UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Fenomena Hostage Diplomacy: Peran ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) dalam Mitigasi Terjadinya di ASEAN
Berlian Widya Tama, Dr. Agustina Merdekawati, S.H., LL.M.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

AICHR. "Five Year Work Plan of ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (2016-2020)." The ASEAN Secretariat, 2015.

Alper, Alexandra, and Michael Martina. "White House Rebuts Idea That Huawei's Meng Was Freed in Prisoner Swap." *Reuters*, September 28, 2021.

Amiruddin dan Zainal Asikin. *Pengantar Metode Penelitian Hukum*. Jakarta: PT RajaGrafindo Persada, 2004.

Amnesty International. "Iran: The Crime of Holding Nazanin Zaghari-Ratcliffe Hostage Must Not Go Unpunished." Accessed September 30, 2024. https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde13/5609/2022/en/.

Anna, Lamche. "'Freedom Is Sweet... but It's Not Easy.'" *BBC News*, April 11, 2024. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-68789656.

ASEAN. "Overview," 2024. https://asean.org/our-communities/asean-political-security-community/rules-based-people-oriented-people-centred/legal-matters-and-judicial-cooperation/overview/.

Bangkok Post. "Myanmar Military Cashes in on Thai Pipeline." May 8, 2021. https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/2112395/myanmar-military-cashes-in-on-thai-pipeline.

Bangun, Budi Hermawan. "ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights and Effectiveness of Fulfilling Human Rights Obligations of ASEAN Members States." *Jambe Law Journal* 1, no. 2 (July 12, 2019): 231–49. https://doi.org/10.22437/jlj.1.2.231-249.

BBC. "Andrew Brunson: Turkey Releases US Pastor after Two Years." *BBC News*, October 13, 2018.

Benarrivo, Renaldo, and Teguh Puja Pramadya. "Questioning The Existence Of Asean Political Security Community In South China Sea Conflict." *Global Political Studies Journal* 4, no. 2 (October 30, 2020): 78–87. https://doi.org/10.34010/gpsjournal.v4i2.5875.

Borger, Julian. "Reporter Jason Rezaian on 544 Days in Iranian Jail: 'They Never Touched Me – but I Was Tortured.'" *The Guardian*, February 18, 2019, sec. Media. https://www.theguardian.com/media/2019/feb/18/reporter-jason-rezaian-on-544-days-in-iranian-jail-they-never-touched-me-but-i-was-tortured.

Boyko, John. "Meng Wanzhou Affair (Two Michaels Case)." The Canadian Encyclopedia, July 19, 2022. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/meng-wanzhou-affair.

Bui, Hien. "The ASEAN Human Rights System: A Critical Analysis." *Asian Journal of Comparative Law* 11, no. 1 (July 2016): 111–40. https://doi.org/10.1017/asjcl.2016.9.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Fenomena Hostage Diplomacy: Peran ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) dalam Mitigasi Terjadinya di ASEAN
Berlian Widya Tama, Dr. Agustina Merdekawati, S.H., LL.M.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Collins, Alan, and Edmund Bon Tai Soon. "The AICHR as a Participatory Space: Contesting the Secretive Face of Power." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 76, no. 4 (July 4, 2022): 359–78. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2021.2016610.

———. "The Spiral Model, Scope Conditions, and Contestation in the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights." *The Pacific Review* 37, no. 2 (March 3, 2024): 328–59. https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2023.2168034.

Colonomos, Ariel. "Hostageship: What Can We Learn from Mauss?" *Journal of International Political Theory* 14, no. 2 (June 2018): 240–56. https://doi.org/10.1177/1755088217751513.

Crystal, S.-H. "Coercive Diplomacy A Theoretical and Practical Evaluation." *Glendon Journal of International Studies,* 8, no. 1 (2015).

De Castro, Renato Cruz. "The Duterte Administration's Foreign Policy: Unravelling the Aquino Administration's Balancing Agenda on an Emergent China." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 35, no. 3 (December 2016): 139–59. https://doi.org/10.1177/186810341603500307.

Erdemir, Aykan, and Eric Edelman. "Erdogan's Hostage Diplomacy." *FDD Press*, 2018.

Feng, Emily. "China Puts 2nd Canadian On Trial For Espionage And Bars Spectators." *NPR*, March 22, 2021. https://www.npr.org/2021/03/22/979897780/china-puts-2nd-canadian-on-trial-for-espionage-and-bars-spectators.

Ferstman, Carla. "Conceptualising Arbitrary Detention: Power, Punishment and Control." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2024. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4859366.

———. "Detention of Dual and Foreign Nationals for Leverage." In *Conceptualising Arbitrary Detention: Power, Punishment and Control*, 212–44. 1st Ed. Bristol University Press, 2024.

———. "Study On Arbitrary Detention Research Study." EU-Canada Policy Dialogues Support Facility I. University of Essex, Agustus 2023.

Frantzman, Seth J. "The Inside Story of the U.S. Pastor Held Hostage by Turkey." *Middle East Forum*, November 19, 2022.

Ganesan, Narayanan. "Policy Responses of the ASEAN States towards the Myanmar Military Coup." *Hiroshima Peace Research Journal* 11 (2024).

George, Alexander Lawrence, David K. Hall, and William E. Simons. *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy : Laos, Cuba, Vietnam*. Boston, massachusetts: Little, Brown & co, 1971.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Fenomena Hostage Diplomacy: Peran ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) dalam Mitigasi Terjadinya di ASEAN
Berlian Widya Tama, Dr. Agustina Merdekawati, S.H., LL.M.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Gilbert, Danielle, and Gaëlle Rivard Piché. "Caught Between Giants: Hostage Diplomacy and Negotiation Strategy for Middle Powers." *Texas National Security Review* 5, no. 1 (2022). https://doi.org/10.15781/4N39-JA85.

Government of Canada. "Declaration Against Arbitrary Detention in State-to-State Relations." 2021. https://www.international.gc.ca/news-nouvelles/arbitrary_detention-detention_arbitraire-declaration.aspx?lang=eng#:~:text=Canada%20encourages%20all%20countries%20to,is%20contrary%20to%20international%20law.

Ha, Stephanie. "'They're Never Going to See Me Cry': Michael Kovrig Shares Experience of More than 1,000 Days in Chinese Detainment." *CTV News*, September 24, 2024. https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/they-re-never-going-to-see-me-cry-michael-kovrig-shares-experience-of-more-than-1-000-days-in-chinese-detainment-1.7049032.

Hassan, Parvez. "The International Covenants on Human Rights: An Approach to Interpretation." *Buffalo Law Review* 19, no. 1 (1969).

Hou, Tingyu. "Humanitarian Aid Practices on the Thai-Myanmar Border after the Coup: Beyond Depoliticization and Inequality." *Journal of International Humanitarian Action* 9, no. 1 (November 30, 2024): 16. https://doi.org/10.1186/s41018-024-00159-4.

Houlden, Gordon, Scott N. Romaniuk, and Nong Hong, eds. *Security, Strategy, and Military Dynamics in the South China Sea: Cross-National Perspectives*. 1st ed. Bristol University Press, 2021. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1t4m1qr.

Hunt, Luke. "Cambodia Cheers ICJ Ruling on Preah Vihear." *The Diplomat*, November 13, 2013. https://thediplomat.com/2013/11/cambodia-cheers-icj-ruling-on-preah-vihear.

International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages (1979).

Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland, Gołębia 24, 31-007 Kraków, Poland, and Magdalena Kozub-Karkut. "Neoclassical Realism and Foreign Policy Analysis – A Possible Way of Integration?" *Teoria Polityki* 3 (2019): 201–27. https://doi.org/10.4467/25440845TP.19.011.10294.

Jati, Irawan. "Critical Perspective on ASEAN Security Community under ASEAN Political and Security Community." *Unisia* 36, no. 81 (2014): 135–41. https://doi.org/10.20885/unisia.vol36.iss81.art4.

Jenne, Nicole. "Managing Territorial Disputes in Southeast Asia: Is There More than the South China Sea?" *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 3, no. 36 (2017).

Jenne, Nicole and Assistant Professor at the Institute of Political Science, and a member of the Centre for Asian Studies, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. "The Thai–Cambodian Border Dispute: An Agency-Centred Perspective on the Management of Interstate Conflict." *Contemporary*

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Fenomena Hostage Diplomacy: Peran ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) dalam Mitigasi Terjadinya di ASEAN
Berlian Widya Tama, Dr. Agustina Merdekawati, S.H., LL.M.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Southeast Asia 39, no. 2 (August 31, 2017): 315–47. https://doi.org/10.1355/cs39-2c.

Jittiang, Bhanubhatra. "Responses of Thailand to Myanmar Crisis Since The 2021 Coup." Australia: Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, Mei 2024. https://r2pasiapacific.org/files/12174/Responses%20of%20Thialand%20%20Myanmar%202024%20%20FINAL%20X.pdf.

Jones, William J. "ASEAN's Solution to Myanmar Is at a Tipping Point." *East Asia Forum*, March 12, 2024. https://eastasiaforum.org/2024/03/12/aseans-solution-to-myanmar-is-at-a-tipping-point/.

Karpowicz, WJ Korab. "Political Realism in International Relations." In *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Stanford University, July 2010.

Kosto, Adam J. *Hostages in the Middle Ages*. Oxford University Press, 2012. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199651702.001.0001.

Kurniaty, Rika, Ikaningtyas, Hikmatul Ula, Muktiono, and Imam Sukadi. "Revitalization of the ASEAN Inter-Governmental Commission of Human Rights (AICHR): A Pathway to Strengthen Human Rights in ASEAN." In *Proceedings of the 12th UUM International Legal Conference 2023 (UUMILC 2023)*, edited by Rohana Abdul Rahman, Mohamad Fateh Labanieh, Md. Zahurul Haq, Zuryati Mohamed Yusoff, and Ahmad Shamsul Abd. Aziz, 15:115–27. Atlantis Highlights in Social Sciences, Education and Humanities. Dordrecht: Atlantis Press International BV, 2024. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-94-6463-352-8_8.

Kusumaningrum, Adi. "The ASEAN Political-Security Community: ASEAN Security Cooperation On Combating Transnational Crimes And Transboundary Challenges." *Indonesian Journal of International Law* 11, no. 1 (October 31, 2013). https://doi.org/10.17304/ijil.vol11.1.268.

Lau, Beatrice. "'Hostage Diplomacy'—A Contemporary State Practice Outside the Reach of International Law?" *Georgetown Journal of International Law* 53, no. 2 (April 2022).

Mark, Chi-Kwan. "Hostage Diplomacy: Britain, China, and the Politics of Negotiation, 1967–1969." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 20, no. 3 (November 2, 2009): 473–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592290903293803.

Marzuki, Peter Mahmud. *Penelitian Hukum*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada, 2010.

Maulana, Zain, and Husni Amriyanto Putra. "The Reform and Evolution of ASEAN Human Rights Regime: A Communicative Action Perspective." *JAS (Journal of ASEAN Studies)* 12, no. 1 (August 13, 2024): 185–207. https://doi.org/10.21512/jas.v12i1.9668.

Meibauer, Gustav, Linde Desmaele, Tudor Onea, Nicholas Kitchen, Michiel Foulon, Alexander Reichwein, and Jennifer Sterling-Folker. "Forum:

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Fenomena Hostage Diplomacy: Peran ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) dalam Mitigasi Terjadinya di ASEAN
Berlian Widya Tama, Dr. Agustina Merdekawati, S.H., LL.M.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Rethinking Neoclassical Realism at Theory's End." *International Studies Review* 23, no. 1 (March 4, 2021): 268–95. https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viaa018.

Meleong, Lexy J. *Metologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 1989.

Muhammad, Abdulkadir. *Hukum Dan Penelitian Hukum*. Bandung: Citra Aditya Bakti, 2004.

Murphy, Brian K. "Dangerous Ground: The Spratly Islands And International Law." *Ocean & Coastal Law Journal* 1, no. 2 (1994).

Nasir, Moh. *Metode penelitian*. 7th ed. Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia, 2014.

Netipatalachoochote, Stanati. "The Human Rights Protection System in Southeast Asia and ASEAN: Towards a Regional Human Rights Court." University of Groningen, 2020. https://doi.org/10.33612/diss.126344358.

Olsson, Stefan. *The Hostages of the Northmen*. Elektronisk resurs. Stockholmd, Sweden: Stockholm University Press, 2019.

Pham, Thuy Linh. "ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism: Weaknesses and the Way to Move Forward." *Revista RyD República y Derecho* 5 (2020).

Phyu, Ei Ei. "Energy Dilemma of Natural Gas Trading between Thailand and Myanmar." School of Public Policy, Chiang Mai University, July 1, 2024. https://spp.cmu.ac.th/title-energy-dilemma-of-natural-gas-trading-between-thailand-and-myanmar/.

Poznansky, Michael, and Matt K. Scroggs. "Ballots and Blackmail: Coercive Diplomacy and the Democratic Peace: RESEARCH NOTE." *International Studies Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (2016).

Prasetyono, Edy. "Traditional Challenges to States: Intra-ASEAN Conflicts and ASEAN's Relations with External Powers." Singapore, 2007.

Putra, Bama, Darwis Darwis, and Burhanuddin Burhanuddin. "ASEAN Political-Security Community: Challenges of Establishing Regional Security in the Southeast Asia." *Journal of International Studies* 12, no. 1 (March 2019): 33–49. https://doi.org/10.14254/2071-8330.2019/12-1/2.

Rachminawati. "Is The AICHR An Unwanted Human Rights Body In The ASEAN? The Answer From The International Organizational Law Perspective." *Padjadjaran Journal of International Law* 6, no. 1 (August 4, 2022): 43–59. https://doi.org/10.23920/pjil.v6i1.814.

Raharja, Dinna Prapto. "Finding Human Rights Consensus: Indonesia As Constructive Force In AICHR." *Jurnal Dinamika Global* 7, no. 01 (June 28, 2022): 1–24. https://doi.org/10.36859/jdg.v7i01.955.

Rahmawati, Regi, and Ahmad Zakiyuddin. "ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights Dalam Penanganan Islamophobia Dalam Kasus Rohingya." *Jurnal Ilmiah Neo Politea* 3, no. 2 (2022).

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Fenomena Hostage Diplomacy: Peran ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) dalam Mitigasi Terjadinya di ASEAN
Berlian Widya Tama, Dr. Agustina Merdekawati, S.H., LL.M.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Rathbun, Brian. "A Rose by Any Other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism." *Security Studies* 17, no. 2 (May 22, 2008): 294–321. https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410802098917.

Rattanasengchanh, Phimmasone Michael. "The Role of Preah Vihear in Hun Sen's Nationalism Politics, 2008-2013." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 36, no. 3 (2017): 63–89.

Ripsman, Norrin M. "Neoclassical Realism and Domestic Interest Groups." In *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, edited by Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, 1st ed., 170–93. Cambridge University Press, 2009. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511811869.006.

Ripsman, Norrin M., Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell. *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Rose, Gideon. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." *World Politics* 51, no. 1 (1998): 144–72.

Salleh, Asyura, Sumathy Permal, Peaches Lauren Vergara, Nguyen Hung Son, and Evan A. Laksmana. "The South China Sea: Realities and Responses in Southeast Asia." The Asia Society Policy, 2021.

Sauer, Tom. "Coercive Diplomacy by the EU: The Iranian Nuclear Weapons Crisis." *Third World Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (April 2007): 613–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590701200620.

Schweller, Randall L. "Neoclassical Realism and State Mobilization: Expansionist Ideology in the Age of Mass Politics." In *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, edited by Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, 1st ed., 227–50. Cambridge University Press, 2009. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511811869.008.

"Seeking Opportunities Elsewhere: Exploring The Lives and Challenges of Myanmar Migrant Workers in Thailand." United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), November 2023.

Sigit Riyanto. "Optimalisasi Fungsi ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) Dan Tantangan Perlindungan Hak Asasi Manusia Di Asia Tenggara." *Jurnal Hukum IUS QUIA IUSTUM* 31, no. 2 (May 31, 2024): 247–69. https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol31.iss2.art1.

Silverman, Helaine. "Border Wars: The Ongoing Temple Dispute between Thailand and Cambodia and UNESCO's World Heritage List." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17, no. 1 (January 2011): 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2011.524001.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Fenomena Hostage Diplomacy: Peran ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) dalam Mitigasi Terjadinya di ASEAN
Berlian Widya Tama, Dr. Agustina Merdekawati, S.H., LL.M.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Smith, Adam M. "The Emergence of International Justice as Coercive Diplomacy: Challenges and Prospects." Harvard University, 2015. https://hrp.law.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/smith.pdf.

Solim, Jevlin. "The Accommodation of ASEAN Convention against Trafficking in Persons (ACTIP) in Indonesia Regulation." *FIAT JUSTISIA:Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 13, no. 2 (July 1, 2019): 167. https://doi.org/10.25041/fiatjustisia.v13no2.1680.

Soltani, Bahram. "Human Rights in International Law, State Responsibilities and Accountability Mechanisms: A Case Study of Iran." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 28, no. 6 (July 2, 2024): 883–911. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2024.2328714.

Southeast Asian Fisheries Development Center. "Fisheries Country Profile: Viet Nam," September 12, 2022. http://www.seafdec.org/fisheries-country-profile-viet-nam/.

"The 2022 Philippine Fisheries Profile." Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources (BFAR), October 2023.

The ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR). "About AICHR," 2025. https://aichr.org/about-aichr-2/.

The ASEAN Secretariat. "Terms of Reference of ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights." The ASEAN Secretariat, 2009. https://aichr.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/TOR-of-AICHR.pdf.

The U.S. Energy Information Administration. "Regional Analysis Brief: South China Sea." U.S. Department of Energy, February 2024.

Tønnesson, Stein, Min Zaw Oo, and Ne Lynn Aung. "Non-Inclusive Ceasefires Do Not Bring Peace: Findings from Myanmar." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 33, no. 3 (April 3, 2022): 313–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2021.1991141.

Toomey, Leigh T. "The Declaration Against Arbitrary Detention in State-to-State Relations: A New Means of Addressing Discrimination Against Foreign and Dual Nationals?" *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 35 (2022).

Traldi, Arthur. "The Recent Free Expression Jurisprudence of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention." *Chicago Journal of International Law* 24, no. 1 (2023).

Trần, Bách Hiếu, Cường Nguyễn Anh, and Yến Nhi Đinh Trần. "Challenges for Vietnam in Protecting South China Sea Sovereignty and Interests." *Cogent Social Sciences* 10, no. 1 (September 4, 2024): 2401629. https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2401629.

United Nations. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Treaty Series, 999 § (1966).

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Fenomena Hostage Diplomacy: Peran ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) dalam Mitigasi Terjadinya di ASEAN
Berlian Widya Tama, Dr. Agustina Merdekawati, S.H., LL.M.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

United Nations Human Rights Council. "Deliberations of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention." Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Oktober 2013.

Wagener, Martin. "Lessons from Preah Vihear: Thailand, Cambodia, and the Nature of Low-Intensity Border Conflicts." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 30, no. 3 (September 2011): 27–59. https://doi.org/10.1177/186810341103000302.

Wahyuningrum, Yuyun. "A Decade of Institutionalizing Human Rights in ASEAN: Progress and Challenges." *Journal of Human Rights* 20, no. 2 (March 15, 2021): 158–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/14754835.2021.1875811.

Weaver, Matthew. "The Detention of Nazanin Zaghari-Ratcliffe in Iran – a Timeline." *The Guardian*, March 15, 2022. https://www.theguardian.com/news/2022/mar/15/the-detention-of-nazanin-zaghari-ratcliffe-in-iran-a-timeline.

Yusuf, Muhammad Shalahuddin. "Satu Dasawarsa ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) Menuju Masa Depan Hak Asasi Manusia Di Asia Tenggara." *Padjadjaran Law Review* 9, no. 2 (2021).