Investment in Myanmar: A Resource Boom but a Development Bust? *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 23-52.
- Blakemore, E. (2019, Februari 8). *Tentang: Who are the Rohingya People?*
- Dipetik Februari 14, 2020, dari

<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/people/reference/rohingya-people/>

Blakemore, E. (2019, Februari 8). *TEntang: Who are the Rohingya People?*

Dipetik Februari 14, 2020, dari

<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/people/reference/rohingya-people/>

Blommaert, J., & Bulcaen, C. (2000). Critical Discourse Analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 447-466.

Boswell, W. E. (2016). Myanmar in the Balance. (L. D. Miller, Penyunt.) *Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College*, 14-24.

Browne, C. (2015). Change is Central to Sociology. (G. Bammer, Penyunt.) *ANU Press*, 55-79.

Burchill, S. (2013). *Theories of International Relations* (5th ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Burke, A. (2016). New Political Space, Old Tensions: History, Identity and Violence in Rakhine State, Myanmar. *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International & Strategic Affairs*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 258-283.

Burmese Rohingya Organisation UK (BROUK). (2014). *MYANMAR'S 1982 CITIZENSHIP LAW AND ROHINGYA*. London: Burmese Rohingya Organisation UK (BROUK).

C. Smith, R. (1985, May). BACHELARD'S LOGOSPHERE AND DERRIDA'S LOGOCENTRISM: IS THERE A "DIFFERANCE?". *French Forum*, 10, 225-234.

Calliari, E. (2014). Loss & Damage: a Critical Discourse Analysis. *Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM)*, 21.

Campbell, D. (1998). *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity, and Justice in Bosnia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Campbell, D. (2013). *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (3th ed.). (T. Dunne, M. Kurki, & S. Smith, Penyunt.) United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Campbell, T. (2010). Justice, Humanity, and Prudence. Dalam B. A. Boston J., *Public Policy: Why Ethics Matters* (hal. 21-36). ANU Press.

Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS): ChinaPower Project. (2018, October 18). *About: How will the Belt and Road Initiative advance China's interests?* Dipetik Maret 20, 2020, dari <https://chinapower.csis.org/china-belt-and-road-initiative/>

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). (2020, Februari 5). *Tentang: The World Factbook*. Dipetik Februari 12, 2020, dari <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bm.html>

- Central Statistical Organization (CSO); UNDP; World Bank. (2020). *Myanmar Living Conditions Survey 2017: Socio-economic Report*. Nay Pyi Taw and Yangon: Central Statistical Organization (CSO); UNDP; World Bank.
- Charney, M. W. (2017). The Rohingyas of Myanmar: an under-reported genocide? *Political Quarterly*, 541–543.
- Chaturvedi, M. (2012). Myanmar's Ethnic Divide The Parallel Struggle. *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*, 1-12.
- China-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA). (2020, Mei 25). ASEAN-CHINA Free Trade Area Business Portal. Dipetik Juni 6, 2020, dari China-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA): <http://www.asean-cn.org/index.php?m=content&c=index&a=show&catid=219&id=1460>
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. United States of America: The Massachwetts Institute Of Technology (MIT).
- Chua, A. (2003). *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Civil Rights Defenders. (2020, Februari 25). *Survivors of the Burma Army Clearance Operations in Shan State*. Diambil kembali dari Civil Rights Defenders: <https://crd.org/2020/02/25/survivors-of-the-burma-army-clearance-operations-in-shan-state/#>
- Clapp, P. A. (2016). Securing a Democratic Future for Myanmar. *Council on Foreign Relations*, 8-15.

- CNN Indonesia. (2015, November 07). *Tentang: Pemilu Myanmar, dari Suu Kyi Hingga Diskriminasi Muslim.* Dipetik Februari 12, 2020, dari <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20151106173903-106-89977/pemilu-myanmar-dari-suu-kyi-hingga-diskriminasi-muslim>
- Congressional Research Service. (2019, Mei 8). *U.S. Relations with Burma: Key Issues in 2019.* Dipetik Juni 6, 2020, dari [www.crs.gov:](https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF11068.pdf) <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF11068.pdf>
- Crawford, N. C. (2019). *Teori-Teori Kritis: Menentang Pandangan Utama Studi Politik Internasional.* (J. Edkins, & N. Vaughen-Williams, Penyunt.) Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Creswell, J. W. (2019). *Research Design: Pendekatan Metode Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, dan Campuran.* Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Davies, P. (2000). Contributions from Qualitative Research. *Bristol University Press, Policy Press*, 291-316.
- Derrida, J. (1976). *Of Grammatology.* (G. Chakravorty Spivak, Penerj.) Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Devetak, R. (2013). *Theories of International Relations* (5th ed.). (S. Burchill, Penyunt.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (DPR RI). (2011). Proses Demokratisasi Myanmar Menuju Pemilu Presiden 2012. (S. Hidriyah, Penyunt.) *Info Singkat Hubungan Internasional, III*, 5-8.

Dewey, J. (1923). Ethics and International Relations. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 1, No. 3 , 85-95.

Dunne, T., Kurki, M., & Smith, S. (Penyunt.). (2013). *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (3th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Durkheim, E. (1961). *Pendidikan Moral: Suatu Studi Teori dan Aplikasi Sosiologi Pendidikan*. (L. Ginting, Penerj.) Jakarta: Erlanga.

Edkins, J., & William, N. V. (2019). Jurgen Habermas. Dalam *Teori-Teori Kritis: Menantang Pandangan Utama Studi Hubungan Internasional* (hal. 248-249). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

European Commission. (2020, April 23). *Countries and regions*. Dipetik Juni 6, 2020, dari European Commission website: <https://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/myanmar/>

European Commission: European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operation. (2018). *The Rohingya crisis*. Bangkok: European Commission: ECHO Factsheet.

F. Y., M. (2014). Teori Perang Adil: Sebuah Penjelasan dan Argumentasi Kristen. *Veritas*, 271-290.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. New York: Longman Publishing.

- Fairclough, N. (2006). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishing.Ltd.
- Financial Times. (2018, Februari 22). *Hate speech, atrocities and fake news: the crisis of democracy in Myanmar*. Dipetik Maret 1, 2020, dari <https://www.ft.com/content/2003d54e-169a-11e8-9376-4a6390addb44>
- Fitz-Gibbon, A. (2018). The Ethics of Care and Violence. Dalam *In Value Inquiry Book Series* (hal. 37–47).
- Forsythe, D. P. (1993). *Hak-Hak Asasi Manusia dan Dunia Politik* (2nd ed.). Bandung: Penerbit Angkasa (Anggota IKAPI).
- Foucault, M. (2002). *Power/Knowlegde*. Yogyakarta: Bentang Budaya.
- Foucault, M., & Faubion, J. D. (1997). *The Essential Works of Michel Foucault, 1954-1984* (Vol. 3). (P. Rabinow, J. D. Faubion, Penyunt., & R. Hurley, Penerj.) New Press.
- Frost, M. (1998). *The Eighty Year's Crisis: International Relations 1919-1999*. (T. Dunne, M. Cox, & K. Booth, Penyunt.) United Kingdom, USA, Autralia: Press Syndicate.
- Garson, G. D. (2002, Juli). Case Study Research in Public Administration and Public Policy: Standards and Strategies. *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, VIII, 209-216.

- General Assembly Security Council United Nations. (1995). *The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Dayton: General Assembly Security Council United Nations.
- Gerring, J. (2007). *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1993). *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies*. UK: Polity Press.
- Gilligan, C. (2003). *In a Different Voice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press.
- Given, L. M. (2008). *Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods: Volume 1 & 2*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications. Inc.
- Gunasingham, A. (2019, Maret). Buddhist Extremism in Sri Lanka and Myanmar. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 11, 1-6.
- Habermas, J. (1981). *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* (Vol. I). Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Habermas, J. (1984). *The Theory of Communicative Action I: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*. (T. McCharty, Penerj.) Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. (1987). *The Theory of Communicative Action II Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason* (Vol. II). (T. McCarthy, Penerj.) Boston: Beacon Press.

Habermas, J. (1988). *Legitimation Crisis*. (T. McCharthy, Penerj.) Cambridge: Polity Press.

Habermas, J. (1996). *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. (W. Rehg, Penerj.) Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Habermas, J. (2001). *Justification and Application: Remarks on Discourse Ethics*. (C. Cronin, Penerj.) Cambridge , Massachusetts ,London: The MIT Press.

Habermas, J. (2004). *Krisis Legitimasi*. Yogyakarta: Qalam.

Habermas, J. (2019). *Teori Tindakan Komunikatif I: Rasio dan Rasionalitas Masyarakat*. Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.

Hadiwinata, B. S. (2017). *Studi dan Teori Hubungan Internasional: Arus Utama, Alternatif, dan Reflektivis*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

Hardiman, B. (2018). *Demokrasi dan Sentimentalitas: Dari "Bangsa Setan-setan", Radikalisme Agama sampai Post-Sekularisme*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.

Hardiman, B. (2019). *Demokrasi Deliberatif: Menimbang 'Negara Hukum' dan 'Ruang Publik' dalam Teori Diskursus Jurgen Habermas*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.

Hardiman, B. F. (2015). *Hak-Hak Asasi Manusia: Polemik dengan Agama dan Kebudayaan*. Yogyakarta: Kanisisus.

- Hardiman, F. B. (2015). *Seni Memahami: Hermeneutik dari Schleiermacher sampai Derrida*. Yogyakarta: PT. Kanisius.
- Haryatmoko. (2016). *Membongkar Rezim Kepastian. Pemikiran Kritis Post-Strukturalis*. Yogyakarta: PT Kanisius.
- Heath, J. (2004). Konsep Kritis dalam Karya Terbaru Jurgen Habermas. Dalam J. Heath, *Krisis Legitimasi: Jurgen Habermas* (hal. 39). Yogyakarta: Qalam.
- Held, D. (2004). *Demokrasi dan Tatanan Global: Dari Negara Modern hingga Pemerintahan Kosmopolitan*. (Damnhuri, Penerj.) Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Heywood, A. (2017). *Politik Global*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Heywood, A. (2017). *Politik Global* (2nd ed.). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Holzscheiter, A. (2014, Mei). Between Communicative Interaction and Structures of Signification: Discourse Theory and Analysis in International Relations. *International Studies Perspectives*, 15, No. 2, 142-162.
- Human Right Watch. (2017, November 7). *Tentang: Rohingya Crisis: 10 Principles for Protecting Refugees*. Dipetik Februari 29, 2020, dari <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/11/07/rohingya-crisis-10-principles-protecting-refugees>
- Huntington, S. P. (2012). *Benturan Antar Peradaban dan Masa Depan Politik Dunia*. Jakarta: Penerbit Qalam.

INSEAD, the Adecco Group, and Tata Communications. (2019). *The Global Talent Competitiveness Index 2019: Entrepreneurial Talent and Global Competitiveness*. France: INSEAD, the Adecco Group, and Tata Communications.

Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies. (2014). MYANMAR IN TRANSITION Ethnic Conflicts, External Interests and Political Changes. *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*, 1-32.

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). (2017, November 20). *Engagement with the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in Southeast Asia*. Dipetik Juni 5, 2020, dari International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC): <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/asean-statement-engagement-red-cross-and-red-crescent-societies>

International Court of Justice (ICJ). (2019, November 18). *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (The Gambia v. Myanmar)*. Dipetik Mei 16, 2020, dari <https://www.icj-cij.org/en/case/178>

International Court of Justice. (2019). in the case concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (The Gambia v. Myanmar). *in the case concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (The Gambia v. Myanmar)* (hal. 1-74). Hague: International Court of Justice.

Islam, M. S. (2019). Understanding the Rohingya Crisis and the Failure of Human Rights Norms in Myanmar: Possible Policy Responses. *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, 1-21.

Islam, S. M. (2019). Understanding the Rohingya Crisis and the Failure of Human Rights Norm in Myanmar: Possible Policy Responses. *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, 158–178.

Jackson, R. &. (2013). *International Relations. Theories and Approaches. Fifth Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jackson, R., & Sorensen, G. (2016). *Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional: Teori dan Pendekatan* (5th ed.). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Jackson, R., & Sorensen, G. (2017). *Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional: Teori dan Pendekatan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Jemadu, A. (2009). *Politik global dalam teori & praktik*. Yogjakarta: Graha Ilmu.

Jemadu, A. (2017). *Politik Global. Dalam Teori dan Praktik. Edisi 3*. Yogyakarta: Suluh Media.

Joy, A. (2018). Understanding China's Response to the Rakhine Crisis. *US Institute of Peace*, 1-6.

Kahija, Y. L. (2019). *Penelitian Fenomenologis: Jalan Memahami Pengalaman Hidup*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.

Kamil Pruchnik, J. Z. (2017). *MIDDLE-INCOME TRAP: REVIEW OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK*. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI).

Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia Yangon Myanmar. (2020, Maret 1). *About: Hubungan Bilateral Indonesia - Myanmar*. Dipetik Maret 1, 2020, dari <https://kemlu.go.id/yangon/id/read/hubungan-bilateral-indonesia-myanmar/1743/etc-menu>

Khin, T. (2017, Oktober 1). Rohingya: A Preventable Genocide Allowed to Happen. *Insight Turkey*, 43–53.

Klotz, A., & Prakash, D. (2008). *Qualitative Methods in International Relations: A Pluralist Guide* (1st ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kreps, D. (2015). *Gramsci and Foucault: A Reassessment*. England and USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Kuipers, S. (2006). The Crisis Imperative: Crisis Rhetoric and Welfare State Reform in Belgium and the Netherlands in the Early 1990s. *Amsterdam University Press*, 179-191.

Kun, Z. (2009). The Architecture of Security in the Asia-Pacific. (R. HUISKEN, Penyunt.) *JSTOR*, 21-32.

Kuper, A., Lingard, L., & Levinson, W. (2008, September 20). Qualitative Research: Critically Appraising Qualitative Research. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 337, 687-689.

Lechner, F. J., & Boli, J. (2015). *The Globalization Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Lee, R. (2019). Myanmar's Citizenship Law as State Crime: A Case for the International Criminal Court. *State Crime Journal*, 8, 241-279.

Lemke, T. (2012). *Foucault, governmentality, and critique*. New York: Routledge.

Lieberman, R. C. (1995). Social Construction (Continued). *The American Political Science Review*, 437-441.

Linklater, A. (1990). *Beyond realism and Marxism: critical theory and international relations*. London: THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD.

Linklater, A. (2011). *The Problem of Harm in World Politics: Theoretical Investigations*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Lipset, S. M. (2007). *Political Man: Basis-Basis Sosial tentang Politik*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Lowy Institute. (2017, September 4). *The Tadmadaw returns to the 'four cuts' doctrine*. (A. ABRAHAMIAN, Penyunting) Dipetik Juni 6, 2020, dari Lowy Institute: <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/tadmadaw-ominous-return-four-cuts-doctrine>

Lupton, D. (1995). POSTMODERNISM AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS. *Discourse & Society*, 302-304.

- Magnis-Suseno, F. (2005). *Pijar-Pijar Filsafat: Dari Gatholoco ke Filsafat Perempuan, dari Adam Muller ke Postmodernisme*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Magniz Suseno, F. (2018). *Etika Politik: Prinsip Moral Dasar Kenegaraan Modern*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Mahoney, J., & Thelen, K. (2015). *Advance in Comparative-Historical Analysis* (1st ed.). United Kongdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Mamahit, F. Y. (2014). Teori Perang Adil: Sebuah Penjelasan dan Argumentasi Kristen. *Veritas*, 271-290.
- Maung Than, T. M. (2014). Introductory Overview: Myanmar's Economic Reforms. *ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute*, 31(Country Focus on "Integrating Myanmar into the Global Economy"), 165-172.
- McCharty, T. (2019). *Teori Kritis Jurgen Habermas*. (I. R. Muzir, Penyunt., & Nurhadi, Penerj.) Bantul: Kreasi Wacana.
- McCorquodale, R. (2016). Defining the International Rule of Law: Defying Gravity? *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 65, 2, 277-304.
- Media Publikasi Direktorat Jenderal Kerja Sama ASEAN Kementerian Luar Negeri RI. (2015, Juni). Masyarakat ASEAN. *Aman dan Stabil, Keniscayaan bagi ASEAN*, hal. 8-11.

Méndez, P. F., Amezaga, J. M., & Santamaría, L. (2019, Juli). Explaining path-dependent rigidity traps: increasing returns, power, discourses, and entrepreneurship intertwined in social-ecological systems. *Ecology and Society*, 24, 1-32.

Murphy, E., Turpin, M., & Kucik, P. (2015). Reforming Myanmar's Military. *Institute for National Strategic Security, National Defense University*, 5, 76-89.

Murphy, M. (2013). *Social Theory and Education Research: Understanding Foucault, Habermas, Bourdieu and Derrida*. New York: Routledge.

MyanmarTimes. (2019, September 25). *Myanmar and Singapore sign treaty on promoting investments*. (T. k. ko, Penyunting) Dipetik Maret 28, 2020, dari https://www.mmtimes.com/news/myanmar-and-singapore-sign-treaty-promoting-investments.html?__cf_chl_jschl_tk__=48f8d929fb564464fd425ad18868adba41a734d-1585400794-0-AcrXfUb55nR44MXQlxPp1WxbNVlMKouYD7l_KtgK7oREvOAcMgqVtVJHcBQPW3iVkJ9lTW2wUp8OTUnA1MVVJCMJxj

National Public Radio (NPR). (2019, April 23). *About: Reuters Journalists Jailed In Myanmar Lose Appeal, Will Stay In Prison*. (M. S. Schwartz, Penyunting) Dipetik Maret 9, 2020, dari <https://www.npr.org/2019/04/23/716215818/reuters-journalists-jailed-in-myanmar-lose-appeal-will-stay-in-prison>

- Neumann, I. B. (2008). Qualitative Methods in International Relations. Dalam A. Klotz, D. Prakash, A. Klotz, & D. Prakash (Penyunt.), *Qualitative Methods in International Relations* (hal. 61). New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN.
- NU Online. (2019, Desember 22). *NU Online*. Dipetik Februari 6, 2020, dari <https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/114890/penemuan-enam-jenis-konflik-keagamaan-di-indonesia>
- OCHA Services. (2019, Mei 12). *Joint Response Plan for Rohingya Humanitarian Crisis - Final Report (March-December 2018)*. Dipetik Juli 17, 2020, dari Relief Web: <https://reliefweb.int/report/bangladesh/joint-response-plan-rohingya-humanitarian-crisis-final-report-march-december-2018>
- OCHA Services. (2020, Juli 9). *Bangladesh: Cox's Bazar Refugee Population (as of 30 June 2020)*. Dipetik Juli 17, 2020, dari Relief Web: <https://reliefweb.int/map/bangladesh/bangladesh-cox-s-bazar-refugee-population-30-june-2020>
- Odell, J. S. (2001). Case Study Methods in International Political Economy. *International Studies Perspectives, II*, 161-176.
- Osmani, N. M., Hossen, B., Shah, Q., & Shah, M. A. (2018). Genocide of Rohingya Muslim: A Classical Model of Ethnic Cleansing. *Al-Shajarah: Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought & Civilization*, 215–235.

Ostrom, E. (2005). Understanding Institutional Diversity. *Princeton University Press.*

Overstreet, H. A. (1915). Philosophy and the New Justice. *International Journal of Ethics, Vol. 25, No. 3*, 277-291.

Palmer, R. E. (2016). *Hermeneutika: Teori Baru Mengenai Interpretasi*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Pusat Penelitian Politik LIPI. (2012, Mei 23). *Tentang: Politik Internasional: Garis Awal Jalan Demokrasi Myanmar*. Dipetik Februari 10, 2020, dari <http://www.politik.lipi.go.id/kolom/kolom-1/politik-internasional/624-garis-awal-jalan-demokrasi-myanmar>

Rae, G. (2020). Foucault I: Power and the Subject. *Edinburgh University Press*, 88-115.

Rawls, J. (2019). *Teori Keadilan: Dasar-dasar Filsafat Politik untuk Mewujudkan Kesejahteraan Sosial dalam Negara*. (U. Fauzan, & P. Heru, Penerj.) Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Regilme, S. S. (2019). The global politics of human rights: From human rights to human dignity? *International Political Science Review*, 40, 279–290.

Reidy, D., & Holder, C. (2013). Human Rights : The Hard Questions. *New York : Cambridge University Press*.

Renshaw, C. (2019). Myanmar's transition without justice. *ANU Press*, 127-153.

Reus-Smith, C. (2005). *Theories of International Relations. Constructivism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ritzer, G. (2014). *Teori Sosiologi: Dari Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Terakhir Postmodern* (8th ed.). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Ritzer, G., & Dean, P. (2015). *Globalization: A Basic Text* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Robert Jackson, G. S. (2016). *Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Robert K., Y. (2019). *Studi Kasus: Desain dan Metode*. (M. D. Mudzakir, Penerj.) Yogyakarta: Rajawali Pers.

Roberts, C. B. (2011). Changing Myanmar International Diplomacy and the Futility of Isolation. *Security Challenges*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 77-101.

Robinson, F. (1999). *Globalizing Care: Ethics, Feminist Theory, and International Relations*. USA: Westview Press.

RSIS Indonesia Programme. (2011). Indonesia and the 2011 ASEAN Chairmanship: Priorities and Prospects. *S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*, 1-12.

Sekretariat Nasional ASEAN - Indonesia. (2017, November 13). *About: Presiden RI Harapkan Krisis Kemanusiaan di Rakhine State Segera Diselesaikan*. Dipetik Maret 1, 2020, dari <http://setnas-asean.id/news->

events/read/presiden-ri-harapkan-krisis-kemanusiaan-di-rakhine-state-segera-diselesaikan

Senghore, A. (2018). Democracy, Human Rights and Governance in The Gambia: Essays on Social Adjustment. *CENMEDRA*.

Shan Women's Action Network. (2020, Juni). *License to Rape*. Dipetik Juni 6, 2020, dari Shan Women's Action Network: <https://www.shanwomen.org/reports/36-license-to-rape>

Spickard, P. J.-W. (2015). Race and Nation, Identity and Power: Thinking Comparatively about Ethnic Systems. *University of Notre Dame Press*, 85-118.

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP). (2019, Desember). *Aung San Suu Kyi at the International Court of Justice*. (A. Choudhury, & F. Heiduk, Penyunting) Dipetik Mei 2020, 15, dari Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik German Institute for International and Security Affairs: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/10.18449/2019C51/>

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik. (2018, Desember). *Myanmar, the Rohingya Crisis, and Further EU Sanctions*. Dipetik Juni 6, 2020, dari Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik German Institute for International and Security Affairs: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publication/myanmar-the-rohingya-crisis-and-further-eu-sanctions/>

Straitstimes. (2020, Januari 16). *Asean divided on Rohingya crisis: Poll.* Dipetik Juli 16, 2020, dari The Straitstimes: <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/asean-divided-on-rohingya-crisis-poll>

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (2017). *Dasar-dasar Penelitian Kualitatif: Tatalangkah dan Teknik-teknik Teoritisasi Data.* Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Suseno, F. M. (2013, Februari 2). *Kuliah Umum Filsafat Etika dari Yunani Klasik hingga Jawa.* (F. M. Suseno, Pemain) Salihara, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Suseno, F. M. (2018). *Etika Politik: Prinsip Moral Dasar Kenegaraan Modern.* Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Suseno, F.-M. (2000). *20 Tokoh Etika Abad ke-20.* Yogyakarta: Kanisius.

Taniparti, N. (2019, Januari 1). The Ruse of Repatriation: Why the Current Efforts to Repatriate the Rohingya back to Myanmar Will Fail. *Harvard Kennedy School Review*, 95–100.

The ASEAN Intergovermental Commission on Human Rights (AIHCR). (2019, Februari 10). *About Us: The ASEAN Intergovermental Commission on Human Rights (AIHCR).* Dipetik Februari 10, 2020, dari The ASEAN Intergovermental Commission on Human Rights (AIHCR): <https://aichr.org/about-aichr/>

The ASEAN Post. (2017, November 16). *What came of the ASEAN Summit 2017?* Dipetik Maret 26, 2020, dari <https://theaseanpost.com/article/what-came-asean-summit-2017>

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) . (2018, Desember 19).

About: ASEAN Secretary-General meets with Myanmar authorities on Rakhine repatriation plans. Dipetik Maret 2, 2020, dari <https://asean.org/asean-secretary-general-meets-myanmar-authorities-rakhine-repatriation-plans/>

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) . (2019, Mei 27). *About:*

ASEAN, Myanmar to implement practical measures on Rakhine situation. Dipetik Maret 2, 2020, dari <https://asean.org/asean-myanmar-implement-practical-measures-rakhine-situation/?highlight=rakhine>

The Diplomat. (2017, November 9). *UN's Futile Effort to Engage Myanmar on the Rohingya Crisis.* Dipetik Maret 25, 2020, dari <https://thediplomat.com/2017/11/uns-futile-effort-to-engage-myanmar-on-the-rohingya-crisis/>

The Diplomat. (2018, Desember 22). *About: A Lost Generation of Rohingya Grows up Without Education.* (T. Khin, Penyunting) Dipetik Maret 8, 2020, dari <https://thediplomat.com/2018/12/a-lost-generation-of-rohingya-grows-up-without-education/>

The Guardian. (2020, Februari 16). *Tentang: International Edition: Rohingya.*

Dipetik Februari 16, 2020, dari <https://www.theguardian.com/world/rohingya>

The Nation Thailand. (2018, Agustus 15). *Myanmar, Thailand working together in security, economy.* Dipetik Maret 28, 2020, dari <https://www.nationthailand.com/asean-plus/30352191>

The New York Times. (2017, November 28). *About: In Myanmar, Pope Francis Calls for Peace Without Saying ‘Rohingya’.* (J. Horowitz, Penyunting) Dipetik Maret 1, 2020, dari <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/28/world/asia/pope-francis-myanmar-rohingya.html>

The New York Times. (2019, Desember 12). *As Myanmar Genocide Hearing Closes, Focus Is on Trapped Rohingya.* (H. Beech, & S. Nang, Penyunting) Dipetik Maret 25, 2020, dari <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/12/world/asia/aung-san-suu-kyi-rohingya-genocide-myanmar.html>

The Nobel Prize. (2020, Mei 16). *Aung San Suu Kyi*. Dipetik Mei 16, 2020, dari <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1991/kyi/biographical/>

Thompson, G. (2009). Key Ideas in Linguistics and the Philosophy of Language. (S. Chapman, & C. Routledge, Penyunt.) *Edinburgh University Press*, 58-65.

Toosi, N. (2019). The Genocide the U.S. Didn’t See Coming. *Columbia University Press*, 172-199.

Triandharia, R., & Safuan, S. (2012). Pengaruh Penggabungan Mata Uang di Uni Eropa terhadap International: Risk Sharing dan Home Bias. *Jurnal Ekonomi dan Pembangunan Indonesia*, 136-147.

Tsung-yen Chen, I. (2019). China's Economic Offensive and Its Discontent in Southeast Asia: Diminishing Footprints in Myanmar. (M. Serena I, H.-H. M. Hsiao, & A. H. Yang, Penyunt.) *NUS Press*, 63-89.

Tufts, J. H. (1918). Ethics and International Relations. *International Journal of Ethics*, 299-313.

U.S Department of State. (2020, Januari 21). *U.S. Relations With Burma*. Dipetik Juni 6, 2020, dari U.S Department of State: <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-burma/>

Ullah, A. A., & Chattoraj, D. (2018). Roots of Discrimination Against Rohingya Minorities: Society, Ethnicity and International Relations. *Intellectual Discourse*, 541–565.

United Nation (UN). (2018, Agustus 28). *Secretary-General Urges Myanmar to Grant Immediate Access for United Nations, Partners, Says Rohingya Refugees Lack Life-Saving Assistance*. Dipetik Maret 1, 2020, dari <https://www.un.org/press/en/2018/sgsm19181.doc.htm>

United Nation (UN). (2020, Maret 1). *Tentang: Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect*. Dipetik Maret 1, 2020, dari United Nation Web

Site: <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide-convention.shtml>

United Nation Human Rights. (2019, September 16). *Myanmar's Rohingya Persecuted, Living under Threat of Genocide, UN Experts Say*. Dipetik Juli 11, 2020, dari United Nation Human Rights:

<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=24991&LangID=E>

United Nations (UN). (2020, Juni 1). *Human Rights*. Dipetik Juni 1, 2020, dari United Nations: <https://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/human-rights/>

United Nations Emergency Children's Fund (UNICEF). (2018). *The 2018 Education Budget Brief of Myanmar*. Yangon: United Nations Emergency Children's Fund (UNICEF) Myanmar.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2019). *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2018*. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

US Institute of Peace. (2018). Understanding China's Response to the Rakhine Crisis. (J. Adrienne, Penyunt.) *US Institute of Peace*, 1-6.

Verbeek, B. (2002). *Instrumental Rationality and Moral Philosophy: An Essay on the Virtues of Cooperation* (Vol. 33). (W. Leinfellner, & G. Eberlein, Penyunt.) Australia: Springer-Science and Business Media, B.V.

- W. Said, E. (2018). *Peran Intelektual*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Wallensteen, P. (2004). *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Walton, D. N. (1993). THE NORMATIVE STRUCTURE OF CASE STUDY ARGUMENTATION. *Metaphilosophy*, 207-226.
- Waltz, K. (2013). Theory of International Politics. Dalam R. J. Sorensen, *International Relations. Theories and Approaches* (hal. 79). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wodak, R., & Chilton, P. (2005). *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis: Theory, methodology and interdisciplinarity*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins B.V.
- World Bank. (2018). *GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$) - Vietnam, Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Myanmar*. Dipetik Maret 10, 2020, dari <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?end=2018&locations=VN-PH-ID-TH-MY-MM&start=1990&type=shaded&view=chart>
- Zakaria, F. B. (2019). Religion, Mass Violence, and Illiberal Regimes: Recent Research on the Rohingya in Myanmar. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 98–111.

Zehfuss, M. (2009). *Poststructuralism*. Dipetik Juli 16, 2020, dari The University

of

Manchester:

[https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/poststructuralism\(66215c81-fecb-4188-b230-8c97ad5074d4\)/export.html#export](https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/poststructuralism(66215c81-fecb-4188-b230-8c97ad5074d4)/export.html#export)

Zoltan, B. (2018, May/June). Where Myanmar Went Wrong. *Foreign Affairs*,

97(3), 141-154.

