

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- AHA Centre. (2023, May 14). Situation Update No. 2 Tropical Cyclone Mocha, Myanmar - 14 May 2023 - AHA Centre. AHA Centre. <https://ahacentre.org/situation-update/situation-update-no-2-tropical-cyclone-mocha-myanmar-14-may-2023/>
- AHA Centre. (2023, Mei 20). Situations update No.5: Tropical Cyclone Mocha Myanmar. AHA Centre. Diakses melalui <https://ahacentre.org/situation-update/situation-update-no-5-tropical-cyclone-mocha-myanmar-20-may-2023/>
- AHA Centre. (2023, Mei 30). Situations update No.9: Tropical Cyclone Mocha Myanmar. AHA Centre. Diakses melalui <https://ahacentre.org/situation-update/situation-update-no-9-tropical-cyclone-mocha-myanmar-30-may-2023/>
- Al Jazeera (2023, 19 May). Official Cyclone Mocha death toll in Myanmar rises to 145. Al Jazeera.
- Al Jazeera. (2021, March 16). In Myanmar, rising food and fuel prices endanger the poor: UN. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2021/3/16/in-myanmar-rising-food-fuel-prices-endangers-poor-un-agency>
- Amanda Khairunissa Yunus, et al. (2023). Kepentingan Amerika Serikat terhadap Bantuannya dalam Permasalahan Kudeta Militer Myanmar Era Joe Biden. *Jurnal Sentriss*, 4 (1), 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.26593/sentriss.v4i1.5105.1-13>
- Andhika Prasetya. (2018, February 12). *Jokowi: RI Negara Besar, Sudah Saatnya Membantu Bukan Dibantu*. Detiknews; detikcom. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3862713/jokowi-ri-negara-besar-sudah-saatnya-membantu-bukan-dibantu>
- Argaditya, R. (2023). Dinamika ASEAN dalam Menyelesaikan Krisis Politik Pasca-Kudeta Militer Myanmar 2021. *Jurnal Mandala*. Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta.
- Antara News. (2023, Mei 19). ASEAN kirim bantuan kemanusiaan untuk korban Topan Mocha di Myanmar. Antaranews. Diakses melalui <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3547473/asean-kirim-bantuan-kemanusiaan-untuk-korban-topan-mocha-di-myanmar>
- ASEAN MP. (2024). ASEAN must take decisive Action on Myanmar at Upcoming Meetings in Thailand - APHR. Aseanmp.org.

- <https://aseanmp.org/publications/post/asean-must-take-decisive-action-on-myanmar-at-upcoming-meetings-in-thailand/>
- ASEAN Org. (2025). One ASEAN One Response declarations. ASEAN. Diakses melalui <https://mneawp.asean.org/asean-declarations>
- ASEAN Secretariat. *The ASEAN Charter*. 2025. <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/images/archive/publications/ASEAN-Charter.pdf>.
- Aye, T. T. (2018). The Role of United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in Myanmar. *University of Yangon Research Journal*. Vol. 8. 413-422.
- BBC. (2021, 1 February). Myanmar coup: Min Aung Hlaing, the general who seized power. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-55892489>
- BBC. (2021, 7 February). Myanmar Coup: Tens of Thousands Join Largest Protests since 2007. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-55967959>
- BBC Indonesia. (2023, Mei 14). Siklon Mocha dan dampaknya di Myanmar. BBC Indonesia. Diakses melalui <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cn074w2gylzo>
- Beals, M. (2023). *Convoys, Cross-border, Covert Ops: Responding to state-led arbitrary aid denial in civil wars. Lessons from Syria, Myanmar, and Ethiopia*. ALNAP.
- Besheer, M. (2023, March 16). *UN Envoy Sees “No Prospect” for Political Settlement in Myanmar*. Voice of America; Voice of America (VOA News). https://www.voanews.com/a/un-envoy-sees-no-prospect-for-political-settlement-in-myanmar-/7008808.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- Bounthavong, B., Surjaatmadja, S., & Anwar, S. (2023). Indonesia's Humanitarian Diplomacy in Providing Aid for Cyclone Mocha Disaster in Myanmar and its Impact on Security and Stability in Asean. *International Journal of Integrative Research (IJIR)*. 1 (11). 637-652. <https://doi.org/10.59890/ijir.v1i11.858>
- Bragg, C. (2015). Disaster Management and Multilateral Humanitarian Aid: Parallelism vs. Combined Forces. *Springer International Publishing Switzerland*. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-13470-3_1
- Carnegie, A. (2017). The Effects of Rejecting Aid on Recipients’ Reputations: Evidence from Natural Disaster Responses. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2909833>

- Comfort, L. K. (2000). Disaster: Agent of diplomacy or change in international affairs?. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 14(1), 277–294. doi:10.1080/09557570008400342
- Connelly. A. & Michaels. M. (2024). *Chapter 4: Disparate Diplomacy: Managing the Post-coup Myanmar Conflict*. APRSA 2024. IISS. <https://www-iiss-org.translate.goog/publications/strategic-dossiers/asia-pacific-regional-security-assessment-2024/chapter-4/? x tr sl=en& x tr tl=id& x tr hl=id& x tr pto=sge>
- Creswell, J. W. & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches Fifth Edition*. SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Dany, C. (2020). *Failed cooperation in times of natural disasters: Explaining the rejection of humanitarian aid*. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 20(2), 193–223. <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcy025>
- ASEAN Org. (2024). Disaster management & humanitarian assistance. ASEAN, Diakses melalui <https://asean.org/our-communities/asean-socio-cultural-community/disaster-management-humanitarian-assistance/>
- Fiantika, F. R., et al. (2022). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Padang: PT. Global Eksekutif Teknologi.
- Fransisca, Ika dan Arief Satrya Budianto. (2024). Legitimasi Pemerintahan Myanmar Sebagai Anggota ASEAN Pasca Kudeta Militer. *Rewang Rencang: Jurnal Hukum Lex Generalis*, 6(1), 1–22.
- Frontier Myanmar. (2022, 22 November). Dancing with dictators: The humanitarian dilemma in Myanmar. *Frontier Myanmar*.
- Genta Tenri Mawangi. (2021, February 12). *USAID akan alihkan bantuan Rp589,5 M dari pemerintah ke warga Myanmar*. Antara News; ANTARA. <https://m.antaranews.com/amp/berita/1997160/usaid-akan-alihkan-bantuan-rp5895-m-dari-pemerintah-ke-warga-myanmar>
- Ghita Intan, & Fathiyah Wardah. (2021, October 26). *Jokowi Sayangkan Sikap Myanmar yang Tolak Bantuan ASEAN*. VOA Indonesia; VOA Indonesia | Berita AS, Dunia, Indonesia, Diaspora Indonesia di AS. <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/jokowi-sayangkan-sikap-myanmar-yang-tolak-bantuan-asean/6285806.html>
- Green, L. (2022, January 28). Our Health Workers Are Working in Fear”: After Myanmar’s Military Coup, One Year of Targeted Violence against Health Care - PHR. PHR. <https://phr.org/our-work/resources/one-year-anniversary-of-the-myanmar-coup-detat/>

- Haosheng, D & Yunkang, L. (2023). Beyond Non-Interference: The Improved ASEAN Humanitarian-assistance Mechanism to Respond to the Myanmar Crisis. *Asia Social Issue*, 16(2), 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.48048/asi.2023.254879>
- Hou, T. (2024). Humanitarian aid practices on the Thai-Myanmar border after the coup: beyond depoliticization and inequality. *Journal of International Humanitarian Action*, 9(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41018-024-00159-4>
- HRW. (2021, December 13). Myanmar: Junta Blocks Lifesaving Aid. Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/12/13/myanmar-junta-blocks-lifesaving-aid>
- HRW. (2021, July 31). Myanmar: Coup Leads to Crimes Against Humanity. Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/07/31/myanmar-coup-leads-crimes-against-humanity>
- HRW. (2023, Juni 20). Myanmar: Junta blocks lifesaving cyclone aid. Human Rights Watch. Diakses melalui <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/06/20/myanmar-junta-blocks-lifesaving-cyclone-aid>
- Iba, Z., & Wardhana, A. (2023). *Metode Penelitian*. Purbalingga, Jawa Tengah: PT. Eureka. Media Aksara.
- ICI. (2022, 22 November). Myanmar: Military regime's new "law" aims to further decimate the function of civil society. ICI.
- Indiyanto, A. dan Kuswanjono, A. (2012). AGAMA, BUDAYA, DAN BENCANA. PT Mizan Pustaka. Bandung.
- Indrasari, A. F. P., Ramadhan T. M., & Marsingga, P. (2023). Sumber Konflik Perang Sipil Myanmar Pasca Kudeta Militer Tahun 2021. *Journal of Integrative International Relations*, 8(2), 98–114. <https://doi.org/10.15642/jiir.2023.8.2.98-114>
- International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). (2015). The fundamental principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. Switzerland: ICRC.
- ISP. (2023, November 28). All Armed and on the Verge of Breakdown | ISP-Myanmar. ISP-Myanmar | Institute for Strategy and Policy – Myanmar. <https://ispmyanmar.com/ie-28/>
- Kamal. A. & Fujimatsu. R. (2024). *Humanitarian Resistance*. HPN Network Paper 88. https://odihpn.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/HPN_NP88_HumanitarianResistance-Final-090424-web.pdf.

- Kelly, J. (2009). When NGOs beget NGOs: Practicing responsible proliferation. *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*. Diakses melalui <https://sites.tufts.edu/jha/archives/category/jocelyn-kelly>
- Kelman, I. (2012). Disaster Diplomacy-How Disasters Affect Peace and Conflict. *In Encyclopedia of Earth Sciences Series (1st ed.)*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-4399-4_89
- Kelman, I. (2014). Does Disaster Diplomacy Improve Inter-State Relations?. *E-International Relations*. Diakses melalui <https://www.e-ir.info/2014/11/04/does-disaster-diplomacy-improve-inter-state-relations/>
- Kemenko PMK. (2023, Mei 20). Indonesia kirimkan bantuan kemanusiaan untuk korban bencana Siklon Mocha di Myanmar. Kemenko PMK. Diakses melalui <https://www.kemenkopmk.go.id/indonesia-kirimkan-bantuan-kemanusiaan-untuk-korban-bencana-siklon-mocha-myanmar>
- Kusuma, A. J. & Sitorus, F. E. M. (2019). Strategi Diplomasi Kemanusiaan Pemerintah Indonesia Dalam Kasus Krisis Kemanusiaan Yang Dialami Etnis Rohingya Di Myanmar Tahun 2017. *MANDALA Jurnal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, 2 (2), 151-168.
- Mahendra, K., & Dwi Arjanto. (2024, April 18). Menilik Jejak Sejarah Kudeta Junta Militer Di Myanmar. *Tempo*. <https://www.tempo.co/internasional/menilik-jejak-sejarah-kudeta-junta-militer-di-myanmar-67214>
- Maizland, L. (2022, January 31). Myanmar's Troubled History: Coups, Military Rule, and Ethnic Conflict. Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/myanmar-history-coup-military-rule-ethnic-conflict-rohingya>
- Moleong, L. J. (2018). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: PT Remaja. Rosdakarya.
- MSF. (2023, July 7). *Cyclone Mocha: New restrictions hamper critical aid for Rohingya*. Doctors without Borders - USA. <https://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/latest/cyclone-mocha-new-restrictions-hamper-critical-aid-rohingya>
- Nye, J. S. (2004). *Soft Power – The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: PublicAffairs.
- Press, A. (2022, June 3). *PBB: Satu Juta Orang Lebih Mengungsi di Myanmar*. Voaindonesia.com; VOA Indonesia. <https://www.voaindonesia.com/amp/pbb-satu-juta-orang-lebih-mengungsi-di-myanmar/6601471.html>

- Reliefweb. (2023, May 14). UNICEF Myanmar Humanitarian Situation Report No. 1 (Cyclone MOCHA): 14 May 2023 - Myanmar. ReliefWeb. <https://reliefweb.int/report/myanmar/unicef-myanmar-humanitarian-situation-report-no-1-cyclone-mocha-14-may-2023>
- ReliefWeb. *Situation Update: Tropical Cyclone Mocha – Myanmar, 30 May 2023*. 2023.
- Relief Web. (2023, Mei 18). Myanmar: Cyclone Mocha - Urgent call for assistance. ReliefWeb. Diakses melalui <https://reliefweb.int/report/myanmar/myanmar-cyclone-mocha-urgent-call-assistance>
- Reuters. (2021, February 9). *New Zealand suspends ties with Myanmar; to ban visits from military leaders*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/new-zealand-suspends-ties-with-myanmar-puts-travel-ban-military-leaders-2021-02-09/?>
- Rianto, P. (2020). *Modul Metode Penelitian Kualitatif (1st ed.)*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Komunikasi UII Program Studi Ilmu Komunikasi Universitas Islam. Indonesia.
- Ruslan, R. (2016). *Manajemen Public Relations Dan Media Komunikasi*. Rajawali.
- Saputra, A. M. (2020). The Aid to Myanmar, Exercising Power of Indonesia Under Jokowi's Leadership. *Jurnal Sentris*, 2(2),1-13. DOI:10.26593/sentris.v2i2.4148.1-13
- Shofi Ayudiana. (2023, May 3). *AHA Centre dinilai tak punya kapasitas kirim bantuan ke Myanmar*. Antara News; ANTARA. https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3518673/aha-centre-dinilai-tak-punya-kapasitas-kirim-bantuan-ke-myanmar#google_vignette
- Sinulingga, A. A, Halim, A. & Permata, I. M. (2020). The Dilemma of Indonesian Humanitarian Action in the Humanitarian Crisis in Myanmar. *Dauliyah*, 5 (1), 1-25.
- Slim, H. (2015). *Humanitarian ethics: A guide to the morality of aid in war and disaster*. London: Hurst & Co.
- Surwandono, Maulana, Z., Retnoningsih, A., & Nugroho, A. (2021). *Evaluating Indonesia's Disaster Diplomacy Practices under the Jokowi Administration in 2018*. *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies* 5, no. 2 (2021): 297–311. <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v5n2.7>.
- The Straits Times. (2021, May 8). Myanmar junta designates shadow government as a “terrorist” group. The Straits Times.

- <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/myanmar-junta-designates-shadow-government-as-a-terrorist-group>
- UNHCR. (2021, December 17). Myanmar Emergency - UNHCR Regional Update - 17 December 2021. UNHCR Operational Data Portal (ODP). <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/90133>
- UNHCR. *Myanmar Operational Update, January–March 2023*. 2023.
- UNHCR. *Rohingya Displacement in Myanmar – Situation Brief*. 2023.
- UNICEF Myanmar. *Extremely Severe Cyclonic Storm Mocha, May 2023, Myanmar: Global Rapid Post-Disaster Damage Estimation (GRADE) Report*. UNICEF Myanmar/2023/Naing Lin Soe.
- UNOCHA. (2021, December 31). Myanmar Humanitarian Needs Overview 2022 (December 2021). [Unocha.org. https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/myanmar/myanmar-humanitarian-needs-overview-2022-december-2021](https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/myanmar/myanmar-humanitarian-needs-overview-2022-december-2021)
- UNOCHA. (2023, May 23). *Myanmar: Cyclone Mocha Flash Appeal, May 2023*. [Unocha.org. https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/myanmar/myanmar-cyclone-mocha-flash-appeal-may-2023](https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/myanmar/myanmar-cyclone-mocha-flash-appeal-may-2023)
- UNOCHA. (2024, January 12). *Myanmar Humanitarian Update No. 35 | 2023 Year in Review*. [Unocha.org. https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/myanmar/myanmar-humanitarian-update-no-35-2023-year-review](https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/myanmar/myanmar-humanitarian-update-no-35-2023-year-review)
- UNOCHA. (2024, June 9). *Myanmar Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan 2024 Addendum [EN/MY]*. [Unocha.org. https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/myanmar/myanmar-humanitarian-needs-and-response-plan-2024-addendum](https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/myanmar/myanmar-humanitarian-needs-and-response-plan-2024-addendum)
- UNOCHA. *Myanmar: Cyclone Mocha – Flash Update #9*. United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2023.
- UNOCHA. *Myanmar: Cyclone Mocha Situation Report No. 4 (As of 14:00, 8 June 2023)*. 2023.
- Voiland, A. (2023, Mei 17). Cyclone Mocha strikes Myanmar. Earth Observatory NASA. [Diakses melalui https://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/images/151343/cyclone-mocha-strikes-myanmar](https://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/images/151343/cyclone-mocha-strikes-myanmar)
- Walker, P., & Maxwell, D. G. (2009). *Shaping the humanitarian world*. Routledge.

- Wee, S. L. (2021, October 19). Thousands Flee Myanmar for India Amid Fears of a Growing Refugee Crisis. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/world/asia/myanmar-refugees-india.html>
- Widya Lestari Ningsih. (2023, August 11). *India Rice, Diplomasi Beras Ala Sutan Sjahrir*. Kompas.com. Diakses melalui https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2023/08/11/190000079/india-rice-diplomasi-beras-ala-sutan-sjahrir?lgn_method=google&google_btn=onetap
- Wirada, W. S. B., & Fathun. M. L. (2018). "Review: *Disaster Diplomacy: How Disaster Affect Peace and Conflict* oleh Ilan Kelman." *Mandala: Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* 1, no. 2. 323–336.
- World Bank. (2023). Global rapid post-disaster damage estimation (GRADE) report: Cyclone Mocha in Myanmar. Diakses melalui <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/myanmar/publication/global-rapid-post-disaster-damage-estimation-grade-report>
- World Bank Group. (2025). Myanmar - Climate vulnerability. World Bank. Diakses melalui <https://climateknowledgeportal.worldbank.org/country/myanmar/vulnerability>
- Relief Web. (2023, Mei 18). Myanmar: Cyclone Mocha - Urgent call for assistance. ReliefWeb. Diakses melalui <https://reliefweb.int/report/myanmar/myanmar-cyclone-mocha-urgent-call-assistance>
- Yashinta Difa Pramudyani. (2023, May 9). *Konvoi ASEAN yang bawa bantuan kemanusiaan diserang di Myanmar*. Antara News; ANTARA. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3528513/konvoi-asean-yang-bawa-bantuan-kemanusiaan-diserang-di-myanmar>
- Zakiah, S. (2016). Peran ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Centre) dalam menanggulangi bencana alam di Filipina. Skripsi. Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani.