

## References

- Acharya, A. (1997). Ideas, identity, and institution-building: From the “ASEAN way” to the “Asia-Pacific way”? *The Pacific Review*, 10(3), 319–346.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09512749708719226>
- Acharya, A. (2017). *The Evolution and Limitations of ASEAN Identity*. Retrieved from [https://www.eria.org/ASEAN\\_at\\_50\\_4A.2\\_Acharya\\_final.pdf](https://www.eria.org/ASEAN_at_50_4A.2_Acharya_final.pdf)
- Amalia. (2019). The Protection of Refugee Rights Beyond a Legal Approach in Southeast Asia. In D. H. Tobing & S. S. Bharat (Eds.), *The Evolution of The ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism*. ASEAN STUDIES CENTER .
- Andika, M. T. (2016). An analysis of Indonesia foreign policy under Jokowi’s pro-people diplomacy. *Indonesian Perspective*, 1(2), 1–13. Retrieved from <https://ejournal.undip.ac.id/index.php/ip/article/view/14284>
- Andrea, Benvenuti. (2024). 2. The Bandung Conference. doi: 10.1093/oso/9780197790236.003.0010
- Annava, V., Bayu, Yulianto, A., Suwarno, P., Widodo, P., Juni, H., & Saragih, R. (2023). *The Four Pillars of Nationality the Republic of Indonesia as Consensus Basis for Formation National Character in Conflict International Responses*.  
<https://doi.org/10.47814/ijssrr.v6i2.998>
- Anwar, D. F. (1994). INDONESIA’S FOREIGN POLICY AFTER THE COLD WAR. *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 146–163. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27912099>

- Anwar, D. F. (2010). Foreign Policy, Islam and Democracy in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities*, 3(1), 37–54.  
<https://doi.org/10.14203/jissh.v3i1.45>
- Anwar, D. F. (2022). Indonesia's hedging plus policy in the face of China's rise and the US-China rivalry in the Indo-Pacific region. *The Pacific Review*, 36(2), 351–377.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2022.2160794>
- Atep Abdurofiq, Putra, A., & Yunus, N. R. (2014). Why did Indonesia's Foreign Policy Stop IGGI? *ADALAH*, 8(6), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.15408/adalah.v8i6.38964>
- Bakry, U. S. (2017). Dasar-Dasar Hubungan Internasional Edisi Pertama. Kencana.
- Basu-Mellish, J. (2023). UN Resolution 1514: the creation of a new post-colonial sovereignty. *Third World Quarterly*, 44(6), 1306–1323.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2023.2180355>
- Bayly, M. J. (2022). Global intellectual history in International Relations: Hierarchy, empire, and the case of late colonial Indian international thought. *Review of International Studies*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0260210522000419>
- Ben, Perkasa, Drajat. (2000). The Sources of Indonesian President Soeharto's Contradicting Attitude in the APEC and NAM in the Mid 1990s. 6(1):317-334.
- Björkdahl, A. (2002). Norms in International Relations: Some Conceptual and Methodological Reflections. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 15(1), 9–23.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09557570220126216>
- Boulding, K. (1959). National images and international systems. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 3, 120–131.
- Caballero-Anthony, M. (2022). The ASEAN way and the changing security environment: navigating challenges to informality and centrality. *International Politics*.

- Chairussani Abbas Sopamena. (2023). Pengungsi Rohingya dan Potensi Konflik & Kemajemukan Horizontal di Aceh. *Jurnal Caraka Prabhu*, 7(2), 85–115. <https://doi.org/10.36859/jcp.v7i2.1927>
- Choir, M. (2020). Indonesia Role as Norm Entrepreneur in Mitigating South China Sea Conflict. *Jurnal Sentris*, 2(2), 55–71. <https://doi.org/10.26593/sentris.v2i2.4152.55-71>
- Christopher, J., Lee. (2023). 3. The Bandung Conference. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198873457.013.46
- Chuah, & Vallentine. (2024). Rohingya Refugees and the Shifting Tide in Indonesia. Retrieved from thediplomat.com website: <https://thediplomat.com/2024/01/rohingya-refugees-and-the-shifting-tide-in-indonesia/>
- Cristian Cantir and Juliet Kaarbo, 'Contested Roles and Domestic Politics: Reflections on Role Theory in Foreign Policy Analysis and IR Theory1', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 8(1), 2012, pp. 5–24
- Daniel, Oppermann. (2022). 4. From Bandung to the DNS. doi: 10.31235/osf.io/a7czr
- Darmawan. (2023). Indonesia's role in the 2023 Palestinian-Israeli war: A diplomatic perspective. ResearchGate. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/377001982\\_Indonesia's\\_Role\\_in\\_the\\_2023\\_Palestinian-Israeli\\_War\\_A\\_Diplomatic\\_Perspective](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/377001982_Indonesia's_Role_in_the_2023_Palestinian-Israeli_War_A_Diplomatic_Perspective)
- Davies, M. (2013). ASEAN and human rights norms: constructivism, rational choice, and the action-identity gap. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 13(2), 207–231.
- Dermawan, W., & Gustaviani, L. (2024). Prinsip Nonintervensi dalam ASEAN Way: Menakar Kontribusi ASEAN dalam Resolusi Konflik di Myanmar. *Aliansi: Jurnal Hukum, Pendidikan Dan Sosial Humaniora*, 1(2), 305–316. <https://doi.org/10.62383/aliansi.v1i2.143>

- Dermawan, W., Purnama, C., & Mahyudin, E. (2019). Indonesian Foreign Policy in the Era of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004-2014) towards Myanmar in Supporting Democratization. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 11(2), 264. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jhi.v11i2.10500>
- Drajat, G. M. (2022). ASEAN's Socialization of Myanmar: Perilous Ambivalence, the 2021 Coup and the Way Forward. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 44(3), 453–481.
- Elam, J. D. (2019). Anticolonialism | Global South Studies, U.Va. Retrieved from Virginia.edu website: <https://globalsouthstudies.as.virginia.edu/key-concepts/anticolonialism>
- Gati, M. I., & Hafid, A. (2024). INDONESIA'S DIPLOMATIC CONTRIBUTION TO THE ISRAEL-PALESTINE CONFLICT SINCE 1948. *JURNAL SULTAN: Riset Hukum Tata Negara*, 2(2), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.35905/sultanhtn.v2i2.7919>
- Getachew, A., & Mantena, K. (2021). Anticolonialism and the Decolonization of Political Theory. *Critical Times*, 4(3). <https://doi.org/10.1215/26410478-9355193>
- Gunawan, T. (2024). View of Between Principles and Actions: ASEAN and Indonesia in Dealing With The Political Crisis In Myanmar. Retrieved from Unair.ac.id website: <https://e-journal.unair.ac.id/JGS/article/view/48783/28858>
- Haacke J. ASEAN's Diplomatic and Security Culture: Origins, Development and Prospects. London: Routledge Curzon; 2003.
- Haddad, M., & Chughtai, A. (2023, November 27). Israel-Palestine conflict: A brief history in maps and charts. Retrieved from Al Jazeera website: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/27/palestine-and-israel-brief-history-maps-and-charts>
- Hashmi, S. (2009). Islam, the Middle East and the Pan-Islamic Movement. , 170-200. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230234352\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230234352_8).

Hatta, M. (1953). Indonesia's Foreign Policy. *Foreign Affairs*, 31, 441.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/20030977>.

Hoang, T. H., & Singh, D. (2023). *Southeast Asian Affairs 2023*. ISEAS Publishing.

<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789815104189>

Ishikawa, K. (2021). The ASEAN economic community and ASEAN economic integration.

*Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 10(1), 24–41.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/24761028.2021.1891702>

Jones, M.J., and M.L.R. Smith. 2006. ASEAN and East Asian International Relations: Regional Delusion. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing

K. J. Holsti, 'National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy', *International Studies Quarterly*, 14(3), 1970, pp. 233–309.

Karim, M. F. (2022). Role conflict in International Relations: the case of Indonesia's regional and global engagements. *International Relations*, 004711782110738.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/00471178211073880>

Kausikan, B. (2020, September 24). ASEAN's Commitment to Consensus. Retrieved from Australian Institute of International Affairs website: <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/aseans-commitment-to-consensus/>

Keethaponcalan, S. I. (2016). Reshaping the Non-Aligned Movement: challenges and vision.

*Bandung: Journal of the Global South*, 3(1), 1–14.

<https://doi.org/10.1186/s40728-016-0032-3>

Kementerian Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara dan Reformasi Birokrasi Republik Indonesia. (2023.). *Indonesia dorong PBB gelar sidang khusus selesaikan konflik Gaza*.

Retrieved December 28, 2024, from

<https://www.menpan.go.id/site/berita-terkini/berita-daerah/indonesia-dorong-pbb-gelar-sidang-khusus-selesaikan-konflik-gaza>

Kementerian Sekretariat Negara. (2024a). Persatuan Bangsa Palestina Merupakan Hal yang Mendasar | Sekretariat Negara. Retrieved December 27, 2024, from Setneg.go.id website:

[https://setneg.go.id/baca/index/persatuan\\_bangsa\\_palestina\\_merupakan\\_hal\\_yang\\_mendasar](https://setneg.go.id/baca/index/persatuan_bangsa_palestina_merupakan_hal_yang_mendasar)

Kementerian Sekretariat Negara. (2024b). Wapres: Isu Palestina Lekat di Hati Masyarakat Indonesia | Sekretariat Negara. Retrieved from Setneg.go.id website: [https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/wapres\\_isu\\_palestina\\_lekat\\_di\\_hati\\_masyarakat\\_indonesia](https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/wapres_isu_palestina_lekat_di_hati_masyarakat_indonesia)

Keohane, R. O., & Martin, L. L. (1995). The Promise of Institutional Theory. *International Security*, 20(1), 39–51. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539214>

Khudori, D. (2018). Bandung conference 1955 and Bandung commemorative conferences 2005 and 2015: Excerpts from the declarations of heads of state and governments. In *Bandung Legacy and Global Future: New Insights and Emerging Forces* (pp. 291–298). Aakar Books. ISBN: 978-93-5002-549-9. <https://hal.science/hal-02659800>

Kipgen, N. 2018. ASEAN and China in the South China Sea. *Asian Affairs* 49 (3): 433–448.

Lardo, N. (2021). ASEAN Way: Managing Expectation in the Code of Conduct for the South China Sea. *Global: Jurnal Politik Internasional*, 23(2), 218–235. <https://doi.org/10.7454/global.v23i2.666>

Li, D. (2021). Aid as pan-Islamic solidarity in Bosnia-Herzegovina. *American Ethnologist*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13031>.

Maizland, L., Albert, E., Hong, L., & Galina, C. (2023, September 18). What Is ASEAN?

Retrieved from Council on Foreign Relations website:

<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-asean>

Marzuki, K., & Tiola. (2021). Indonesian Humanitarianism: Foundations, Characteristics and Contributions. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 6(4), 330–344.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911211058144>

Mochamad Yani, Y. (2009). CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY. *Sosiohumaniora*, 11(1), 1.

<https://doi.org/10.24198/sosiohumaniora.v11i1.5575>

Molthof, M. (2012, February 8). ASEAN and the Principle of Non-Interference. Retrieved from E-International Relations website:

<https://www.e-ir.info/2012/02/08/asean-and-the-principle-of-non-interference/>

Nabbs-Keller, G. (2020). ASEAN Centrality and Indonesian Leadership in a Contested Indo-Pacific Order. *Security Challenges*, 16(3), 21–26.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26924335>

Noel, M. M. (2014). Ensuring responsibility while implementing under Article 4(h) intervention In Dan Kuwali and Frans Viljoen, Eds., *Africa and the responsibility to protect: Article 4(h) of the African Union constitutive act* (pp. 317–318). London: Routledge.

Patel, S. (2023). Anti-colonial thought and global social theory. *Frontiers in Sociology*, 8.

<https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2023.1143776>

Petcharamesree, S. (2015). ASEAN and its approach to forced migration issues. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 20(2), 173–190.

Placani, A. (2017). Constitutive and Regulative Rules: a Dispute and a Resolution.

*Phenomenology and Mind*, (13), 56–62. [https://doi.org/10.13128/Phe\\_Mi-22429](https://doi.org/10.13128/Phe_Mi-22429)

Pramudito. (2017, February). Diplomasi Lunak Indonesia terhadap Myanmar. Retrieved February 25, 2018, from [www.kompas.com](http://www.kompas.com)

Pratama, A. P., Wirtama, N. S., & Budiono, H. (2024). View of The Israel-Palestine Sovereignty Struggle: A Historical Review Based On Territorial Claims. Retrieved December 27, 2024, from Unej.ac.id website: <https://jurnal.unej.ac.id/index.php/JHIS/article/view/43976/13914>

Putra, B. A. (2015). INDONESIA'S LEADERSHIP ROLE IN ASEAN: HISTORY AND FUTURE PROSPECTS. *IJASOS- International E-Journal of Advances in Social Sciences*, 1(2), 188. <https://doi.org/10.18769/ijasos.82584>

Putri, A. I., Harini, S., & Wijayati, H. (2022). POLITIK LUAR NEGERI INDONESIA DALAM KEPEMIMPINAN RETNO MARSUDI (STUDI KASUS KONFLIK ROHINGYA 2016-2019). *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik (JISIP)*, 11(3), 201–222. <https://doi.org/10.33366/jisip.v11i3.2551>

Rasyid, A. M. A., & Rijal, N. K. (2024). View of PERAN ASEAN DALAM MENANGANI KRISIS KEMANUSIAAN MYANMAR MELALUI KESEPAKATAN ASEAN FIVE POINT CONSENSUS. Retrieved December 27, 2024, from Aihii.or.id website: <https://journal.aihii.or.id/index.php/ijir/article/view/423/111>

Reuters. (2024). More than 140 Rohingya arrive in Indonesia's North Sumatra. Reuters; Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/more-than-140-rohingya-arrive-indonesia-s-north-sumatra-2024-01-01/>

Rezasyah. (2019). View of Peranan Diplomat Indonesia dalam Memperjuangkan Palestina di PBB (Masa Presidency of the UNSC Mei 2019). Retrieved December 27, 2024, from Ic-mes.org website: <https://ic-mes.org/jurnal/index.php/jurnalICMES/article/view/55/32>



Robinson, K. (2023, July 12). What Is U.S. Policy on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict?

Retrieved from Council on Foreign Relations website:

<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-us-policy-israeli-palestinian-conflict>

Romaniuk, S. N. (2013, November 15). Norms, Norm Violations, and IR Theory. Retrieved

from E-International Relations website:

<https://www.e-ir.info/2018/11/15/norms-norm-violations-and-ir-theory/>

Rukmana, L., & Merci Robbi Kurniawanti. (2024). Indonesia's Role in the Israeli Occupation

of Palestinian Territories: New Order Era to The Reformation. *ULUL ALBAB Jurnal*

*Studi Islam*, 12(2), 723–723. <https://doi.org/10.24127/hj.v12i2.10227>

Sato, K. 2013. The rise of China's impact on ASEAN conference diplomacy: A study of

conflict in the South China Sea. *Journal of Contemporary East Asia* 2 (2): 95–110.

Schatz, R. T., & Lavine, H. (2007). Waving the Flag: National Symbolism, Social Identity,

and Political Engagement. *Political Psychology*, 28(3), 329–355.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2007.00571.x>

Sebastian Harnisch, 'Conceptualizing in the Minefield: Role Theory and Foreign Policy

Learning', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 8(1), 2012, pp. 47–69.

Setkab . (1999). UNDANG UNDANG REPUBLIK INDONESIA. Retrieved December 27,

2024, from Setkab.go.id website:

<https://jdih.setkab.go.id/PUUdoc/7183/UU371999.htm>

Setkab. (2018). Presiden Jokowi: Saya Kepala Negara Pertama Yang Kunjungi Pengungsi

Rohingya di Cox's Bazar. Retrieved December 27, 2024, from Sekretariat Kabinet

Republik Indonesia website:

<https://setkab.go.id/presiden-jokowi-saya-kepala-negara-pertama-yang-kunjungi-pengungsi-rohingya-di-coxs-bazar/>

- Shannon, V. (2017-06-28). International Norms and Foreign Policy. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. Retrieved 18 Jul. 2017, from <http://politics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-442>
- Siti Mutiah Setiawati, & Roziqin, A. (2024). New Trends of Indonesia's Foreign Policy Under President Joko Widodo in The First Period. *Technium Social Sciences Journal*, 54, 249–262. <https://doi.org/10.47577/tssj.v54i1.10554>
- Sukma, R. (1995). The Evolution of Indonesia's Foreign Policy: An Indonesian View. *Asian Survey*, 35(3), 304–315. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2645547>
- Sukma, Rizal. (2012). "Indonesian Foreign Policy: Domestic Politics and International Posture: Constraints and Possibilities". In Reid, Anthony (Ed.) *Indonesia Rising: The Repositioning of Asia's Third Giant*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 79-85
- Suryadinata, L. (2022). *Indonesia's foreign policy under Suharto : aspiring to international leadership*. Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Suzuki, S. (2019). Why is ASEAN not intrusive? Non-interference meets state strength. *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 8(2), 157–176. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24761028.2019.1681652>
- Tan, S. S. (n.d.). *Not Quite Beyond the "ASEAN Way"? Southeast Asia's Evolution to Rules-based Management of Intra-ASEAN Differences*. Retrieved from [https://www.eria.org/ASEAN\\_at\\_50\\_4A.5\\_Tan\\_final.pdf](https://www.eria.org/ASEAN_at_50_4A.5_Tan_final.pdf)
- Thies, C. G. (2009, April 1). Role Theory and Foreign Policy. Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228985348\\_Role\\_Theory\\_and\\_Foreign\\_Policy](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228985348_Role_Theory_and_Foreign_Policy)

- Turunen, S. (2020). Humanitarian Diplomatic Practices. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 15(4), 459–487. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191x-bja10008>
- Umar, A. (2017). The Bandung ideology: Anti-colonial internationalism and Indonesia's foreign policy (1945-1965). *Deleted Journal*, 30(2), 57–78. <https://doi.org/10.58837/chula.arv.30.2.3>
- VATIKIOTIS, M. R. J. (1993). Indonesia's Foreign Policy in the 1990s. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 14(4), 352–367. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25798170>
- Wahyuningrum, Y. (2021). A decade of institutionalizing human rights in ASEAN: Progress and challenges. *Journal of Human Rights*, 20(2), 158–175. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14754835.2021.1875811>
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization*, 46(2), 391–425. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706858>
- Wish, N. B. (1980). Foreign Policy Makers and Their National Role Conceptions. *International Studies Quarterly*, 24(4), 532. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600291>
- Woon, W. (2012). *DISPUTE SETTLEMENT THE ASEAN WAY I*. Retrieved from <https://cil.nus.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/WalterWoon-Dispute-Settlement-the-ASEAN-Way-2012.pdf>
- Yohanna Ririhena. (2014, May 24). RI calls for restoration of democracy in Thailand. Retrieved December 27, 2024, from The Jakarta Post website: <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/05/24/ri-calls-restoration-democracy-thailand.html>
- Zanotti, J., & Sharp, J. (2024). *Israel and Hamas Conflict In Brief: Overview, U.S. Policy, and Options for Congress*. Congressional Research Service. Retrieved from

Congressional

Research

Service

website:

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47828>

Zulfikar, A. (2013, May 6). Efektivitas Peran ASEAN dalam Mengatasi Masalah Human Security di Kawasan Asia Tenggara