

BAB IV

KESIMPULAN

Berdasarkan pertanyaan penelitian yang telah dikemukakan penulis, “Mengapa terdapat adanya perbedaan kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia dalam menghadapi pelanggaran hak asasi manusia yang dialami etnis minoritas Muslim Rohingya dan Muslim Uyghur?”, terdapat beberapa temuan utama yang dapat diuraikan dalam penelitian ini. Penulis menggunakan konsep *Agent-Structure* yang meliputi hubungan antara *agent* berupa negara dan *structure* di mana negara-negara tersebut beroperasi untuk menjawab pertanyaan penelitian sehubungan dengan eksistensi pengaruh *power* sebagai faktor perbedaan kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia. Penulis juga menggunakan teori *World-System* untuk memperdalam pembahasan—menggunakan konsep negara *core*, *semi-periphery*, dan *periphery* untuk menentukan batasan *power* dalam *structure* pada Indonesia dan RRT.

Indonesia merupakan negara dengan mayoritas penganut agama Islam (87,2%) terbesar di dunia. Pada tahun 2018, Indonesia kembali terpilih untuk menjadi anggota non-permanen UNSC. Kesempatan ini digunakan Indonesia untuk mewujudkan komitmennya dalam mewujudkan perdamaian dunia dengan mengangkat konflik-konflik yang melibatkan umat Muslim. Meski begitu, Indonesia tidak menunjukkan komitmen yang sama dalam beberapa konflik

serupa. Permasalahan dalam perbedaan perlakuan tersebut dapat disaksikan melalui perbandingan dua contoh kasus, yaitu pelanggaran hak asasi manusia yang dialami etnis minoritas Muslim Rohingya di Myanmar dan etnis minoritas Muslim Uyghur di RRT.

Indonesia yang mengecam tindakan pemerintah Myanmar telah berperan aktif dalam menengahi konflik yang terjadi antara pemerintah Myanmar dan Muslim Rohingya—melakukan pertemuan diplomatik dengan pemerintah Myanmar untuk mengungkapkan kekhawatiran, menekankan pentingnya stabilitas dan keamanan, mengharapkan bahwa pemerintah Myanmar dapat menjunjung hak asasi manusia masyarakat Rohingya, sekaligus memberikan saran. Indonesia juga melakukan pertemuan diplomatik dengan pemerintah Bangladesh untuk membicarakan masalah pengungsi Rohingya. Selain itu, Indonesia mengangkat permasalahan ini dalam forum-forum internasional; memberikan bantuan kemanusiaan dengan membangun kamp pengungsian, rumah sakit, sekolah, sekaligus mengirimkan bantuan makanan dan obat-obatan; juga menerima pengungsi dari Rakhine.

Di lain sisi, Indonesia tidak memberikan perlakuan yang sama untuk Muslim Uyghur. Indonesia hanya mengecam tindakan dan melakukan pertemuan diplomatik dengan pemerintah RRT, tetapi tidak mengambil peranan aktif dalam memberikan bantuan pada Muslim Uyghur. Melalui Wakil Presiden Jusuf Kalla, Indonesia memberikan pernyataan bahwa Indonesia tidak dapat mencampuri

urusan dalam negeri karena adanya kedaulatan setiap negara untuk mengatur wilayahnya masing-masing.

Sesuai dengan konsep *Agent-Structure*, negara mempertimbangkan aspek *agent* dan *structure* dalam pembuatan kebijakan luar negerinya. *Structure* membentuk *nature of choice* dengan *power* yang tidak dapat diabaikan dalam pengambilan keputusan. Negara yang mampu mendominasi *structure* biasanya secara otomatis memiliki peran *decisive* dalam *structure* tersebut. Melalui data-data yang telah diperoleh, dapat dikatakan bahwa Indonesia memegang *power* yang lebih besar daripada Myanmar baik dalam hubungan bilateral maupun *structure* Asia Tenggara. Sebaliknya, RRT yang merupakan *great power* di Asia memegang *power* yang lebih besar daripada Indonesia baik dalam hubungan bilateral maupun *structure* Asia.

Indonesia adalah *agent* yang superior dalam *structure* Asia Tenggara sehingga memiliki peran *decisive* dan dapat mengejar *interestnya* dengan melakukan langkah-langkah agresif yang cenderung interventionis pada Myanmar untuk menghadapi pelanggaran hak asasi manusia terhadap Muslim Rohingya. Sementara itu, Indonesia yang memiliki dependensi pada RRT merupakan *agent* yang lebih inferior dalam *structure* Asia sehingga tidak dapat mengejar *interestnya* secara agresif apalagi melakukan tindakan-tindakan interventionis pada RRT sehubungan dengan kasus pelanggaran hak asasi manusia yang dialami Muslim Uyghur. Maka dari itu, dapat disimpulkan bahwa *power* merupakan faktor yang mempengaruhi perbedaan kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia dalam

menghadapi hak asasi manusia yang dialami etnis minoritas Muslim Rohingya dan Muslim Uyghur.

Menurut penulis, Indonesia telah melakukan tindakan yang sesuai dengan mempertimbangkan *powernya* sebelum membuat keputusan-keputusan tertentu melalui kebijakan luar negerinya. Meskipun begitu, Indonesia seharusnya memberikan lebih banyak kontribusi untuk membantu etnis minoritas Muslim Uyghur. Indonesia dapat menggunakan hubungannya dengan negara-negara yang memiliki lebih banyak *power*, seperti Amerika Serikat, dan melakukan pertemuan diplomatik untuk menyuarakan *concern* terhadap masalah sehubungan dengan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia ini sekaligus meminta bantuan demi kepentingan Muslim Uyghur.

Dalam menulis penelitian ini, penulis melihat adanya beberapa kelemahan. Penulis hanya menggunakan kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia berdasarkan responnya terhadap pelanggaran hak asasi manusia yang dihadapi etnis minoritas Muslim. Hal ini tentu dapat dikembangkan lagi dengan mengangkat isu-isu dalam berbagai bidang lain juga menggunakan acuan kebijakan luar negeri dari negara-negara lain. Selain itu, sebagian besar data yang digunakan penulis untuk membandingkan *power* antar negara dalam penelitian ini berasal dari data ekonomi sehingga masih dapat dikembangkan dengan menggunakan data dari berbagai aspek lain. Meskipun memiliki keterbatasannya sendiri, penulis berharap bahwa penelitian ini dapat berguna bagi pembaca untuk

memahami adanya pengaruh *power* dalam kebijakan luar negeri, khususnya melalui sudut pandang konsep *Agent-Structure*.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Acharya, Amitav. 2014. *Indonesia Matters: Asia's Emerging Democratic Power*. Singapura: World Scientific.
- Barfield, Thomas. 1997. *The Dictionary of Anthropology*. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Bryman, Alan. 2021. *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Christie, Clive. 1997. *A Modern History of Southeast Asia: Decolonization, Nationalism and Separatism*. London: IB Tauris.
- Creswell, John. 2007. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Dillion, Michael. 2004. *Xinjiang: China's Muslim Far Northwest*. London & New York: Routledge Curzon.
- Farzana, Kazi. 2017. *Memories of Burmese Rohingya Refugees: Contested Identity and Belonging*. New York: Springer Nature.
- Hill, Christopher. 2003. *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hill, Christopher. 2016. *Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ibrahim, Azeem. 2016. *The Rohingyas: Inside Myanmar's Hidden Genocide*. London: Hurst Publishers.
- Johnson, R. Burke dan Larry Christensen. 2020. *Educational Research: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Leifer, Michael. 1983. *Indonesia's Foreign Policy*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Myint-U, Thant. 2006. *The River of Lost Footsteps—Histories of Burma*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

- Puryono, Sri. 2016. *Mengelola Laut untuk Kesejahteraan Rakyat*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Ricklefs, Merve. 2001. *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200 (Edisi Ketiga)*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sukma, Rizal. 2004. *Islam in Indonesian Foreign Policy*. London & New York: Routledge Curzon.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1974. *The Modern World System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2004. *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Webb, Charles Morgan. 1912. *Census of Burma 1911*. Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent.
- Weinstein, Franklin. 2007. *Indonesian Foreign Policy and the Dilemma of Dependence: From Sukarno to Soeharto*. Singapore: Equinox Publishing.
- Williams, David. 2014. *Law, Society and Transition in Myanmar: What's so Bad about Burma's 2008 Constitution?*. Oxford: Hart Publishing.

Jurnal

- Abdullahi, Kamal Tasiu dan Joseph Phiri. 2019. Study on the Rise of China as a Dangerous Superpower. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development* 6, No. 1.
- Anwar, Dewi Fortuna. 2019. Indonesia-China Relations: To be Handled with Care. *Perspective*, No. 19.
- Barnett, Michael dan Raymond Duvall. 2005. Power in International Politics. *International Organization* 59.
- Becquelin, Nicolas. 2004. Staged Development in Xinjiang. *China Quarterly* 178.

- Bovingdon, Gardner. 2004. Autonomy in Xinjiang: Han Nationalist Imperatives. *Policy Studies* 11.
- Chase-Dunn, Christopher dan Peter Grimes. 1995. World-System Analysis. *Annual Review of Sociology* 21.
- Chellaney, Brahma. 2017. China's Debt-Trap Diplomacy. *Project Syndicate*. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/china-one-belt-one-road-loans-debt-by-brahma-chellaney-2017-01?barrier=accesspaylog>.
- Clarke, Michael. 2015. China and the Uyghur: The 'Palestinization' of Xinjiang?. *Middle East Policy* 22, No. 3.
- Clarke, Michael. 2017. The Belt and Road Initiative: China's New Grand Strategy?. *Asia Policy* 24, No. 1.
- Goldfrank, Walter. 2000. Paradigm Regained? The Rules of Wallerstein's World-System Method. *Journal of World-System Research* 6, No. 2.
- Hill, Christopher. 2003. What is to be Done? Foreign Policy as a Site for Political Action. *International Affairs* 79, No. 2.
- Hossain, Md. Saddam dan Md. Sajjad Hosain. 2019. Rohingya Identity Crisis: A Case Study. *Saudi Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 4, No. 4.
- Islam, Md. Shariful. 2019. Understanding the Rohingya Crisis and the Failure of Human Rights Norm in Myanmar: Possible Policy Responses. *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations* 23, No. 2.
- Neumann, Iver. 2008. Russia as a Great Power, 1815-2007. *Journal of International Relations and Development* 11, No. 2.
- James, Helen. 2000. The Fall of Ayutthaya: A Re-assessment. *The Journal of Burma Studies* 5, No. 1.
- Kibgen, Nehginpao. 2011. Political Change in Burma: Transition from Democracy to Military Dictatorship 1948-1962. *Economic and Political Weekly* 46, No. 20.
- Kireeva, Anna. 2016. Great Powers and Power Dynamics in East Asia. *International Trends* 2, No. 2.

- Mahmood, Syed, Emily Wroe, Arlan Fuller, dan Jennifer Leaning. 2016. The Rohingya People of Myanmar: Health, Human Rights, and Identity. *The Lancet* 389.
- Mudore, Syarif Bahaudin. 2019. Peran Diplomasi Indonesia dalam Konflik Israel-Palestina. *Jurnal CMES* 12, No. 2.
- Muttaqien, M. 2013. Domestic Politics and Indonesia's Foreign Policy on the Arab-Israeli Conflict. *Global & Strategies* 7, No. 1.
- Pantucci, Rafeollo dan Alexandros Petersen. 2012. China's Inadvertent Empire. *National Interest* 122.
- Rahman, Md. Ziaur, Jhensanam Anusara, Bouasone Chanthamith, Md. Saddam Hossain, Md. Al Amin, dan Arifin Sultana. 2018. Rohingya Crisis: Identity of Rohingya Muslim in Myanmar. *International Research Journal of Science* 7, No. 12.
- Rosyid, Moh. 2019. Peran Indonesia dalam Menangani Etnis Muslim Rohingya di Myanmar. *Jurnal Hukum dan Pembangunan* 49, No. 3.
- Salim, Agus. 2020. Islamic Identity and Foreign Policy Discourse: Indonesia's Responses to the US War in Afghanistan (2001-2002). *Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 27, No. 1.
- Skocpol, Theda. 1977. Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A Theoretical and Historical Critique. *American Journal of Sociology* 82, No. 5.
- Sukma, Rizal. 2009. Indonesia-China Relations: The Politics of Re-engagement. *Asian Survey* 49, No. 4.
- Sukma, Rizal. 1997. Indonesia's Bebas-Aktif Foreign Policy and the 'Security Agreement' with Australia. *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 51, No. 2.

Dokumen Resmi

ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights. *The Rohingya Crisis: Past, Present, and Future Summary Report of Findings from Fact-Finding Mission to Bangladesh*. 2018.

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. *History*.
<https://asean.org/asean/about-asean/history/>.

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. *Overview*.
<https://asean.org/asean/about-asean/overview/>.

Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, Yangon, Myanmar. *Indonesian Festival: Celebrating 70 Years of Friendship with Myanmar*. Yangon, 2019.
<https://kemlu.go.id/yangon/en/news/2822/indonesian-festival-2019>.

Invest in ASEAN. *Indonesia*.
<http://investasean.asean.org/index.php/page/view/asean-member-states/view/709/newsid/793/indonesia.html>.

Invest in ASEAN. *Myanmar*.
<http://investasean.asean.org/index.php/page/view/asean-member-states/view/709/newsid/790/myanmar.html>.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. *FM Marsudi Urges to Stop Humanity Crisis in Rakhine State*. Jakarta, 2019.
<https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/622/berita/fm-marsudi-urges-to-stop-humanity-crisis-in-rakhine-state>.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. *Indonesia Membership on the UN Security Council*. Jakarta, 2019.
https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/147/halaman_list_lainnya/indonesian-membership-on-the-un-security-council.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. *Presiden Jokowi Sampaikan Pandangan bagi Pemulihan Situasi di Rakhine State*. Jakarta, 2019. <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/749/berita/presiden-jokowi-sampaikan-pandangan-bagi-pemulihan-situasi-di-rakhine-state>.

Portal Informasi Indonesia. *Agama*. <https://www.indonesia.go.id/profil/agama>.

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights:. *Human Rights Handbook for Parliamentarians* No. 26. Tignieu-Jameyzieu: Courand et Associés, 2016.

UN News. *Rohingya Refugee Crisis*. 2018. <https://news.un.org/en/focus/rohingya-refugee-crisis>.

United Nations. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Jenewa, 1948. https://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf.

United Nations Children's Fund. *Rohingya Crisis*. <https://www.unicef.org/emergencies/rohingya-crisis>.

United Nations High Commissioner of Refugee. *Rohingya Emergency*. <https://www.unhcr.org/rohingya-emergency.html>.

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. *Rohingya Refugee Crisis*. <https://www.unocha.org/rohingya-refugee-crisis>.

Report

Baxter, James. *Report on Indian Immigration*. Network for International Protection of Refugees and Burma Action Group. http://www.netipr.org/policy/downloads/19390715_baxter-report.pdf.

Doctors without Borders. 2018. *No One was Left: Death and Violence Against the Rohingya in Rakhine State, Myanmar*. Doctors without Borders' Advocacy Briefing on Mortality Surveys. https://www.doctorswithoutborders.ca/sites/default/files/2018_-_03_-_no_one_was_left_-_advocacy_briefing_on_mortality_surveys.pdf.

Human Rights Watch. 2000. *Malaysia / Burma: Living in Limbo*. Human Rights Watch Reports 12, No. 4. https://www.hrw.org/reports/2000/malaysia/maybr008-01.htm#P244_39095.

International Crisis Group. 2014. *Myanmar: The Politics of Rakhine State*. Asia Report No. 261.

The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. 2009. *Mapping the Global Muslim Population: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Muslim Population*. Washington: Pew Research Center.

Website

Affan, Heyder. *Myanmar Dituntut Izinkan TPF PBB, Menlu RI Tiba di Yangon*.

BBC News. 2017. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-41140889>.

Aisyah, Rachmadea. *Chinese Investments Trending in Indonesia*. The Jakarta Post. 2018.

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/05/02/chinese-investments-trending-in-indonesia.html>.

Aisyah, Rachmadea. *Myanmar Moves to Lure Indonesian Investments*. The Jakarta Post. 2018.

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/08/13/myanmar-moves-lure-indonesian-investments.html>.

Albert, Eleanor dan Lindsay Maizland. *The Rohingya Crisis*. Council on Foreign Relations. 2020. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/rohingya-crisis>.

Almuttaqi, Ahmad Ibrahim. *Seizing the Opportunity to Lift Jakarta-Naypyitaw Relations*. The Jakarta Post. 2016.

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/03/31/seizing-opportunity-lift-jakarta-naypyitaw-relations.html>.

Amindoni, Ayomi. *Muslim Uighur: Mengapa Ormas Islam dan Pemerintah Indonesia ‘Bungkam’ atas Dugaan Pelanggaran HAM di Xinjiang?*. BBC News. 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-50835364>.

Anonymous. *A Meeting of Civilisations: The Mystery of China’s Celtic Mummies*. The Independent. 2006.

- [https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/a-meeting-of-civilisations-the-mystery-of-chinas-celestial-mummies-413638.html.](https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/a-meeting-of-civilisations-the-mystery-of-chinas-celestial-mummies-413638.html)
- Anonymous. *About Uyghurs*. The Uyghur American Association. <https://uyghuramerican.org/about-uyghurs>.
- Anonymous. *China Bans Xinjiang Officials from Observing Ramadan Fast*. BBC News. 2014. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-28123267>.
- Anonymous. *China's Anti-Veil 'Project Beauty' Campaign Sows Ugly Tensions*. The Strait Times. 2013. <http://www.straitstimes.com/breaking-news/asia/story/chinas-anti-veil-project-beauty-campaign-sows-ugly-tensions-20131125>.
- Anonymous. *China's Investment Reaches US\$1.6 Billion in Indonesia*. The Jakarta Post. 2017. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/01/20/chinas-investment-reaches-us1-6-billion-in-indonesia.html>.
- Anonymous. *Chinese Investment in Indonesia Reaches US\$2.3 billion*. Antara News. 2019. <https://en.antaranews.com/news/136671/chinese-investment-in-indonesia-reaches-us23-billion>.
- Anonymous. *Data Leak Reveals How China 'Brainwashes' Uighurs in Prison Camps*. BBC News. 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-50511063>.
- Anonymous. *Ditolak Masuk Kedubes, PA 212 Serukan Boikot Produk China*. CNN Indonesia. 2020. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20191227152617-20-460406/ditolak-masuk-kedubes-pa-212-serukan-boikot-produk-china>.
- Anonymous. *Ethnic Unrest in Xinjiang: Unveiled Threats*. 2013. <http://www.economist.com/news/china/21580491-more-outbreaks-violence-show-governments-policies-are-not-working-unveiled-threats>.

- Anonymous. *Hundreds of Thousands of Rohingya People Trapped in Stateless Limbo. Doctors without Borders.* 2019.
<https://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/what-we-do/news-stories/story/hundreds-thousands-rohingya-people-trapped-stateless-limbo>.
- Anonymous. *Indonesia, Myanmar Explore Trade, Investment Cooperation.* Antara News. 2018.
<https://en.antaranews.com/news/117176/indonesia-myanmar-explore-trade-investment-cooperation>.
- Anonymous. *Indonesia-China Relations. Global Security.*
<https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/indonesia/forrel-prc.htm>.
- Anonymous. *JK Tolak Penindasan terhadap Muslim Uighur di China.* CNN Indonesia. 2018.
[https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20181217140715-20-354266/jk-to-lak-penindasan-terhadap-muslim-uighur-di-china](https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20181217140715-20-354266/jk-tolak-penindasan-terhadap-muslim-uighur-di-china).
- Anonymous. *Menlu RI Serahkan Formula, Pelapor Khusus PBB dan Malala Kritik Suu Kyi.* BBC News. 2017.
<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-41147802>.
- Anonymous. *MSF Surveys Estimate that At Least 6,700 Rohingya were Killed during the Attacks in Myanmar.* Medecins sans Frontieres. 2017.
<https://www.msf.org/myanmarbangladesh-msf-surveys-estimate-least-6700-rohingya-were-killed-during-attacks-myanmar>.
- Anonymous. *Muslim Uighur: Massa Mendemo Kedubes China, Pemerintah Indonesia Dinilai ‘Masih Terkesan Senyap’.* BBC News. 2019.
<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-50867817>.
- Anonymous. *Myanmar Events of 2018.* Human Rights Watch. 2018.
<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/burma>.
- Anonymous. *Myanmar Rohingya: What You Need to Know about the Crisis.* BBC News. 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41566561>.

- Anonymous. *Myanmar's Hollow Denial of Rape of Rohingya: Overwhelming Evidence of Military Role in Hundreds of Sexual Assaults*. Human Rights Watch. 2019.
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/02/07/myanmars-hollow-denial-rape-rohingya>.
- Anonymous. *Politik Bebas Aktif Indonesia Masih Relevan*. Universitas Gadjah Mada. 2018.
<https://ugm.ac.id/id/berita/16997-politik-bebas-aktif-indonesia-masih-relevant>.
- Anonymous. *Presiden Jokowi Meminta Pemerintah Myanmar 'Hentikan dan Cegah Kekerasan'*. BBC News. 2017.
<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-41140890>.
- Anonymous. *Rohingya Crisis*. Human Rights Watch.
<https://www.hrw.org/tag/rohingya-crisis>.
- Anonymous. *Rohingya Refugee Crisis*. Medecins sans Frontieres.
<https://www.msf.org.uk/issues/rohingya-refugee-crisis>.
- Anonymous. *The Rohingya Crisis: Lives on Hold*. Doctors without Borders.
<https://www.doctorswithoutborders.ca/content/rohingya-crisis-lives-hold>.
- Anonymous. *Timeline: Reforms in Myanmar*. BBC News. 2015.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-16546688>.
- Anonymous. *Who are the Uyghurs of East Turkestan?*. The International Uyghur Human Rights and Democracy Foundation.
<https://www.iuhrdf.org/uyghurs>.
- Anonymous. *Why is There Tension between China and the Uighurs?*. BBC News. 2014. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-26414014>.
- Austrian Centre for Country of Origin & Asylum Research and Documentation. *China: Situation of Uyghurs*. European Country of Origin Information Network. 2016.

- [https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/1092057/90_1462195747_accord-2016-04-china-uyghurs.pdf.](https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/1092057/90_1462195747_accord-2016-04-china-uyghurs.pdf)
- Beck, Martin. *The Concept of Regional Power: The Middle East as a Deviant Case?*. German Institute for Middle East Studies. 2006. http://www.giga-hamburg.de/content/forumregional/pdf/giga_conference_RegionalPowers_0612/giga_RegPowers0612_paper_beck.pdf.
- Branigan, Tania. *China's Great Famine: The True Story*. The Guardian. 2013. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/01/china-great-famine-book-tombstone>.
- Cao, Siqi. *Xinjiang Counties Identify 75 Forms of Religious Extremism*. The Global Times. 2014. <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/898563.shtml>.
- Congressional Research Service. *Uyghurs in China*. Federation of American Scientists. 2019. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF10281.pdf>.
- Da Costa, Ana Nicolaci. *How the World is Grappling with China's Rising Power*. BBC News. 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-45948692>.
- Editor Ensiklopedia Britannica. *Uighur*. Encyclopædia Britannica. 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Uighur>.
- Editorial Board of the Jakarta Post. *Endless Debate on UN Reform*. The Jakarta Post. 2019. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2019/07/05/endless-debate-on-un-reform.html>.
- Heijmans, Philip. *Myanmar's Controversial Census*. The Diplomat. 2014. <https://thediplomat.com/2014/09/myanmars-controversial-census/>.
- Hermansyah, Anton. *China Likely Biggest Investor in Indonesia*. The Jakarta Post. 2016. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/01/25/china-likely-biggest-investor-indonesia.html>.
- Hermansyah, Anton. *Jakarta-Bandung High Speed Railway to Get Chinese Loan*. The Jakarta Post. 2016.

- [https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/11/10/jakarta-bandung-high-speed-railway-to-get-chinese-loan.html.](https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/11/10/jakarta-bandung-high-speed-railway-to-get-chinese-loan.html)
- Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict. *Indonesia and the Rohingya Crisis*. IPAC Report No. 46. 2018.
http://file.understandingconflict.org/file/2018/06/IPAC_Report_46.pdf.
- Latiff, Rozanna dan Ebrahim Harris. *Sold into Marriage: How Rohingya Girls become Child Brides in Malaysia*. Reuters. 2017.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-myanmar-rohingya-childbrides-insight-idUSKBN15U009>.
- Leribun, Joe. *Ini Tuntutan Demonstran di Kedubes Myanmar*. Kompas. 2012.
<https://ekonomi.kompas.com/read/2012/08/09/14391549/.ini.tuntutan.demonstran.di.kedubes.myanmar>.
- Liu, John. *Myanmar Woos Indonesia Investors in Annual Business Matching Event*. Myanmar Times. 2019.
<https://www.mmtimes.com/news/myanmar-woos-indonesia-investors-annual-business-matching-event.html>.
- Lubis, Anggi. *Wika Seeking Rp 17T Contracts from High-Speed Railway*. The Jakarta Post. 2016.
<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/01/13/wika-seeking-rp-17t-contracts-high-speed-railway.html>.
- Martinez-Vela, Carlos. *World Systems Theory*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 2020.
<http://web.mit.edu/esd.83/www/notebook/WorldSystem.pdf>.
- Maulia, Erwida. *China becomes Indonesia's No. 2 Investor with Infrastructure Drive*. Nikkei Asian Review. 2018.
<https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics-Economy/International-Relations/China-becomes-Indonesia-s-No.-2-investor-with-infrastructure-drive>.
- Nadira, Fergi. *Menlu Retno Singgung Uighur Saat Bertemu Menlu Cina*. Republika. 2019.

<https://internasional.republika.co.id/berita/q2murq382/menlu-retno-singgung-uighur-saat-bertemu-menlu-china>.

News Desk. *Indonesia Carries Out Intensive Diplomacy on Rohingya: Minister*.

The Jakarta Post. 2017.

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/01/02/indonesia-carries-out-intensive-diplomacy-on-rohingya-minister.html>.

Nurfuadah, Rifa Nadia. *Bela Rohingya, Unjuk Rasa Muslim Indonesia di Depan Kedubes Myanmar Disoroti Media Asing*. Oke Zone. 2017.

<https://news.okezone.com/read/2017/09/04/18/1768842/bela-rohingya-unjur-rasa-muslim-indonesia-di-depan-kedubes-myanmar-disoroti-media-asing>.

Olson, Fanny. *Uyghur Identity: Contestation and Construction of Identity in a Conflict Setting*. University of Gothenburg. 2015.

https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/2077/40575/1/gupea_2077_40575_1.pdf.

Rakhmat, Muhammad Zulfikar dan Winanda Aryansyah. *Rising Anti-Chinese Sentiment in Indonesia*. The ASEAN Post. 2020.

<https://theaseanpost.com/article/rising-anti-chinese-sentiment-indonesia>.

Sagolj, Damir. *Rohingya Widows Find Safe Haven in Bangladesh Camp*. Reuters.

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-rohingya-widows/rohingya-widows-find-safe-haven-in-bangladesh-camp-idUSKBN1E136I>.

Salim, Tama. *Indonesia Raises Rohingya Concerns with Suu Kyi: Retno*. The Jakarta Post. 2016.

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/12/08/indonesia-raises-rohingya-concerns-with-suу-kyi-retno.html>.

Sherwell, Philip. *In Burma's Historic Elections, A Muslim Minority is Banned from Voting but still the Focus of the Campaign*. The Telegraph. 2015.

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/burmamyanmar/11939177/In-Burmans-historic-elections-a-Muslim-minority-is-banned-from-voting-but-still-the-focus-of-the-campaign.html>.

- Sudworth, John. *China Muslims: Xinjiang Schools Used to Separate Children from Families.* BBC News. 2019.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-48825090>.
- Tarahita, Dikanaya dan Muhammad Zulfikar Rakhmat. *Understanding Indonesians' Souring Sentiment toward China: Longstanding anti-Chinese Prejudices, Coupled with Foreign Policy Fears, are Bringing Down China's Image among Indonesians.* The Diplomat. 2019.
<https://thediplomat.com/2019/06/understanding-indonesians-souring-sentiment-toward-china/#:~:text=Anti-China%20Sentiment%20in%20Indonesia%20For%20a%20long%20time%2C,of%20discrimination%20and%20violence%20targeting%20ethnic%20Chinese%20Indonesians>.
- Taroor, Ishaan. *Why does This Buddhist-Majority Nation Hate These Muslims So Much?* The Washington Post. 2015.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/02/13/why-does-this-buddhist-majority-nation-hate-these-muslims-so-much/?arc404=true>.
- Thein, Mu Laing. *Interview with U Kyaw Minn on Rohingya Issue.* SBS Australia. 2015.
<https://www.sbs.com.au/language/english/audio/interview-with-u-kyaw-minn-on-rohingya-issue>.