



Daftar Pustaka

- Abbondaza, G., 2020. Australia the 'Good International Citizen'? The Limits of a Traditional Middle Power. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, pp. 1-19.
- Abdulgani, R., 1980. *The Bandung connection: Konferensi Asia Afrika di Bandung tahun 1955*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung.
- Aggestam, L., 2006. Role theory and European foreign policy: a framework of analysis. In: O. Elgstrom & M. Smith, eds. *The European Union's Roles in International Politics*. London: Routledge, pp. 11-29.
- Alatas, A., 1988. *Politik Luar Negeri Bebas-Aktif dan Perannya Di Masa Mendatang*. Yogyakarta, s.n.
- Alta, A. & Pamasiwi, R. M., 2018. Indonesian South-South Cooperation: Stepping Up the Institution and Strategy for Indonesia's Development Assistance. *LPEM-FEBUI Working Paper*, Issue 017, pp. 1-10.
- Badan Pusat Statistik, 2010. *Penduduk Menurut Wilayah dan Agama yang Dianut*. [Online] Available at: <https://sp2010.bps.go.id/index.php/site/tabel?tid=321&wid=0> [Accessed 01 10 2020].
- Bappenas, 2007. *Visi dan Arah Pembangunan Jangka Panjang (PJP) Tahun 2005-2025*. Jakarta: Kantor Menteri Negara Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional.
- Bengtsson, R. & Elgström, O., 2011. Reconsidering the European Union's roles in international relations. In: S. Harnisch, C. Frank & H. W. Maull, eds. *Role Theory*. New York: Routledge, pp. 113-130.
- Bozdaglioglu, Y., 2003. *Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish Identity: A Constructivist Approach*. New York: Routledge.
- Breuning, M., 2011. Role theory research in international relations. In: S. Harnisch, C. Frank & H. W. Maull, eds. *Role Theory in International Relations: Approaches and analyses*. New York: Routledge, pp. 7-15.
- CEACoS, 2010. *Policy Direction on Indonesia's South-South Cooperation*, s.l.: Aid For Development Effectiveness Secretariat JICA.
- Chafetz, G., Abramson, H. & Grillot, S., 1996. Ukrainian Compliance with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime. *Political Psychology*, 17(4), pp. 727-757.
- Checkel, J., 1998. The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory. *World Politics*, 50(2), pp. 324-348.
- Cooper, A. F., Higgott, R. A. & Nossal, K. A., 1993. *Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Cox, R. W., 1989. Middlepowermanship, Japan, and Future World Order. *International Journal*, 44(4), pp. 823-862.
- CSIS, 2014. *Study on Policy Implementation and Funding Partnership Strategy of South-South and Triangular Cooperation*, Jakarta: Centre for Strategic and International Studies.
- Djiwandono, J. S., 1985. Forty Years of Indonesian Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity. *Indonesian Quarterly*, 13(4), pp. 450-451.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Identitas Diri Indonesia Dalam Kebijakan Bantuan Pembangunan Melalui Skema Kerja Sama Selatan Selatan dan Triangular (KSST)
LUCKE HARYO S P, Dr. Poppy Sulistyaning Winanti, MPP, M. Sc
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2021 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

- Dutu, R., 2015. *Making the Most of Natural Resources in Indonesia*, s.l.: OECD Economics Department .
- Elson, R., 2012. Problems of Identity and Legitimacy for Indonesia's Place in the World. In: A. Reid, ed. *Indonesia Rising: The Repositioning of Asia's Third Giant*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishin, pp. 170-186.
- Engel, S., 2017. South-South Cooperation Strategies in Indonesia: Domestic and International Drivers. In: A. Graff & A. Hashim, eds. *African-Asian Encounters: New Cooperations New Dependencies..* Amsterdam: International Institute for Asian Studies, Amsterdam University Press, pp. 155-182.
- Ewing, C., 2019. The Colombo Powers: crafting diplomacy in the Third World and launching Afro-Asia at Bandung. *Cold War History*, 19(1), pp. 1-19.
- Fidan, H. & Nurdun, R., 2008. Turkey's Role in the Global Development Assistance Community: The Case of TIKA (Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency). *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 10(1), pp. 93-111.
- Finnemore, M., 1996. *National Interests in International Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Fitriani, E., 2015. Yudhoyono's Foreign Policy: Is Indonesia a Rising Power. In: E. Aspinall, M. Mietzner & D. Tomsa, eds. *The Yudhoyono Presidency : Indonesia's Decade of Stability and Stagnation*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, pp. 73-92.
- Government of Indonesia, 2009. *JAKARTA COMMITMENT: AID FOR DEVELOPMENT EFFECTIVENESS*. Jakarta: s.n.
- Hasan, R. A., 2019. *Mengenal Indonesian AID, Lembaga Dana Bantuan Internasional Perdana dari RI*. [Online]
Available at: <https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/4092047/mengenal-indonesian-aid-lembaga-dana-bantuan-internasional-perdana-dari-ri>
[Accessed 29 08 2020].
- Hatta, M., 1946. *Dasar Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Negara.
- Hatta, M., 1953. Indonesia's foreign policy. *Foreign Affairs*, 31(3), pp. 441-452.
- Hatta, M., 1958. Indonesia between the Power Blocs. *Foreign Affairs*, 36(3), pp. 480-490.
- Heine, J., 2010. Will they have table manners? The G20, emerging powers and global responsibility. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 17(1), pp. 1-11.
- Hermawan, Y. P., Sriyuliani, W., Hardjowijono, G. & Tanaga, S., 2011. *Peran Indonesia dalam G-20: Latarbelakang, Peran, dan Tujuan Keanggotaan Indonesia*, Jakarta: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Hewitt, J., 1997. *Self and Society: A Symbolic Interactionist Social Psychology*. Needam Heights : Allyn and Bacon.
- Hill, H., 1996. *The Indonesian Economy Since 1996*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Hindley, D., 1963. Foreign Aid to Indonesia and Its Political Implications. *Pacific Affairs*, 36(2), pp. 107-119.
- HLF 3, 2008. *Accra Agenda for Action*. Accra: High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness 3.

- Holbraad, C., 1984. *Middle Power in International Politics*. London: MacMillan Press.
- Holm, H.-H., 2002. Danish foreign policy activism: The rise and decline. *Danish foreign policy yearbook*, Issue 19.
- Holsti, K. J., 1970. National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy. *International Studies Quarterly*, 14(3), pp. 233-309.
- Hopf, T., 2002. *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hudson, V., 1999. Cultural Expectations of One's Own and Other Nations' Foreign Policy Templates. *Political Psychology*, 20(4), pp. 767-801.
- Hymans, J., 2006. *the Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jepperson, R., Wendt, A. & Katzenstein, P., 1996. Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security. In: P. Katzenstein, ed. *The Culture of National Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 59.
- Jordaan, E., 2003. The Concept of a Middle Power in International Relations: Distinguishing between Emerging and Traditional Middle Powers. *Politikon*, 30(1), p. 165–181.
- Karim, M. F., 2018. Middle power, status-seeking and role conceptions: the cases of Indonesia and South Korea. *Australian Journal of International Affairs* , 72(4), pp. 343-363.
- Kemlu, 2015. *Pernyataan Pers Tahunan Menteri Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia* , Jakarta: Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia.
- Kemlu, 2015. *Rencana Strategis 2015-2019*. Jakarta: s.n.
- Kemlu, 2015. *Rencana Strategis 2015-2019*. Jakarta: s.n.
- Klotz, A. & Lynch, C., 2007. *Strategies for Research in Constructivist International Relations*. New York: M.E Sharpe.
- Kornas KSST, 2016. *Laporan Tahunan Kerjasama Selatan-Selatan dan Triangular Indonesia* , Jakarta: Tim Koordinasi Nasional Kerjasama Selatan-Selatan .
- Kornas KSST, 2017. *Pembentukan "Single Agency" Kerja Sama Selatan Selatan dan Triangular Indonesia*, s.l.: Tim Koordinasi Nasional Kerja Sama Selatan-Selatan dan Triangular.
- Lancaster, C., 2007. *Foreign Aid: Diplomacy, Development, Domestic Politics*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Lebow, R., 2016. *National Identities and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leifer, M., 1986. *Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia.
- Lightfoot, S., 2006. A Good International Citizens? Australia at the World Summit on Sustainable Development. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 60(3), pp. 457-471.
- McCourt, D. M., 2011. Role-playing and identity affirmation in international politics: Britain's reinvasion of the Falklands, 1982. *Review of International Studies*, 37(4), pp. 1599-1621.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia, 1955. *Asia-Africa speak from Bandung*. Jakarta, s.n.
- Mitton, R., 2005. *Yudhoyono Urges US to Strengthen Ties*. Singapore: Straits Times.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Identitas Diri Indonesia Dalam Kebijakan Bantuan Pembangunan Melalui Skema Kerja Sama Selatan Selatan dan Triangular (KSST)
LUCKE HARYO S P, Dr. Poppy Sulistyaning Winanti, MPP, M. Sc
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2021 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

- Modelski, G., 1963. *The New Emerging Forces: Documents on the Ideology of Indonesian Foreign Policy*. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Morgenthau, H., 1962. A Political Theory of Foreign Aid. *American Political Science Review*, 56(2), pp. 301-309.
- Muhibat, S., 2016. Charting the Path to Development Effectiveness: Indonesia's SSC Challenges. In: A. Mulakala, ed. *Contemporary Asian Perspectives on South-South Cooperation*. Seoul: Korea Development Institute, pp. 118-136.
- Murray, R. W., 2013. Middlepowermanship and Canadian Grand Strategy in the 21st Century. *Seton Hall Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, 36(52).
- NAASP, 2005. *JOINT MINISTERIAL STATEMENT ON THE NEW ASIAN-AFRICAN STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP PLAN OF ACTION*. Bandung: 50th Asian-African Conference
- Nabers, D., 2011. Identity and role change in international politics. In: S. Harnisch, C. Frank & H. W. Maull, eds. *Role Theory in International Relations: Approaches and analyses*. New York: Routledge, pp. 74-92.
- National Coordination Team of SSTC, 2016. *Annual Report of Indonesia's SSTC 2016*, Jakarta: National Coordination Team of SSTC.
- Nixon, R., 1969. *The American Presidency Project*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/special-message-the-congress-foreign-aid> [Accessed 25 08 2020].
- Noer, D., 2018. *Biografi Politik Mohammad Hatta: Mohammad Hatta & Persatuan Indonesia*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Nurshafira, T., 2019. Sejarah Kemunculan Kerjasama Selatan-Selatan: Upaya Mendorong Kerjasama Pembangunan Alternatif. In: P. S. Winanti & R. A. Alvian, eds. *Kebangkitan "The Global South"*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, pp. 15-34.
- OECD, 2005. *The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness*, Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
- OECD, 2008. *The Accra Agenda for Action*, Accra: OECD.
- OECD, 2019. *OECD Development Co-operation Peer Reviews Sweden*, s.l.: OECD.
- Pemerintah Indonesia, 2017. *Undang Undang Nomor 15 Tahun 2017 Tentang Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Negara*. s.l.:s.n.
- Pemerintah Indonesia, 2018. *Undang Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 12 Tahun 2018 Tentang Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara*. s.l.:s.n.
- Pemerintah Indonesia, 2019. *Undang Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 20 Tahun 2019*. s.l.:s.n.
- Prawiro, R., 1998. *Indonesia's Struggle for Economic Development: Pragmatism in Action*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Presiden Republik Indonesia, 2015. *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional (RPJMN) 2015-2019*. Jakarta: s.n.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Identitas Diri Indonesia Dalam Kebijakan Bantuan Pembangunan Melalui Skema Kerja Sama Selatan Selatan dan Triangular (KSST)
LUCKE HARYO S P, Dr. Poppy Sulistyaning Winanti, MPP, M. Sc
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2021 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Presiden RI, 2010. *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional Tahun 2010-2014.*

Jakarta: Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional/Badan Perencanaan
Pembangunan Nasional.

Pronk, J., 2015. *An inconvenient relationship between Indonesia, the Netherlands (Part 2 of 2).*
[Online]

Available at: <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/06/10/an-inconvenient-relationship-between-indonesia-netherlands-part-2-2.html>
[Accessed 26 08 2020].

PwC, 2017. *The Long View: How Will the Global Economic Order Change by 2050*, London:
PwC.

Redfern, W. A., 2010. *Sukarno's Guided Democracy and the Takeovers of Foreign Companies in Indonesia in the 1960s*, Michigan: s.n.

Rosyidin, M., 2017. Foreign policy in changing global politics: Indonesia's foreign policy and the quest for major power status in the Asian Century. *South East Asia Research*, XX(X), pp. 1-17.

Sastroamidjojo, A., 1979. *Milestones on my journey*. First ed. Queensland: University of Queensland Press.

Sekretariat Nasional Joko Widodo, 2014. *Jalan Perubahan untuk Indonesia yang Berdaulat, Mandiri dan Berkepribadian: Visi, Misi, dan Program Aksi Jokowi dan Jusuf Kalla*, Jakarta: Sekretariat Nasional Joko Widodo.

Shekhar, V., 2018. *Indonesia's Foreign Policy and Grand Strategy in the 21st Century*. Singapore: Routledge.

Simatumpang, T. & Matondang, H. V., 1989. *Percakapan Dengan Dr. T.B Simatumpang*. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia.

Smith, A. L., 2000. Indonesia's Foreign Policy under Abdurrahman Wahid: Radical or Status Quo State?. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 22(3), pp. 498-526.

Soekarno, 1970. The Promise of a Brightly Beckoning Future. In: F. Herbert & L. Castles, eds. *Indonesian Political Thinking 1945-1965*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 29-32.

Souter, J., 2016. Good International Citizenship and Special Responsibilities to Protect Refugees. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 18(4).

Sukma, R., 1995. The Evolution of Indonesia's Foreign Policy. *Asian Survey*, XXXV(3), pp. 304-315.

Suryadinata, L., 1995. *Indonesia's Foreign Policy Under Soeharto*. Singapore: Times Academic Press.

The Guardian, 2008. *Bretton Woods II – five key points on the road to a new global financial deal*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2008/nov/14/g20-summit-key-aims-imf>
[Accessed 03 09 2020].



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Identitas Diri Indonesia Dalam Kebijakan Bantuan Pembangunan Melalui Skema Kerja Sama Selatan Selatan dan Triangular (KSST)
LUCKE HARYO S P, Dr. Poppy Sulistyaning Winanti, MPP, M. Sc
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2021 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

- Thies, C. G. & Sari, A. C., 2018. A Role Theory Approach to Middle Powers: Making Sense of Indonesia's Place in the International System. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 40(3), pp. 397-421.
- Tortora, P., 2011. *COMMON GROUND BETWEEN SOUTH-SOUTH AND NORTH-SOUTH COOPERATION PRINCIPLES*, s.l.: OECD.
- UN, 2015. *General Assembly Seventieth Session A/70/PV.26*, New York: United Nations.
- UN, 2017. *General Assembly Seventy-second Session A/72/PV.13*, New York: United Nations.
- UN, 2018. *General Assembly Seventy-third Session A/73/PV.11*, New York: United Nations.
- Vickers, B., 2012. Towards a new aid paradigm: South Africa as African development partner. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 25(4), pp. 535-556.
- Weatherbee, D. E., 2005. Indonesian Foreign Policy : A Wounded Phoenix. *Southeast Asian Affairs*, pp. 150-170.
- Weinstein, F. B., 1976. *Indonesian Foreign Policy and The Dilemma of Dependence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Weldes, J., 1996. Constructing National Interests. *European Journal of International Relations*, Volume 2, pp. 275-318.
- Wendt, A., 1992. Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization*, 46(2), pp. 391-425.
- Wendt, A., 1994. Collective Identity Formation and the International State. *American Political Science Review*, 88(2), pp. 384-396.
- Wendt, A., 1999. *Social Theory of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Winanti, P. S. & Alvian, R. A., 2019. Indonesia's South–South cooperation: when normative and material interests converged. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 0, pp. 1-32.
- Wish, N., 1980. Foreign Policy Makers and National Role Conceptions. *International Studies Quarterly*, 24(4), pp. 532-554.
- Woods, N., 2008. Whose aid? Whose influence? China, emerging donors and the silent revolution in development assistance. *International Affairs*, 84(6), pp. 1205-1211.
- World Bank, 2019. *GDP current US\$*. [Online]
Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/>
[Accessed 31 07 2020].
- World Bank, 2019. *Population total*. [Online]
Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=ID-CN-IN-US>
[Accessed 08 01 2020].
- Yamin, M., 1954. *6000 Tahun Sang Merah Putih*. Jakarta: Penerbit Siguntang.
- Yasmin, N., 2019. *Indonesia Launches \$212M International Development Aid Fund*. [Online]
Available at: [2020](#)
[Accessed 08 29 2020].



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Identitas Diri Indonesia Dalam Kebijakan Bantuan Pembangunan Melalui Skema Kerja Sama Selatan Selatan dan Triangular (KSST)
LUCKE HARYO S P, Dr. Poppy Sulistyaning Winanti, MPP, M. Sc
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2021 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Youde, J. R. & Slagter, T. H., 2013. Creating "Good International Citizens": Middle Powers and Domestic Political Institutions. *Seton Hall Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, 14(2), pp. 123-133.

YouTube, 2019. *Peresmian (Indonesian Aid) Lembaga Dana Kerja Sama Pembangunan Internasional*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hVqHdeWNx3U&t=7s>
[Accessed 29 08 2020].

YouTube, 2019. *Terima Kasih Pak JK: Diplomasi Tangan di Atas ala JK (Part 3) / Mata Najwa*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fzEP9RI6lU0&t=359s>
[Accessed 29 08 2020].

Yudhoyono, S. B., 2005. *Indonesia and the world*. Jakarta: Indonesian Council on World Affairs.

Yudhoyono, S. B., 2012. *President Yudhoyono's speech at our Annual Address*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/2012/11/05/president-yudhoyonos-speech-at-our-annual-address/>

[Accessed 01 10 2020].