

## **DAFTAR PUSTAKA**

### **Peraturan Perundang-undangan**

- Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 37 Tahun 1999, tentang Hubungan Luar Negeri.  
*Pusat Informasi Hukum Kementerian Luar Negeri.*  
[https%3A%2F%2Fpih.kemlu.go.id%2Ffiles%2FUU-No.37.1999\\_-tentang-Hubungan-Luar-Negeri.pdf](https%3A%2F%2Fpih.kemlu.go.id%2Ffiles%2FUU-No.37.1999_-tentang-Hubungan-Luar-Negeri.pdf).
- Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 10 Tahun 2015, tentang Kementerian Koordinator bidang Kemaritiman. *Sistem Informasi Peraturan Perundang-undangan (SIPUU) Sekretariat Kabinet*.  
<http%3A%2F%2Fsipuu.setkab.go.id%2FPUUdoc%2F174381%2FPerpres%2520Nomor%252010%2520Tahun%25202015.pdf>.

### **Artikel Jurnal**

- Al-Fadhat, Faris. "ASEAN Regional Economic Integration and the Internationalization of Capital." *The Rise of International Capital*. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore, 2019. 95-125.
- Alcántara-Sáez, M. "Political Career and Political Capital." *Convergencia* 24 (2017): 187-204.
- Allen, Maria, et al. "Comparative Capitalisms and Energy Transitions: Renewable Energy in the European Union." *Available at SSRN 3330052* (2019).
- Anwar, Dewi Fortuna. "Values in Indonesian Foreign Policy." *Values in Foreign Policy: Investigating Ideals and Interests*(2019): 175.
- Arizona, Yance, "Saatnya Kita Punya Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Sumber Daya Alam dan Lingkungan Hidup." *Kertas Kerja Epistema* 1, (2014).
- Balezentiene, Ligita, Dalia Streimikiene, and Tomas Balezentis. "Fuzzy decision support methodology for sustainable energy crop selection." *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* 17 (2013): 83-93.
- Bernhagen, Patrick, and Neil J. Mitchell. "The determinants of direct corporate lobbying in the European Union." *European Union Politics* 10.2 (2009): 155-176.
- Brodin, Katarina. "Belief systems, doctrines, and foreign policy." *Cooperation and Conflict* 7.2 (1972): 97-112.
- Bulsink, F., Arjen Ysbert Hoekstra, dan Martijn J. Booij. "The water footprint of Indonesian provinces related to the consumption of crop products." *Hydrology and Earth System Sciences* 14.1 (2010): 119-128.
- Carré, Patrick, and André Pouzet. "Rapeseed market, worldwide and in Europe." *Ocl* 21.1 (2014): D102.
- Chong, Jinn Winn. "" Mine, yours or ours?": The Indonesia-Malaysia disputes over shared cultural heritage." *SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 27.1 (2012): 1-53.
- Connelly, Aaron L. "Indonesia's New North Natuna Sea: What's in a Name?." *Lowy Institute* (2017).
- Corciolani, Matteo, Giacomo Gistri, and Stefano Pace. "Legitimacy struggles in palm oil controversies: An institutional perspective." *Journal of cleaner production* 212 (2019): 1117-1131.
- Dammen, Nicholas Taudi. "Kewenangan Perwakilan RI di Luar Negeri." *Indonesian J. Int'l L.* 2 (2004): 710.
- Denza, Eileen. "Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations." *United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law* (2009): 1-7.



- Dewi, Putu Ratih Kumala. "STRATEGI DIPLOMASI INDONESIA DALAM PEMBEBASAN 10 ABK WNI DARI KELOMPOK ABU SAYYAF TAHUN 2016."
- Dharmawan, A. H., et al. *Pengembangan bioenergi di Indonesia: Peluang dan tantangan kebijakan industri biodiesel*. Vol. 242. CIFOR, 2018: 9.
- Disdier, Anne-Célia, Stéphan Marette, and Guy Millet. "Are consumers concerned about palm oil? Evidence from a lab experiment." *Food Policy* 43 (2013): 180-189.
- Erman, Erwiza. "DIBALIK KEBERLANJUTAN SAWIT: AKTOR, ALIANSI DALAM EKONOMI POLITIK SERTIFIKASI UNI EROPA." *Masyarakat Indonesia* 43.1 (2018).
- Fealy, Greg, and Hugh White. "Indonesia's 'Great Power' aspirations: A critical view." *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies* 3.1 (2016): 92-100.
- Foret, François. "Religion: a Solution or a Problem for the Legitimation of the European Union?." *Religion, state & society* 37.1-2 (2009): 37-50.
- Fukuoka, Yuki, and Luky Djani. "Revisiting the rise of Jokowi: The triumph of reformasi or an oligarchic adaptation of post-clientelist initiatives?." *South East Asia Research* 24.2 (2016): 204-221.
- Fritsche, Uwe R., Ralph EH Sims, dan Andrea Monti. "Direct and indirect land-use competition issues for energy crops and their sustainable production—an overview." *Biofuels, Bioproducts and Biorefining* 4, no. 6 (2010): 692.
- Fukuoka, Yuki, and Luky Djani. "Revisiting the rise of Jokowi: The triumph of reformasi or an oligarchic adaptation of post-clientelist initiatives?." *South East Asia Research* 24.2 (2016): 204-221.
- Gunn, Geoffrey C. "Indonesia in 2018: Bread and Circuses on the Campaign Trail." *Asian Survey* 59.1 (2019): 156-163.
- Gutman, G. O. "Resources diplomacy." *The Australian Quarterly* 47.1 (1975): 36-50.
- HADI, MAHENDRA IRANDO. *STRATEGI KEMENTERIAN KELAUTAN DAN PERIKANAN INDONESIA MEMBERANTAS ILLEGAL, UNREPORTED, AND UNREGULATED (IUU) FISHING TAHUN 2014-2018*. Diss. 2019.
- Hamayotsu, Kikue, and Ronnie Nataatmadja. "Indonesia in 2015: The People's President's Rocky Road and Hazy Outlooks in Democratic Consolidation." *Asian Survey* 56.1 (2016): 129-137.
- Hariyadi, Hariyadi. "KEBIJAKAN MITIGASI PERUBAHAN IKLIM SEKTOR KEHUTANAN MENYONGSONG RPJMN 2015-2019 DI PROVINSI PAPUA DAN PROVINSI ACEH." *Jurnal Politica* 6.2 (2016).
- Hennecke, Anna M., Mireille Faist, Jürgen Reinhardt, Victoria Junquera, John Neeft, and Horst Fehrenbach. "Biofuel greenhouse gas calculations under the European Renewable Energy Directive—A comparison of the BioGrace tool vs. the tool of the Roundtable on Sustainable Biofuels." *Applied Energy* 102 (2013): 55-62.
- Hermawan, Yulius Purwadi, et al. "Quickwins dan strategi Indonesia di G20: mewujudkan kemandirian ekonomi dalam konteks ketidakpastian global." (2015).
- Hia, Ariance Valentina, and Natasya Kusumawardani. "Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO), A Way to Reach The European Union Renewable Energy Directive (EU RED) 2009 and Boosting Indonesian Palm Oil Market to European Union (EU) 2009-2014." *AEGIS: Journal of International Relations* 1.1 (2016).
- Hoekstra, Arjen Y., et al. *The water footprint assessment manual: Setting the global standard*. Routledge, 2011, 11.
- Juwana, Hikmahanto. "Hukum Internasional sebagai Instrumen Politik: Beberapa Pengalaman Indonesia sebagai Studi Kasus." *Arena Hukum* 5.2 (2013): 106-114.



- Kalimo, Harri, Filip Sedefov, and Max S. Jansson. "Market definition as value reconciliation: the case of renewable energy promotion under the WTO Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures." *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 17, no. 3 (2017): 427-443.
- Kandilarov, Evgeniy, dan Aleksandar Dimitrov. "Bulgaria-China Relationship: Between the National Development Strategy and Belt and Road Initiative." *Godishnik na UNSS* 1 (2018): 33-73.
- Khan, Muhammad Khalil, dan Cornelius B. Pratt. "China's Belt and Road Initiative: Its Landscape (and Trajectory) in the Islamic World." *Foreign Business in China and Opportunities for Technological Innovation and Sustainable Economics*. IGI Global, 2019. 117-142.
- Klüver, Heike. "The contextual nature of lobbying: Explaining lobbying success in the European Union." *European Union Politics* 12.4 (2011): 483-506.
- Knudsen, Ann-Christina L. *Farmers on welfare: the making of Europe's common agricultural policy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009, 19.
- Knudsen, KG, et al. "Hydroprocessing of bio-oils and oxygenates to hydrocarbons. Understanding the reaction routes." *Topics in Catalysis* 52.3 (2009): 229-240.
- Laksmiana, Evan A., Gindarsah, Iis, Mantong, Andrew W., "Menerjemahkan Visi Poros Maritim Global ke dalam Kerangka Diplomasi Pertahanan Maritim dalam Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia di Era Jokowi". *CSIS Working Paper Series* 1 (2018).
- Laurance, William F., et al. "Improving the performance of the roundtable on sustainable palm oil for nature conservation." *Conservation Biology* (2010).
- Lusianti, Leni Putri, dan Faisyal Rani. "Model Diplomasi Indonesia Terhadap UNESCO Dalam Mematenkan Batik Sebagai Warisan Budaya Indonesia Tahun 2009." *Transnasional* 3.02 (2012).
- Manurung, Rosida Tiurma, et al. "Internationalization of Batik in the Creative Industry of Harajutik." (2018).
- Marzuki, Keoni Indrabayu. "Indonesian Presidential Election 2019–Old Soldiers Never Die: Retired Officers Behind Jokowi, Prabowo." (2019).
- McCrea, Ronan. *Religion and the public order of the European Union*. OUP Oxford, 2010. 23-24.
- McDonald, John W. "The Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy." *Journal of Conflictology* 3.2 (2012): 8.
- Mekonnen, Mesfin M., and Arjen Y. Hoekstra. "The green, blue and grey water footprint of crops and derived crop products." *Hydrology and Earth System Sciences* 15.5 (2011): 1577-1600.
- Meikle, Mandy, Jake Wilson, and Tahseen Jafry. "Climate justice: Between mammon and mother earth." *International journal of climate change strategies and management* 8.4 (2016): 488-504.
- Nabbs-Keller, Greta. "Reforming Indonesia's foreign ministry: ideas, organization and leadership." *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 35.1 (2013): 56-82.
- Nelsen, Brent F., James L. Guth, and Cleveland R. Fraser. "Does religion matter? Christianity and public support for the European Union." *European Union Politics* 2.2 (2001): 191-217.
- Nischwitz, Guido, Christian Diller and Benedict Kreutz. "Förderung von Regionalen Netzwerken: Messbare Effekte für die Regionalentwicklung?." *Raumforschung und Raumordnung* 72.5 (2014): 415-426.
- Notter, James, John McDonald. "Track Two diplomacy: Nongovernmental strategies for peace." *USIA Electronic Journals* 1.19 (1996): 32-36.



- Nurfatriani, Fitri, Galih Kartika Sari, dan H. Komarudin. *Optimalisasi dana sawit dan pengaturan instrumen fiskal penggunaan lahan hutan untuk perkebunan dalam upaya mengurangi deforestasi*. Vol. 238. CIFOR, 2018: 21-31.
- Pangestu, Mari, Sjamsu Rahardja, dan Lili Yan Ing. "Fifty years of trade policy in Indonesia: New world trade, old treatments." *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 51, no. 2 (2015): 239-261.
- Pasipanodya, Tafadzwa. "The Law of the Sea's Role in Steering Africa's Blue Economy." *African Yearbook of International Law Online/Annuaire Africain de droit international Online* 21.1 (2016): 214-225.
- Prabowo, Marietta Kristyarini "Diplomasi Cina Terhadap Filipina Dalam Kerangka Kerja Sama Belt And Road Initiative," *Katalog Skripsi Program Sarjana Departemen Ilmu Hubungan Internasional UGM* (2018).
- "Promoting Poverty Eradication and Peace Aad Humanity By Leveraging Through Agriculture and The Plantation Industry". *Coordinating Ministry For Maritime Affairs, Embassy Of Malaysia To The Holy See, Vatican Discatery For Promoting Integral Human Development*, 11 Mei 2018. Dokumen diperoleh dari Subbag Publikasi Sekretariat Menteri Kemenko Kemaritiman. Dokumen terlampir.
- Rowley-Conwy, Peter. "Making first farmers younger: the West European evidence." *Current Anthropology* 36.2 (1995): 346-353.
- Santika, Ni Luh Putri. "SENGKETA KEWENANGAN ANTARA KANTOR STAF PRESIDEN DENGAN WAKIL PRESIDEN DAN KEMENTERIAN KOORDINATOR NEGARA." *Jurnal Magister Hukum Udayana (Udayana Master Law Journal)* 5.3: 591-604.
- Sembiring, Margareth. "COP24 and the Silesia Declaration: Impact on Palm Oil." S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, *RSIS Commentary*. (2018). <http://hdl.handle.net/11540/9563>.
- Sinulingga, Anita Afriani, dan Ranny Emilia. "Buruh Migran Indonesia Dalam Diplomasi Multi-jalur." *Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS)* 2.1 (2015): 1-13.
- Skonieczny, Amy. "Corporate lobbying in foreign policy." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. 2017.
- Sugiarto, Bima Arya. "Persepsi Publik atas Kinerja Multi Jalur Diplomasi Departemen Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia(2002-2007)." *Jurnal Masyarakat, Kebudayaan, dan Politik* 23.1.
- Syailendra, Emirza Adi. "Two Years Under Jokowi–President's Special Relationship with Luhut Panjaitan." (2016). <https://dr.ntu.edu.sg/handle/10220/41396>.
- Taqwa, L. dan M. L. Zuhdi. "Indonesian multi-track diplomacy for Palestine: Indonesian Red Crescent's (Bulan Sabit Merah Indonesia) support for education of Palestinians." *Competition and Cooperation in Social and Political Sciences* (2018).
- Tomsa, Dirk. "Indonesia in 2016: Jokowi Consolidates Power." *Southeast Asian Affairs* (2017): 149-162.
- Tyson, Adam, Helena Varkkey, and Shofwan Al Banna Choiruzzad. "Deconstructing the palm oil industry narrative in indonesia: Evidence from Riau province." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 40.3 (2018): 422-448.
- Van den Putte, Lore, FERDI DE VILLE, and Jan Orbie. "The European Parliament as an international actor in trade: From power to impact." In *The European Parliament and its international relations*, pp. 84-101. Routledge, 2015.
- Valin, Hugo, et. al. "The Land Use Change Impact of Biofuels Consumed in the EU. Quantification of Area and Greenhouse Gas Impacts." *European Comission Study*, [https://ec.europa.eu/energy/sites/ener/files/documents/Final%20Report\\_GLOBIOM\\_publication.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/energy/sites/ener/files/documents/Final%20Report_GLOBIOM_publication.pdf). (2018): 5. Diakses pada 19 Agustus 2018.



- Varkkey, Helena. "Patronage politics as a driver of economic regionalisation: The Indonesian oil palm sector and transboundary haze." *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 53, no. 3 (2012): 314-329.
- Yamamoto, Mitsuru. "RESOURCES DIPLOMACY RUNS INTO A STONE WALL." *Japan Quarterly* 22.4 (1975): 318.
- Yang, Mundo, and Sigrid Baringhorst. "Studying Media within Political Consumerism." *The Oxford Handbook of Political Consumerism* (2019): 181.
- Yanuarti, Sri. "Militer dan Pemilu-Pemilu di Indonesia." *Jurnal Penelitian Politik* 15.2 (2018): 233-248.
- Yasuda, Yumiko, et al. "Multi-track water diplomacy: current and potential future cooperation over the Brahmaputra River Basin." *Water international* 43.5 (2018): 642-664.
- Zagaris, Bruce, and Frederick T. Davis. "Int'l Tax Enforcement Cooperation." *IELR* 35 (2019): 82.

### Buku

- Camroux, David, and Annisa Srikandini. "EU-Indonesia Relations: No Expectations-Capability Gap?." *The Palgrave Handbook of EU-Asia Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2013. 554-570.
- Diamond, Louise, dan John W. McDonald. *Multi-track diplomacy: A systems approach to peace*. West Hartford, CT, Kumarian Press, 1996.
- Jowett, Garth S., and Victoria O'donnell. *Propaganda & persuasion*. Sage Publications, 2018. 22-24.
- Leguey-Feilleux, Jean-Robert. *The Dynamics of Diplomacy*. Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009.
- Philip J. Bigger, *Negotiator: The Life And Career Of James B. Donovan*. Bethelhem, Lehigh University Press, 2006.
- Statistik, Badan Pusat. "Sensus pertanian 2013." *Badan Pusat Statistik. Jakarta* (2013).
- Varkkey, Helena. *The haze problem in Southeast Asia: palm oil and patronage*. Routledge, 2015.
- Yang, Mundo, and Sigrid Baringhorst. "Studying Media within Political Consumerism." *The Oxford Handbook of Political Consumerism* (2019): 181.

### Artikel daring

- "Belanda Berniat Bantu Indonesia Dalam Masalah Lingkungan Hidup". *Kemenko Kemaritiman RI*, 2019, <https://maritim.go.id/belanda-berniat-bantu-indonesia-dalam-masalah-lingkungan-hidup/>. Diakses pada 17 Agustus 2019.
- "Darmin Curiga Ada Pengusaha 'Main' dengan Eropa Soal Sawit," *CNN Indonesia*, 8 Mei 2019, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20190508204026-92-393201/darmin-curiga-ada-pengusaha-main-dengan-eropa-soal-sawit>, Diakses pada 25 Mei 2019.
- "Di Hadapan DPR, Menko Luhut Pamer Hasil Diplomasi Sawit Di Eropa". *Liputan 6*, 2018, <https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/3637090/di-hadapan-dpr-menko-luhut-pamer-hasil-diplomasi-sawit-di-eropa>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "Dr M: EU told Malaysia will retaliate if discrimination against palm oil continues," *The Star Malaysia*, 19 Maret 2019, <https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2019/03/19/dr-m-malaysia-has-told-eu-it-will-retaliate-if-discrimination-against-palm-oil-continues/>, Diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.
- "Fungsi Kementerian Luar Negeri," Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia (daring), 2015, <https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/kebijakan/landasan-visi-misi->





- [polugri/Pages/Fungsi-Kementerian-Luar-Negeri.aspx>](#), Diakses pada 9 November 2017.
- "Ini Alasan Dibalik Lobi Minyak Sawit Hingga Ke Roma". *Antara News*, 2019, <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/710583/ini-alasan-dibalik-lobi-minyak-sawit-hingga-ke-roma>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "Inilah 10 Negara Tujuan Utama Ekspor CPO Pada 2019 | Databoks". *Katadata*, 2019, <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2019/08/08/inilah-10-negara-tujuan-utama-ekspor-cpo-pada-2019>. Accessed 7 Oct 2019.
- "Jerman Tawarkan Bantuan Dirikan Pendidikan Vokasional Di Indonesia". *Kemenko Kemaritiman RI*, 2019, <https://maritim.go.id/jerman-tawarkan-bantuan-dirikan-pendidikan-vokasional-di-indonesia/>. Diakses pada 17 Agustus 2019.
- "Jokowi Dan Mahathir Mohammad Surati Uni Eropa Terkait Sawit". *CNN Indonesia*, 2019, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20190408111843-85-384207/jokowi-dan-mahathir-mohammad-surati-uni-eropa-terkait-sawit>. Diakses pada 17 Agustus 2019.
- "Jokowi Turun Tangan Langsung Lobi Eropa Soal Sawit," *CNBC Indonesia*, <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20180717173436-4-24016/jokowi-turun-tangan-langsung-lobi-eropa-soal-sawit>, July 18, 2018, Diakses pada 1 April 2019.
- "Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia: Sawit Berperan Besar Bangun Daerah Terpencil." *Berita Satu*, 27 Agustus 2018, <https://www.beritasatu.com/agribisnis/507277/kwi-sawit-berperan-besar-bangun-daerah-terpencil>. Diakses pada 2 September 2019.
- "Lawan Diskriminasi Sawit Uni Eropa, Indonesia PDKT 5 Firma Hukum," *Kompas*, 18 April 2019, <https://money.kompas.com/read/2019/04/18/202729726/lawan-diskriminasi-sawit-uni-eropa-indonesia-pdkt-5-firma-hukum>, Diakses pada 25 Mei 2019.
- "Lemahnya Permintaan Pasar Global, Picu Turunnya Ekspor Minyak Sawit Indonesia | Indonesian Palm Oil Association (GAPKI IPOA)". *Indonesian Palm Oil Association (GAPKI IPOA)*, 2019, <https://gapki.id/news/2456/lemahnya-permintaan-pasar-global-picu-turunnya-ekspor-minyak-sawit-indonesia>. Accessed 7 Oct 2019.
- "Luhut Sebut Parlemen Eropa Paham Dampak Sawit Bagi Kemiskinan - Katadata News". *Katadata.Co.Id*, 2019, <https://katadata.co.id/berita/2018/05/22/luhut-sebut-parlemen-eropa-paham-dampak-sawit-bagi-kemiskinan>. Diakses pada 17 Agustus 2019.
- "Luhut soal Sikap UE Terhadap Sawit: Jangan Mikirin Orang Utan Saja!," *Kumparan*, 15 Maret 2019, <https://kumparan.com/@kumparanbisnis/luhut-soal-sikap-ue-terhadap-sawit-jangan-mikirin-orang-utan-saja-1552614703388052977>, Diakses pada 15 Maret 2019.
- "Luhut: Industri Sawit Harus Dilindungi Pemerintah". *Antara News*, 2019, <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/493283/luhut-industri-sawit-harus-dilindungi-pemerintah>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "Malaysia Ajak Indonesia Ajukan Aduan Pembatasan CPO oleh UE ke WTO," *Bisnis Indonesia*, 24 Mei 2019, <https://market.bisnis.com/read/20190524/94/927028/malaysia-ajak-indonesia-ajukan-aduan-pembatasan-cpo-oleh-ue-ke-wto>, Diakses pada 25 Mei 2019.
- "Menko Luhut Paparkan Capaian Kemenko Maritim Di Hadapan Anggota Banggar DPR RI". *Kemenko Kemaritiman RI*, 2019, <https://maritim.go.id/menko-luhut-paparkan-capaian-kemenko-maritim-di-hadapan-anggota-banggar-dpr-ri/>. Diakses pada 17 Agustus 2019.
- "Menko Luhut: Vatikan Akan Fasilitasi Seminar Tentang Sawit Dan Petani Rakyat". *Kemenko Kemaritiman RI*, 2019, <https://maritim.go.id/menko-luhut-vatikan-akan-fasilitasi-seminar-tentang-sawit-dan-petani-rakyat/>. Diakses pada 17 Agustus 2019.



- "Pengusaha Desak Pembatasan Sawit Di Eropa Diselesaikan G To G". *Beritasatu.Com*, 2019, <https://www.beritasatu.com/ekonomi/490055/pengusaha-desak-pembatasan-sawit-di-eropa-diselesaikan-g-to-g>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "Pengusaha Sawit Diminta Kompak Lawan Kampanye Hitam". *Medcom*, 2019, <https://www.medcom.id/ekonomi/mikro/0kpz1d6N-pengusaha-sawit-diminta-kompak-lawan-kampanye-hitam>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on the promotion of the use of energy from renewable sources." *Council of the European Union*, 21 Juni 2018, [data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-10308-2018-INIT/en/pdf](http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-10308-2018-INIT/en/pdf). Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "Rino Afrino Resmi Jadi Sekjen APKASINDO". *Sawitplus*, 2018, <https://sawitplus.co/news/detail/7914/rino-afrino-resmi-jadi-sekjen-apkasindo>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "Soal Kelapa Sawit, Pemerintah Kaji Hubungan Dengan Negara Yang Dukung Diskriminasi Uni Eropa". *Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia*, 2019, <https://setkab.go.id/soal-kelapa-sawit-pemerintah-kaji-hubungan-dengan-negara-yang-dukung-diskriminasi-uni-eropa/>. Diakses pada 17 Juni 2019.
- "Tentang-Komisi I," *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia* (Daring), <<http://www.dpr.go.id/akd/index/id/Tentang-Komisi-I>>. Diakses pada 9 November 2017.
- "The Pope Supports Palm Oil: Here Is Why You Should Too". *Forfreechoice*, 2019, <http://www.forfreechoice.org/featured/pope-stands-palm-oil/>. Diakses pada 19 Agustus 2019.
- "Tim Diplomasi Sawit Indonesia Berangkat Ke Vatikan". *Nasionalisme*, 2019, <http://www.nasionalisme.co/tim-diplomasi-sawit-indonesia-berangkat-ke-vatikan/>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "Uni Eropa Tunda Larangan Sawit Hingga 2030 | DW | 20.06.2018". *Deutsche Welle*, 2019, <https://www.dw.com/id/uni-eropa-tunda-larangan-sawit-hingga-2030/a-44315242>. Accessed 7 Oct 2019.
- "Farmers in the EU - Statistics." *European Commission Statistics*, [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Farmers\\_in\\_the\\_EU\\_-\\_statistics](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Farmers_in_the_EU_-_statistics). Diakses pada 19 Agustus 2019.
- "French Farmers to Continue Fuel Blockades over Palm Oil Imports." *France 24*, 13 June 2018, <https://www.france24.com/en/20180613-french-farmers-continue-fuel-blockades-palm-oil-imports-total>. Diakses pada 19 Agustus 2019.
- "Ini Lima Deputi Luhut Yang Siap Menjadi Bumper Jokowi: Kabar24." *Bisnis Indonesia*, <https://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20150326/15/416124/ini-lima-deputi-luhut-yang-siap-menjadi-bumper-jokowi>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "Isi Surat Jokowi Untuk Paus Fransiskus Soal Kelapa Sawit: Ekonomi." *Bisnis Indonesia*, 26 Apr. 2018, <https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20180426/99/788897/isi-surat-jokowi-untuk-paus-fransiskus-soal-kelapa-sawit>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "Jerman: Citra Sawit Tercoreng Dosa Lingkungan: DW: 26.09.2018." *DW*, 26 Sept. 2018, <https://www.dw.com/id/jerman-citra-sawit-tercoreng-dosa-lingkungan/a-45643340>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "KBRI Oslo Gelar Seminar Tentang Kontribusi Gambut Dan Sawit ." *Kementerian Luar Negeri*, 2 July 2019, <https://kemlu.go.id/oslo/lc/news/1220/kbri-oslo-gelar-seminar-tentang-kontribusi-gambut-dan-sawit-lestari-bagi-pencapaian-target-target-pembangunan-berkelanjutan-di-indonesia>. Accessed 18 Aug 2019.



- "Luhut Kumpulkan Bos Kelapa Sawit, Bahas Apa?" *Detik.com*, 26 Feb. 2019, <https://finance.detik.com/berita-ekonomi-bisnis/d-4444588/luhut-kumpulkan-bos-kelapa-sawit-bahas-apa>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "Luhut Panjaitan Pastikan Jokowi Sejahterakan Petani Sawit." *Jawa Pos News Network*, 28 Feb. 2019, <https://www.jpnn.com/news/luhut-panjaitan-pastikan-jokowi-sejahterakan-petani-sawit>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- "Masalah Lingkungan Hidup, Menko Luhut: Daripada Saling Menyalahkan Lebih Baik Mencari Jalan Keluar." *Kemenko Kemaritiman RI*, 1 Nov. 2018, <https://maritim.go.id/masalah-lingkungan-hidup-menko-luhut-daripada-saling-menyalahkan-lebih-baik-mencari-jalan-keluar/>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- Amri, Qayuum. "Menko Luhut: Pemerintah Pasang Badan Untuk Petani - Sawit Indonesia". *Sawit Indonesia*, 2019, <https://sawitindonesia.com/menko-luhut-pemerintah-pasang-badan-untuk-petani/>. A Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- Brata, Roby Arya, "Isu Sawit dan Strategi "Total Diplomacy and Governance Approach," *Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia*, 19 Maret 2018, <https://setkab.go.id/isu-sawit-dan-strategi-total-diplomacy-and-governance-approach/>, Diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.
- Kusuma, Hendra. "Luhut Lapor Ke Jokowi Soal Rencananya Keliling Dunia". *Detik*, 2019, <https://finance.detik.com/berita-ekonomi-bisnis/d-3933585/luhut-lapor-ke-jokowi-soal-rencananya-keliling-dunia>. Diakses pada 17 Agustus 2019.
- Mardell, Jacob, "China's Belt and Road Partners Aren't Fools," *Foreign Policy*, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/01/china-belt-road-partners-serbia-belarus-debt/>, Diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.
- Muhibat, and Kharisma. "Jokowi'S Second Term Needs Innovative Foreign Policy". *East Asia Forum*, 2019, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2019/09/04/jokowis-second-term-needs-innovative-foreign-policy/>. Accessed 7 Oct 2019.
- Negara, Fadjrln. "Luhut Akan Mati-Matian Perjuangan Sawit RI Di Eropa". *Kementerian BUMN*, 2019, <http://bumn.go.id/ptpn5/berita/1-Luhut-akan-Mati-matian-Perjuangan-Sawit-RI-di-Eropa>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- Pablo, Samuel. "Diplomasi Sawit Luhut: Airbus Bisa Kehilangan Order Rp 361 T." *CNBC Indonesia*, 11 May 2018, <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20180511203344-4-14636/diplomasi-sawit-luhut-airbus-bisa-kehilangan-order-rp-361-t>. Diakses pada 19 Agustus 2019.
- Rosyidin, Mohamad. "Gaya Diplomasi Jokowi Dan Arah Politik Luar Negeri RI". *Detik News*, 2019, <https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-4740964/gaya-diplomasi-jokowi-dan-arrah-politik-luar-negeri-ri>. Accessed 7 Oct 2019.
- Surat Terbuka Kepada Presiden RI, Presiden Dewan Uni Eropa Dan Pemimpin Negara Anggota Uni Eropa*. WALHI, 2019, [https://walhi.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Surat-Terbuka-Kepada-Presiden-dan-Pemimpin-Dewan-Uni-Eropa\\_220518.pdf](https://walhi.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Surat-Terbuka-Kepada-Presiden-dan-Pemimpin-Dewan-Uni-Eropa_220518.pdf). Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- Tiola. "Jokowi'S Global Maritime Fulcrum: 5 More Years?". *The Diplomat*, 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/06/jokowis-global-maritime-fulcrum-5-more-years/>. Accessed 7 Oct 2019.
- Valin, Hugo, et. al. "The Land Use Change Impact of Biofuels Consumed in the EU. Quantification of Area and Greenhouse Gas Impacts." *European Comission Study*, [https://ec.europa.eu/energy/sites/ener/files/documents/Final%20Report\\_GLOBIOM\\_publication.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/energy/sites/ener/files/documents/Final%20Report_GLOBIOM_publication.pdf). (2018): 5. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.
- Warta, Martha. "Uni Eropa Tolak Sawit Indonesia, Jokowi Kirim Surat Protes". *Tempo*, 2019, <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/1067957/uni-eropa-tolak-sawit-indonesia-jokowi-kirim-surat-protes/full&view=ok>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.





**Video**

*"Jenderal" di Segala Medan - Luhut Binsar Panjaitan - AFD Now, CNN Indonesia, Youtube, 4 Agustus 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DCpcpE-a7fU>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.*

*Diplomasi Sawit, Economic Challenge, Metro TV, Youtube, 21 Mei 2018, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=hJeQGpsyFj4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hJeQGpsyFj4). Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.*

*E-Talkshow tvOne Bersama Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan (30/11/2018), Talk Show tvOne, Youtube, 21 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BmtmNX5mk4I>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2019.*

*Siaran Pers dan Transkrip Pribadi - Afternoon Tea, pertemuan media di Kantor Kemenko Kemaritiman, Subbag Publikasi Sekretariat Menteri, Kementerian Koordinator Kemaritiman, 11 Mei 2018. Dokumen terlampir.*