



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acharya, A. (2009). *Constructing a security community in Southeast Asia* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Antique, N. (2009). *Indonesia Perpanjang Izin Pengungsi Rohingya*. *Viva News*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://nasional.news.viva.co.id/news/read/41148-indonesia-perpanjang-izin-pengungsi-rohingya>
- Arendshorst, J. (2009). The Dilemma of Non-Interference: Myanmar, Human Rights, and the ASEAN Charter. *Northwestern Journal of International Human Rights*, 8(1).
- ASEAN Secretariat. (1967). Jakarta.
- ASEAN Secretariat. (1976). Jakarta.
- Bahas Rohingya, Menlu Retno Dekati Pemerintah Myanmar - JPNN.com*. (2015). *JPNN*. Retrieved 8 September 2016, from <http://www.jpnn.com/read/2015/05/19/305002/Bahas-Rohingya-Menlu-Retno-Dekati-Pemerintah-Myanmar>
- Beech, H. (2016). *Burma's Aung San Suu Kyi Kicks Off Panglong 21 Summit*. *Time*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://time.com/4473849/aung-san-suu-kyi-burma-panglong-summit/>
- Brooten, L. (2015). Blind Spots in Human Rights Coverage: Framing Violence Against the Rohingya in Myanmar/Burma. *Popular Communication*, 13(2), 132-144. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2015.1021466>
- Buchanan, F. (2003). A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire. *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, 1(1).
- Burchill, Scott et al. (2005). *Theories of International Relations* (3rd ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Burr, W. & Evans, M. (2001). *East Timor Revisited*. *Nsarchive.gwu.edu*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB62/>
- Busse, N. (1999). Constructivism and Southeast Asian security. *The Pacific Review*, 12(1), 39-60. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09512749908719277>
- Cheak, P. (2008). *ASEAN's Constructive Engagement Policy toward Myanmar* (Master). U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.
- Cox, F., Orsborn, C., & Sisk, T. (2014). *Religion, Identity, and Conflict in Transitioning Myanmar*. Denver: Center for International Security and Diplomacy.
- Crossman, L. (2014). *Myanmar's Rohingya Refugees the Search for Human Security* (Master). Georgetown University.
- Dari Diskusi tentang Myanmar dan Rohingya di Banda Aceh*. (2016). *Atjeh Post*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://atjehpost.com/2016/04/22/dari-diskusi-tentang-myanmar-dan-rohingya-di-banda-aceh/>
- Domínguez, G. (2015). *A look at southern Thailand's smoldering insurgency*. *DW.COM*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://www.dw.com/en/a-look-at-southern-thailands-smoldering-insurgency/a-18591878>
- Etzioni, A. (2006). *Sovereignty as Responsibility*. George Washington University Foreign Policy Research Institute.
- Fan, L. & Krebs, H. (2014). *Regional Organisations and Humanitarian Action: The Case of ASEAN, Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG) Work*. London: HPG Work.
- Feith, H. (1962). *The decline of constitutional democracy in Indonesia*. Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Fuller, T. (2012). *State of Emergency Declared in Western Myanmar*. *New York Times*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from



<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/11/world/asia/state-of-emergency-declared-in-western-myanmar.html>

Gerin, G. (2016). *Myanmar State Counselor Calls on ASEAN For Support in Resolving Rakhine Crisis*. *Radio Free Asia*. Retrieved 1 October 2016, from <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/myanmar-state-counselor-calls-on-asean-for-support-in-resolving-rakhine-crisis-09302016140236.html>

Goh, G. (2003). The 'ASEAN Way: 'Non-Intervention and ASEAN's Role in Conflict Management. *Stanford Journal For East Asian Affairs*, 3(1), 114.

Guiyab, A. (2013). *'Human Rights in ASEAN: How Non-Interference Impedes Development'*. Makati City: Teehankee Rule of Law.

Hasenclever, A., Mayer, P., & Rittberger, V. (1997). *Theories of international regimes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hipp, S. (2012). *Constructive Engagement: Ronal Reagan's Problematic Policy of Appeasement with South Africa* (Master). Georgetown University.

Hongwei, F. (2012). ASEAN's "Constructive Engagement" Policy toward Myanmar. *China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House*.

*Human Rights in West Papua*. *International Parliamentarians for West Papua*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <https://www.ipwp.org/human-rights-in-west-papua>

Human Rights Watch. (2013). New York.

*Indonesia Terapkan Kebijakan Constructive Engagement dengan Myanmar - LensaIndonesia.com*. (2015). *Lensa Indonesia*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://www.lensaIndonesia.com/2012/09/02/indonesia-terapkan-kebijakan-constructive-engagement-dengan-myanmar.html>

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. (2001). Stockholm.

Jayakumar, S. (2012). *Opening Statement By H.E. Professor S.Jayakumar Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore*. *ASEAN*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from [http://asean.org/?static\\_post=opening-statement-by-he-professor-sjayakumar-minister-for-foreign-affairs-of-singapore/](http://asean.org/?static_post=opening-statement-by-he-professor-sjayakumar-minister-for-foreign-affairs-of-singapore/)

*Joint Press Statement The Special ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting On Indochinese Refugees Bangkok, 13 January 1979*. (2012). *ASEAN*. Retrieved 26 September 2016, from [http://asean.org/?static\\_post=joint-press-statement-the-special-asean-foreign-ministers-meeting-on-indochinese-refugees-bangkok-13-january-1979](http://asean.org/?static_post=joint-press-statement-the-special-asean-foreign-ministers-meeting-on-indochinese-refugees-bangkok-13-january-1979)

Jones, L. (2008). ASEAN's Albatross: ASEAN's Burma Policy, from *Constructive Engagement to Critical Disengagement*. *Asian Security*, 4(3), 271-293. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14799850802306484>

Jones, L. (2012). *ASEAN, sovereignty and intervention in Southeast Asia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jupille, J. & Caporaso, J. (1999). INSTITUTIONALISM AND THE EUROPEAN UNION: Beyond International Relations and Comparative Politics. *Annual Review Of Political Science*, 2(1), 429-444. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.2.1.429>

Katsumata, H. (2003). Reconstruction of Diplomatic Norms in Southeast Asia: The Case for Strict Adherence to the "ASEAN Way". *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 25(1), 104-121. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1355/cs25-1f>

Kingston, L. (2015). Protecting the world's most persecuted: the responsibility to protect and Burma's Rohingya minority. *The International Journal Of Human Rights*, 19(8), 1163-1175. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2015.1082831>

Kipgen, N. (2013). Addressing the Rohingya Problem. *Journal Of Asian And African Studies*, 49(2), 234-247. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0021909613505269>

Koga, K. (2010). The Normative Power of the "ASEAN Way",. *Stanford Journal Of East Asian Affairs*, 10(1).



- Kristof, N. (2014). *Myanmar's Appalling Apartheid*. *New York Times*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/29/opinion/kristof-myanmars-appalling-apartheid.html>
- Kundu, S. (2015). *The Rohingyas: Security Implications for ASEAN and Beyond*. New Delhi: IDSA Issue Brief.
- Kwa, C. & Rajaratnam, S. (2006). *S Rajaratnam on Singapore*. Hackensack, N.J.: World Scientific.
- Kwok, Y. (2014). *Indonesia: Papua Remains a Killing Field Under President Joko Widodo*. *Time*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://time.com/3627122/indonesia-papua-jokowi-human-rights>
- Langlois, A. (2013). The ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights: Institutionalising Human Rights in Southeast Asia. *Australian Journal Of International Affairs*, 67(1), 123-124. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2013.748283>
- Lefevre, A. (2014). *Thailand promises peace 'within a year' in insurgency-hit south*. *Reuters*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-insurgency-idUSKBN0IN0CG20141103>
- Lewis, S. (2016). *Suu Kyi oversees panel on plight of Myanmar's Rohingya Muslims*. *Reuters*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://reuters.com/article/idUSKCN11B0P9>
- Lloyd, P. (2016). *Aung San Suu Kyi bans use of Rohingya name*. *ABC News*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-06-22/aung-san-suu-kyi-bans-use-of-rohingya-name/7534410>
- Mazhar, M. (2016). Plight of Rohingya Muslims. *Journal Of The Research Society Of Pakistan*, 53(1).
- McCarthy, S. (2008). Burma and Asean: Estranged Bedfellows. *Asian Survey*, 48(6), 911-935. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/as.2008.48.6.911>
- Mclaughlin, T. & Aung, N. (2014). *Govt succeeds in keeping Rohingya off ASEAN Summit agenda*. *Myanmar Times*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://www.mmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/nay-pyi-taw/10324-govt-succeeds-in-keeping-rohingya-off-asean-summit-agenda.html>
- Myanmar's Suu Kyi launches Rohingya abuse panel*. (2016). *DW.COM*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://www.dw.com/en/myanmars-suu-kyi-launches-rohingya-abuse-panel/a-19497808>
- Narine, S. (1999). ASEAN into the twenty-first century: Problems and prospects. *The Pacific Review*, 12(3), 357-380. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09512749908719296>
- Narine, S. (2005). Humanitarian Intervention and the Question of Sovereignty: The Case of ASEAN. *Perspectives On Global Development And Technology*, 4(3), 465-485. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/156915005775093340>
- Nishikawa, Y. (2010). *Human security in Southeast Asia*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Nugroho, B. (2013). *After Three Years Of The AICHR: What Is Next*. Kyoto: Ritsumeikan University.
- Omi, S. (2011). Fleeing Burma. *World Policy Burma*, 28(2).
- Paddock, R. (2016). *Aung San Suu Kyi Asks U.S. Not to Refer to 'Rohingya'*. *New York Times*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/07/world/asia/myanmar-rohingya-aung-san-suu-kyi.html>
- Parnini, S. (2011). The Rohingya Issue in Bangladesh-Myanmar Relations. *International Journal Of Arts & Sciences*, 4(23).



- Parnini, S. (2013). The Crisis of the Rohingya as a Muslim Minority in Myanmar and Bilateral Relations with Bangladesh. *Journal Of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 33(2), 281-297. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2013.826453>
- Pitakdumrongrit, K. (2016). *Managing ASEAN's External Relations Via the Country Coordinator: Lessons Learned From Thailand* (p. 5). Singapore: Rajaratnam School of International Studies.
- RI Galang Dukungan ke Timur Tengah*. (2015). *Harian Nasional*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://www.harnas.co/2015/05/25/ri-galang-dukungan-ke-timur-tengah>
- Rocha Ferreira, A., Carvalho, C., Graeff Machry, F., & Barreto Vianna Rigon, P. (2013). Formation and Evidence of Customary International Law. *UFRGS Model United Nations Journal*, 1, 187.
- Rohingyas found abandoned in Thailand*. (2016). *PressTV*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://www.presstv.ir/Detail/2016/04/27/462870/Myanmar-Thailand-Rohingya>
- Sanger, D. (2016). *John Kerry and Aung San Suu Kyi: A Milestone Meeting in Myanmar, Tempered by Questions*. *New York Times*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/23/world/asia/john-kerry-myanmar-aung-san-suu-kyi.html>
- Severino, R. (2006). *Southeast Asia in search of an ASEAN community*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Sifton, J. & Nairn, A. (2015). *Despite Military Crackdown in Papua & Other Rights Abuses, Obama Hosts Indonesian President in D.C.. Democracy Now!*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from [http://www.democracynow.org/2015/10/27/despite\\_military\\_crackdown\\_in\\_papua\\_other](http://www.democracynow.org/2015/10/27/despite_military_crackdown_in_papua_other)
- Soesastro, H. (1995). *ASEAN in a changed regional and international political economy* (p. iii-ix). Jakarta: CSIS.
- Suganami, H. (2013). The English School in a Nutshell. *Ritsumeikan Annual Review Of International Studies*, 9(2).
- Sugiono, M. & Prabandari, A. (2015). *Lokalisasi Dan Institusionalisasi Norma HAM Di Asia Tenggara*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Suzuki, S. (2014). *Chairship System and Decision Making by Consensus in International Agreements: The Case of ASEAN*. Japan: IDE-Jetro.
- Tønneson, S. (2015). *ASEAN's Rohingya Challenge*. Oslo: PRIO Policy Brief.
- United Nations Security Council meets on Rohingya issue*. (2015). *The Online Citizen*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://www.theonlinecitizen.com/2015/05/29/united-nations-security-council-meets-on-rohingya-issue/>
- United Nations. (1969). New York.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2006). Geneva.
- Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization. (2012). The Hague.
- VIETNAM: No Sanctuary for Degar Christians*. (2015). *Voice of the Martyrs*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <https://vom.com.au/vietnam-no-sanctuary-for-degar-christians>
- Webb, J. (2015). *Solving the Rohingya Crisis*. *The Diplomat*. Retrieved 9 September 2016, from <http://thediplomat.com/2015/05/solving-the-rohingya-crisis/>
- Why is there communal violence in Myanmar?*. (2014). *BBC News*. Retrieved 6 September 2016, from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-18395788>
- Yen, Y. (2011). The Formation of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights: A Protracted Journey. *Journal Of Human Rights*, 10(3).



Zawacki, B. (2013). Defining Myanmar's "Rohingya Problem. *Human Rights Brief*, 20(3).

Zweynert, A. (2015). 'Boat people' crisis a test for ASEAN's humanitarian resolve. *Reuters*. Retrieved 25 September 2016, from <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-asia-migrants-asean-idUSKBN0031J220150518>