

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Agustian, R. T. (2022). RETNO LESTARI PRIANSARI MARSUDI SEBAGAI TOKOH INSPIRATOR. *ResearchGate*.

Alam, J. (2019, 4 9). *Rohingya who moved to island in Bangladesh are learning job skills, says Japanese charity chief*. AP News. <https://apnews.com/article/bangladesh-myanmar-japan-rohingya-hasina-island-nippon-foundation-7809259313dc94bf6b160cb182a1dadf>

Amnesty International. (1997, August 31). *Bangladesh: Myanmar/Bangladesh Rohingyas - The search for safety*. Amnesty International. Retrieved May 11, 2025, from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa13/007/1997/en/>

Amnesty International. (2004, May 18). *Myanmar: The Rohingya Minority: Fundamental rights denied*. Amnesty International. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa16/005/2004/en/>

Anya, A. (2018, 8 30). *Indonesia urges Myanmar to implement Formula 4+1*. The Jakarta Post. Retrieved 6 10, 2025, from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/08/30/indonesia-urges-myanmar-implement-formula-41.html>

Arisandy, Y. (2016, 12 6). *Menlu Retno akan bertemu Suu Kyi untuk bahas perkembangan Rakhine*. ANTARA News. Retrieved 5 30, 2025, from <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/600109/menlu-retno-akan-bertemu-suu-kyi-untuk-bahas-perkembangan-rakhine>

Arungbudoyo, W. (2017, 08 31). *Bantuan untuk Myanmar Datang dari Lintas Agama, Menlu Retno: 'This is Indonesia'*. Okezone News. Retrieved 05 30, 2025, from <https://news.okezone.com/read/2017/08/31/18/1766831/bantuan-untuk-myanmar-datang-dari-lintas-agama-menlu-retno-this-is-indonesia>

- Aspasia, S. N. (2015, 05 25). *Bantu Pengungsi Rohingya, Pemerintah Rogoh Kocek Rp2,3 Miliar* Baca artikel CNN Indonesia "Bantu Pengungsi Rohingya, Pemerintah Rogoh Kocek Rp2,3 Miliar. CNN Indonesia. Retrieved 05 22, 2025, from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20150525190121-106-55602/bantu-pengungsi-rohingya-pemerintah-rogoh-kocek-rp23-miliar>
- Aspinall, E., Mietzner, M., & Tomsa, D. (Eds.). (2015). *The Yudhoyono Presidency: Indonesia's Decade of Stability and Stagnation*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- The Bali Process. (2016, 03 23). *SIXTH MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE OF THE BALI PROCESS ON PEOPLE SMUGGLING, TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS AND RELATED TRANSNATIONAL CRIME*. Baliprocess. Retrieved 05 30, 2025, from <https://www.baliprocess.net/event/sixth-regional-ministerial-conference/>
- Baskara, W. (2024). *INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ROHINGYA FOREIGN REFUGEES SEEKING ASYLUM 2019-2022. Social Politics and Humanities, 1(1)*.
- BBC News Indonesia. (2017, 12 14). *Sekitar 6.700 Muslim Rohingya tewas dalam waktu sebulan, kata MSF*. bbc.com. Retrieved 05 16, 2025, from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-42351386>
- Binet, L. (2020). *MSF AND THE ROHINGYA*. Médecins Sans Frontières. https://www.msf.org/sites/default/files/2020-11/socs-rohingya-en_0.pdf
- Bryman, A., & Bell, E. (2019). *Social Research Methods* (Fifth Canadian ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Chongkittavorn, K. (2017, 01 22). *Myanmar rebuffs Malaysia on OIC as ASEAN warns on Rohingya naming issue*. Nikkei Asia. Retrieved 05 30, 2025, from <http://asia.nikkei.com/Politics-Economy/International->

[Relations/Myanmar-rebuffs-Malaysia-on-OIC-as-ASEAN-warns-on-Rohingya-naming-issue](#)

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. SAGE Publications.

Flick, U. (Ed.). (2018). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*. SAGE Publications.

Gunandha, R. (2017, 09 18). *Dinilai Hina Indonesia, Video Pengungsi Rohingya Ini Bikin Kesal*. Suara.com. Retrieved 05 22, 2025, from <https://www.suara.com/news/2017/09/18/134341/dinilai-hina-indonesia-video-pengungsi-rohingya-ini-bikin-kesal>

Hamilton, K., & Langhorne, R. (1995). *The Practice of Diplomacy: Its Evolution, Theory, and Administration*,. Routledge.

HD Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue. (2021). *Annual Report 2020 mediation for peace*. HD Centre. <https://www.hdcentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/The-Centre-for-Humanitarian-Dialogue-in-2020.pdf>

Human Rights Watch/Asia. (1996). *THE ROHINGYA MUSLIMS: Ending a Cycle of Exodus?* 8.

Humas Sekretariat Kabinet RI. (2017, 9 4). *Selesaikan Krisis di Rakhine State, Menlu Retno Sampaikan Usulan Formula 4+1 Kepada Suu Kyi Read more:* <https://setkab.go.id/selesaikan-krisis-di-rakhine-state-menlu-retno-sampaikan-usulan-formula-41-kepada-suu-kyi/>. Setkab.go.id. Retrieved 6 9, 2025, from <https://setkab.go.id/selesaikan-krisis-di-rakhine-state-menlu-retno-sampaikan-usulan-formula-41-kepada-suu-kyi/>

ICRC Indonesia. (2013, 1 14). *ICRC dan Palang Merah Myanmar Bantu Pengungsi di Rakhine, Myanmar*. <https://blogs.icrc.org/indonesia/icrc-dan-palang-merah-myanmar-bantu-pengungsi-di-rakhine-myanmar/>

- Indrawati, & Nugroho, A. Y. (2019). PENERAPAN PRINSIP POLITIK LUAR NEGERI INDONESIA MELALUI DIPLOMASI MARITIM. *Verity Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional*, 13. 10.19166/verity.v10i20.1462
- Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC). (2018). *INDONESIA AND THE ROHINGYA CRISIS*. Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC). <https://understandingconflict.org/en/publications/Indonesia-and-the-Rohingya-Crisis>
- International Crisis Group. (2012). MYANMAR: STORM CLOUDS ON THE HORIZON. *Asia Report N°238*.
- Kantor Komunikasi Publik. (2018, 12 19). *Menlu Retno Marsudi: Indonesia Mengedepankan Diplomasi Perdamaian dan Kemanusiaan*. unpad.ac.id. Sahadi, Taufiq, O. H., &
- Komnas HAM. (1948, 12 10). *DEKLARASI UNIVERSAL HAK ASASI MANUSIA*. Komnas HAM. Retrieved May 11, 2025, from [https://www.komnasham.go.id/files/1475231326-deklarasi-universal-hak-asasi--\\$R48R63.pdf](https://www.komnasham.go.id/files/1475231326-deklarasi-universal-hak-asasi--$R48R63.pdf)
- Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. New Age International Limited
- Koven, M (2014). Interviewing: Practice, ideology, genre, and intertextuality. Annual Review of Anthropology, annualreviews.org, <<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-092412-155533>>
- 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.
- Lanasa, A. I. M. (2024). 30 A Leadership Perspective: Analisis Gaya Kepemimpinan Retno Marsudi Berdasarkan Teori Kepemimpinan

Dalam Konteks Multikultural Dan Multinasional Pada Saat Menangani Konflik Rohingya. *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Pendidikan*, 31-47.
<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.14257813>

Manchanda, R. (2014). Women ' s Agency Peace Building. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(44), 4737–4745.

Mashabi, S., & Erdianto, K. (2020, 06 30). *Menlu: atas Nama Kemanusiaan, Indonesia Menerima Sementara Pengungsi Rohingya* Artikel ini telah tayang di *Kompas.com* dengan judul "Menlu: atas Nama Kemanusiaan, Indonesia Menerima Sementara Pengungsi Rohingya". *Kompas.com*. Retrieved 05 27, 2025, from <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/06/30/19372761/menlu-atas-nama-kemanusiaan-indonesia-menerima-sementara-pengungsi-rohingya>

Mathieson, D., & Human Rights Watch (Organization). (2009). *Perilous Plight: Burma's Rohingya Take to the Seas*. Human Rights Watch.

Matthew, G. (2020). Kepentingan Nasional dan Diplomasi ala Indonesia dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Etnis Rohingya di Myanmar. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*.

Mazrieva, E. (2017, 9 5). *Bantu Atasi Krisis Rohingya, Menlu RI Sampaikan Usul '4+1'*. VOA Indonesia. Retrieved 5 30, 2025, from <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/bantu-atasi-krisis-rohingya-menlu-ri-sampaikan-usul-4-1/4014956.html>

Merdeka.com. (2012, 8 4). *Surati presiden Myanmar, SBY minta konflik Rohingya dituntaskan*. Merdeka.com. <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/surati-presiden-myanmar-sby-minta-konflik-rohingya-dituntaskan.html>

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. SAGE Publications.

Minear, L. (2002). *The Humanitarian Enterprise: Dilemmas and Discoveries*. Kumarian Press.

- Minear, L., & Smith, H. (Eds.). (2007). *Humanitarian Diplomacy: Practitioners and Their Craft*. United Nations University Press.
- Nugraha, F. (2023, 09 22). *Menlu RI: Rohingya Menangis dalam Senyap, Kita Tidak Boleh Tinggal Diam*. Metro TV News. Retrieved 05 27, 2025, from <https://www.metrotvnews.com/read/b2lCr02p-menlu-ri-rohingya-menangis-dalam-senyap-kita-tidak-boleh-tinggal-diam>
- Nuswantoro, B. S., & Agussalim, D. (2015). Sikap Negara Asean terhadap Pengungsi Rohingnya: Studi Komparatif Kebijakan Indonesia dan Thailand. *Universitas Gadjah Mada*.
- Nye, J. S. (1990). *Bound To Lead: The Changing Nature Of American Power*. Basic Books.
- Nye, J. S. (2019). Soft Power and Public Diplomacy Revisited. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*.
- Nyein, N. (2012, 10 15). *President Yields to Protesters, Says No to OIC Office*. The Irrawaddy. <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/president-yields-to-protesters-says-no-to-oic-office.html>
- Pinto, M. (2012). Responsibility to protect ('R2P'). *Asian Approaches to International Law and the Legacy of Colonialism: The Law of the Sea, Territorial Disputes and International Dispute Settlement*, 389(10081), 138–153. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203097687>
- Pradita, F. A. (2018). IMPLEMENTASI FORMULA 4 + 1 DARI PEMERINTAH INDONESIA DALAM MENANGANI PERMASALAHAN KEMANUSIAAN ROHINGNYA DI MYANMAR. <http://repository.uksw.edu/handle/123456789/17049>
- Prior, L. (2003). Using Documents in Social Research. *SAGE Publications*.
- Priyambodo. (2017, 01 21). *Indonesia proposes four actions for Rakhine*. ANTARA News. Retrieved 05 30, 2025, from

<https://en.antaranews.com/news/109037/indonesia-proposes-four-actions-for-rakhine>

Pujayanti, A. (2017). INDONESIA DAN TRAGEDI KEMANUSIAAN ROHINGYA. *Majalah Info Singkat Pusat Penelitian Badan Keahlian DPR* *RI*, *IX*, 4. https://berkas.dpr.go.id/pusaka/files/info_singkat/Info%20Singkat-IX-17-I-P3DI-September-2017-179.pdf

Rahman, A. (2015). Ethno-Political Conflict: The Rohingya Vulnerability in Myanmar. *International Journal of Humanities & Social Science Studies (IJHSSS)*, *II*, 288 - 295. <http://www.ijhsss.com>

Rappler. (2017, 9 6). *Indonesia siap bantu Bangladesh atasi krisis pengungsi*. Rappler.com. Retrieved 5 30, 2025, from <https://www.rappler.com/world/indonesia/181219-rohingya-menlu-retno-marsudi-bangladesh/>

Reuters. (2012, 10 27). *Fleeing Muslims seek food, shelter after Myanmar sectarian chaos*. Reuters.com. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-violence/fleeing-muslims-seek-food-shelter-after-myanmar-sectarian-chaos-idUSBRE89P0VN20121027/>

Rosyid, M. (2018). PERAN INDONESIA DALAM MENANGANI ETNIS MUSLIM ROHINGYA DI MYANMAR. *Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan Universitas Indonesia*, 49. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21143/jhp.vol49.no3.2190>

Security Council. (2000). Security Council Report. <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/WPS.SRES1325.pdf>

Sekretariat Kabinet RI. (2022, 01 22). *President Jokowi Reiterates Importance of Implementing Five ASEAN Consensus Points for Myanmar Issues*. Setkab.go.id. <https://setkab.go.id/en/president-jokowi-reiterates->

[importance-of-implementing-five-asean-consensus-points-for-myanmar-issues/](#)

Setiawan, A. (2020). POLITIK LUAR NEGERI INDONESIA ERA COVID-19: PENYELAMATAN DAN KERJASAMA. *INDEPENDEN: Jurnal Politik Indonesia dan Global*, 1, 10. <http://jurnal.umj.ac.id/index.php/independen>

Setiawan, A., & Hamka. (2020). Role of Indonesian Humanitarian Diplomacy toward Rohingya Crisis in Myanmar. *International Conference on Social Science (ICSS)*. 10.4108/eai.5-11-2019.2292481

Singh, B. (2014). *Tantangan orang Rohingya Myanmar: menghadapi satu minoritas teraniaya dan implikasi untuk keamanan nasional dan regional* (N. Bakdisoemanto, Trans.). Gadjah Mada University Press.

Sohel, S. (2017). The Rohingya Crisis in Myanmar: Origin and Emergence. *Saudi Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(11A), 1007 - 1018. 10.21276/sjhss.2017.2.11.1

Sundari, R., Prayuda, R., & Sary, D. V. (2021). Upaya Diplomasi Pemerintah Indonesia Dalam Mediasi Konflik Kemanusiaan Di Myanmar. *Jurnal Niara*, 14(1), 177 - 187.

United Nations. (1993, January 1). *Human Development Report 1993*. Human Development Reports. <https://hdr.undp.org/content/human-development-report-1993>

United Nations Human Rights. (1966, 12 16). *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*. ohchr. Retrieved May 11, 2025, from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights>

United Nations Human Rights. (1992, 12 18). *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities*. ohchr. Retrieved May 11, 2025, from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments->

[mechanisms/instruments/declaration-rights-persons-belonging-national-or-ethnic](#)

UN. (1995). *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action Beijing + 5 Political Declaration and*.

United Nations General Assembly (GA). 2000. "Promoting Social Integration in Post Conflict Situations." Report of the Secretary General. 24 February 2000

United Nation Development (2005), Human Development Report, 2005.

Utami, D. W., Saleh, R., & Oktafiani, I. (2018). INDONESIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL IMMIGRATION POLICY: The Case of Rohingya Ethnic Group Refugees. *Journal of Indonesian Social Science and Humanities (JISSH)*, 8(2), 119 - 131.

VanderStoep, S. W., & Johnson, D. D. (2009). *Research Methods for Everyday Life: Blending Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Wiley.

VOA Indonesia. (2020, April 20). *Menlu: Diskriminasi terhadap Perempuan Saat Pandemi Covid-19 Harus Dicegah*. VOA Indonesia. Retrieved June 9, 2025, from <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/menlu-diskriminasi-terhadap-perempuan-saat-pandemi-covid-19-harus-dicegah/5378879.html>

Vuković, M., Urošević, S., & Dašić, D. (2023). THREATS TO OBJECTIVITY IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH. *SPORTS, MEDIA AND BUSINESS*. <https://doi.org/10.58984/smb2302143v>.

Wulandari, T., Alya, K., Farhana, D. Y., & Barella, Y. (2024). The Successful Journey of a Diplomat and Negotiator Case Study of Mrs. Retno Marsudi. *TERANG: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Sosial, Politik dan Hukum*, 298-310. <https://doi.org/10.62383/terang.v1i2.281>

Young, O. R., & Osherenko, G. (1993). *Polar Politics: Creating Environmental Regimes*. Cornell University Press.

Zawacki, B. (2013). Defining Myanmar's "Rohingya Problem". *Human Rights Brief*, 20(3), 18 - 25.