

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alami, A. N. (2016). Profil Dan Orientasi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 1(1), 163–181. <http://ejournal.politik.lipi.go.id/index.php/jpp/article/view/459/272>
- Alden, C., & Aran, A. (2017). Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches. In *Foreign Policy Analysis* (Second). Routledge.
- Ali, M. (2016). *Islam and Colonialism: Becoming Modern in Indonesia and Malaya*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Alles, D. (2016). *Transnational Islamic Actors and Indonesia's Foreign Policy: Transcending the State*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315764986>
- Allison, G. T., & Halperin, M. H. (1972). Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications. *World Politics*, 24, 40–79. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2010559>
- Ambardi, K. (2008). *The Making of the Indonesian Multiparty System: A Cartelized Party System and Its Origin*. The Ohio State University.
- Aminuddin, M. F. (2017). Electoral System and Party Dimension Assessment in Democratic Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 20(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.17956>
- Ananta, A., Arifin, E. N., & Suryadinata, L. (2005). Emerging democracy in Indonesia. In *Emerging Democracy in Indonesia*. ISEAS. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853108x298798>
- Andriasanti, L. (2015). Identitas Islam Moderat dalam Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia. *Global: Jurnal Politik Internasional*, 16(1), 84–101. <https://doi.org/10.7454/global.v16i1.7>
- Anindya, B. (2002). Change and Continuity in Indonesian Foreign Policy: From Sukarno, Suharto to Megawati. *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*,

6(1), 29–44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0973598402110004>

Antara. (2007). *120 Anggota DPR Dukung Hak Interpelasi soal Sanksi PBB pada Iran*. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/57269/120-anggota-dpr-dukung-hak-interpelasi-soal-sanksi-pbb-pada-iran>

Anwar, D. F. (2003). Megawati's Search for an Effective Foreign Policy. In *Indonesia: Challenges Facing the Megawati Presidency* (pp. 70–90). ISEAS.

Anwar, D. F. (2010a). Foreign Policy, Islam and Democracy in Indonesia. *Social Sciences*, 3, 37–54. <http://kitlv.library.uu.nl/index.php/jissh/article/viewArticle/7712>

Anwar, D. F. (2010b). The Habibie Presidency: Catapulting Towards Reform. *Soeharto's New Order and Its Legacy: Essays in Honour of Harold Crouch, March*. <https://doi.org/10.22459/snol.08.2010.07>

Anzar, A. (2011). Nahdatul Ulama and the Khittah Revitalization: A Futuristic Critical Reflection for the Largest Islamic Organization in Indonesia. *Tawarikh International Journal for Historical Studies*, 3(1), 95–108.

Aritonang, D. M. (2016). Coalitions Model in Indonesian Presidential System. *Mimbar Hukum - Fakultas Hukum Universitas Gadjah Mada*, 28(2), 365–378. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jmh.16721>

Arı, T. (2017). *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış Politika*. Alfa Akademi.

Avcı, Y., & Kurnaz, I. (2018). Türkiye'nin Orta Doğu ve Balkan Politikalarında Ahmet Davutoğlu Etkisi: İslam Temelindeki Türkiye. *Sosyal Ekonomik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 18(36), 172–197.

Aziz, M. (2020). *Kerjasama Gelap Soeharto dengan Israel dan Dialog Gus Dur*. Republika. <https://republika.co.id/berita/qco36w320/kerjasama-gelap-soeharto-dengan-isrel-dan-dialog-gus-dur>

Azra, A. (2000). Islam in Indonesian Foreign Policy: Assessing Impacts of Islamic Revivalism during the Soeharto Era. *Studia Islamika*, 7(3), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v7i3.701>

- Baihaqie, A. (2017). *Islam and Indonesian Foreign Policy Under The Yudhoyono Presidency*. Universitas Malaya.
- Barton, G., & Rubenstein, C. (2005). Indonesia and Israel: A Relationship in Waiting. *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 17(March), 157–170. <https://doi.org/10.2307/25834625>
- Benda, H. (1958). *The Crescent and the Rising Sun*. N.V. Uitgeverij W. van Hoeve.
- Berg, B. L., & Lune, H. (2012). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (8th ed.). Pearson.
- Brecher, M., Steinberg, B., Stein, J., Brecher, M., & Steinberg, B. (1969). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200276901300105>
- Bresnon, J. (1993). *Managing Indonesia: the Modern Political Economy*. Columbia Universtiy Press.
- Breuning, M. (2007). *Foreign Policy Anylysis: A Comparative Introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Buehler, M. (2009). Islam and Democracy in Indonesia. *Insight Turkey*, 11(4), 51–63. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781316344446>
- Buehler, M. (2016). *The Politics of Shari 'a Law: Islamist Activists and the State in Democratizing Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bush, R. (2009). *Nadhlatul Ulama & The Struggle For Power Within Islam & Politics In Indonesia*. ISEAS.
- Carlsnaes, W. (2016). Constructivism and Foreign Policy. In S. Smith, A. Hadfield, & T. Dunne (Eds.), *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* (pp. 113–127). Oxford University Press.
- Chaterine, R. N. (2021). *Polemik Jalan Atatürk, Dubes: Sesuai Tata Krama Diplomatik, Nama Diberikan Turki*. Kompas.Com. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2021/10/18/11423531/polemik-jalan-ataturk-dubes-sesuai-tata-krama-diplomatik-nama-diberikan>

- CNN Indonesia. (2021a). *NU DKI Anggap Lebay Protes MUI dan PKS soal Jalan Ataturk*. CNN Indonesia.
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20211018084221-20-709027/nu-dki-anggap-lebay-protes-mui-dan-pks-soal-jalan-ataturk>
- CNN Indonesia. (2021b). *Pemuda Muhammadiyah Dukung Nama Jalan Ataturk di Jakarta*. CNN Indonesia.
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20211021144448-20-710510/pemuda-muhammadiyah-dukung-nama-jalan-ataturk-di-jakarta>
- CNN Indonesia. (2021c). *Tolak Nama Jalan, PKS Ungkap Beda Ataturk dengan Sukarno*. CNN Indonesia.
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20211021090746-32-710304/tolak-nama-jalan-pks-ungkap-beda-ataturk-dengan-sukarno>
- Connelly, A. L. (2014). Indonesian Foreign Policy Under President Jokowi. *Lowy Institute*, 1(1), 1–19.
- Crouch, H. (2007). *The Army And Politics In Indonesia* (First Equi). Cornell University Press.
- Davenport, K. (2022). *UN Security Council Resolutions on Iran*.
<https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Security-Council-Resolutions-on-Iran#res1737>
- Detik. (2021). *Anwar Abbas MUI Kritik Keras Wacana Ataturk Jadi Nama Jalan di DKI*. Detik.Com. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5771078/anwar-abbas-mui-kritik-keras-wacana-ataturk-jadi-nama-jalan-di-dki>
- Dietrich, J. W. (1999). Interest Groups and Foreign Policy: Clinton and the China MFN Debates. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 29(2), 280–296.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1741-5705.00033>
- DPR. (2007). *Rapat paripurna ke-26 masa sidang IV tahun sidang 2006-2007*.
http://berkas.dpr.go.id/armus/file/ParipurnaRisalah/ris_17-20180426-014559-9453.pdf

- DPR. (2014). *Peraturan DPR RI NO 1 Tahun 2014*.
<https://www.dpr.go.id/dokakd/dokumen/BALEG-19-7835d23e06dceec905d476c0a77427c1.pdf>
- Efegil, E. (2016). *Dış Politika Analizi: Ders Notları*. Gündoğan Yayınları.
<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=1tZ5DwAAQBAJ&hl=tr&pg=GBS.PA172>
- Eklöf, S. (2003). *Power and Political Culture in Suharto's Indonesia: The Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) and Decline of the New Order (1986–98)*. NIAS.
- Faisal. (2002). *NU Tolak Rencana Serangan AS terhadap Irak*. Tempo.Co.
<https://nasional.tempo.co/read/567/nu-tolak-rencana-serangan-as-terhadap-irak>
- Faisol, A. (2021). *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Diajukan Jadi Nama Jalan di Jakarta, PKS Minta Kaji Ulang*. Pikiranrakyat.Com. <https://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/nasional/pr-012817766/mustafa-kemal-ataturk-diajukan-jadi-nama-jalan-di-jakarta-pks-minta-kaji-ulang>
- Falahi, Z. (2013). Signifikansi Diplomasi Islam Moderat Era Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Dalam Merespon Problem Keamanan Timur Tengah. *Andalas Journal of International Studies*, 2(1), 32–53.
- Fionna, U. (2013). *The Institutionalisation of Political Parties in Post-authoritarian Indonesia: From the Grass-roots Up*. Amsterdam University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt6wp6xv>
- Fionna, U., & Tomsa, D. (2017). Parties and Factions in Indonesia : The Effects of Historical Legacies and Institutional Engineering. *ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute*, 01, 1–27.
- Fogg, K. W. (2015). Islam in Indonesia's foreign policy, 1945-1949. *Al-Jami'ah*, 53(2), 303–335. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2015.532.303-335>
- Fraksi.pks.id. (2021). *Perkuat Hubungan RI-Turki, HNW: Tidak dengan Jadikan*

Kemal Pasya Ataturk Nama Jalan di Jakarta. Fraksi.Pks.Id.
<https://fraksi.pks.id/2021/10/20/perkuat-hubungan-ri-turki-hnw-tidak-dengan-jadikan-kemal-pasya-ataturk-nama-jalan-di-jakarta/>

Gindarsah, I. (2012). Democracy and Foreign Policy-Making in Indonesia: A Case Study of the Iranian Nuclear Issue, 2007-08. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 34(3), 416–437. <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs34-3e>

Gyene, P. I. (2019). Democracy, Islam and Party System in Indonesia: Towards a Consensus-Oriented Model? Pál. *PCD Journal*, 7(1), 27–52. <https://doi.org/10.22146/pcd.41970>

Hagan, J. D. (1989). Domestic Political Regime Changes and Foreign Policy Restructuring in Western Europe: A Conceptual Framework and Initial Empirical Analysis. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 24(3), 141–162. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001083678902400303>

Hagan, J. D. (1993). *Political Opposition and Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective*. Westview.

Hakim, L. N. (2019). *In Search of Hegemony : Islamism and the State in Indonesia*. The University of Melbourne.

Hatta, M. (1953). Indonesia's Foreign Policy Mohammad Hatta. *Foreign Affairs*, 31(3), 441–452.

He, K. (2008). Indonesia's Foreign Policy After Soeharto: International Pressure, Democratization, And Policy Change. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 8(1), 47–72. <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcm021>

Hefner, R. W. (1999). Islam and Nation in the Post-Suharto Era. In A. Scharz & J. Paris (Eds.), *The Politics of Post-Suharto Indonesia*. Council on Foreign Relations Press.

Hefner, R. W. (2000). Civil Islam: Muslims and democratization in Indonesia. In *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3557788>

- Hefner, R. W. (2002). Global Violence and Indonesian Muslim Politics. *American Anthropologist*, 104(3), 754–765.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0001972000079572>
- Hefner, R. W. (2009). Islamic Schools, Social Movements, and Democracy in Indonesia. In R. W. Hefner (Ed.), *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics Of Islamic Education In Southeast Asia*. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hermann, M. G. (2001). Foreign shape policy: A theoretical framework. *International Studies Review*, 3(2), 47–81.
- Higashikata, T., & Kawamura, K. (2015). Voting Behavior in Indonesia from 1999 to 2014: Religious Cleavage or Economic Performance? *SSRN Electronic Journal*, January 2015. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2620455>
- Hill, C. (2003). The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy. In *Australian Journal of Political Science*. Palgrave Macmillan.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/103614042000295237>
- Hilsman, R., Gaughran, L., & Weitsman, P. A. (1993). *The Politics Of Policy Making In Defense and Foreign Affairs: Conceptual Models and Bureaucratic Politics* (Third). Prentice Hall.
- Hoesterey, J. B. (2013). Is Indonesia a Model for the Arab Spring? Islam, Democracy, and Diplomacy. *Review of Middle East Studies*, 47(2), 157–165.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S2151348100058043>
- Hopf, T. (1998). The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory. *The MIT Press*, 23(1), 171–200.
- Houghton, D. P. (2007). Reinvigorating the Study of Foreign Policy Decision Making: Toward a Constructivist Approach. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3(1), 24–45. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2007.00040.x>
- <https://www.dpr.go.id/>. (2022a). *Hak DPR*. <https://www.dpr.go.id/tentang/hak-dpr>
- <https://www.dpr.go.id/>. (2022b). *Tentang*.
<https://www.dpr.go.id/akd/index/id/Tentang-Komisi-I>

- Hudson, V. M. (2005). Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 1(1), 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2005.00001.x>
- Hudson, V. M. (2012). The History and Evolution Of Foreign Policy Analysis. In S. Smith, A. Hudfield, & T. Dunne (Eds.), *Foreign policy : Theories, Actors, Cases* (Second). Oxford University Press.
- Hudson, V. M. (2014). *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory* (Second). Rowman&Littlefield.
- Hudson, V. M., & Skidmore, D. (1993). Establishing The Limits of State Autonomy: Contending Approaches To The State-Society Relations And Foreign Policy Making. In D. Skidmore & V. M. Hudson (Eds.), *Establishing The Limits of State Autonomy: Societal Groups and Foreign Policy Formulation* (pp. 2–21). Westview Press.
- Huijgh, E. (2016). The Public Diplomacy of Emerging Powers Part 2 : The Case of Indonesia. *CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy*, 4(1).
- Internasional, T. P. H. (2001). *ANALISIS KEBIJAKAN LUAR NEGERI PEMERINTAHAN ABDURRAHMAN WAHID (1999-2000)*. Sekretariat Jenderal DPR - RI Pusat Pengkajian dan Pelayanan Informasi (P31).
- Ismail, F. (2011). The Nahdlatul Ulama: Its Early History and Contribution to the Establishment of Indonesian State. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 5(2), 247–282. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2011.5.2.247-282>
- jdih.kpu.go.id/. (2015). *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga Partai Amanat Nasional*. PAN. [https://jdih.kpu.go.id/data/data_parpol/AD ART PAN 2019.pdf](https://jdih.kpu.go.id/data/data_parpol/AD_ART_PAN_2019.pdf)
- Jenkins, D. (1983). The Evolution of Indonesian Army Doctrinal Thinking: The Concept of Dwifungsi. *South East Asian Journal of Social Science*, 11(2), 15–30.
- Jervis, R. (1976). *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton

University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvc77bx3>

Joly, J., & Dandoy, R. (2016). Beyond the Water's Edge: How Political Parties Influence Foreign Policy Formulation in Belgium. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, orw049. <https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orw049>

Kaarbo, J. (1996). Power and Influence in Foreign Policy Decision Making: The Role of Junior Coalition Partners in German and Israeli Foreign Policy. *International Studies Quarterly*, 40(4), 501–530. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600889>

Karacasulu, N., & Uzgoren, E. (2007). Explaining Social Constructivsit Contrubitions TO Security Studies. *Perceptions*, 3(4), 27–48.

Karakoç, J. (2013). Konstrüktivizmde Dış Politika ve Etnik Kimlikler. *Dokuz Eylöl Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 28(2), 131–160.

Katzenstein, P. (1984). *Corporatism and Change*. Cornell University Press.

Kemlu.go.id. (2019a). *Directorate General of Information and Public Diplomacy*.

Kemlu.go.id. (2019b). *Reformasi Birokrasi Kemlu*. <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/page/31/reformasi-birokrasi-kemlu>

Kemlu.go.id. (2019c). *Reformasi Birokrasi Kemlu*. https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/38/tentang_kami/reformasi-birokrasi-kemlu

Kersten, C. (2015). *Islam In Indonesia: The Contest for Society, Ideas and Values*. Oxford University Press.

Kersten, C. (2017). *A History Of Islam In Indonesia: Unity In Diversity*. Edinburgh University Press.

King, D. (1990). Indonesia's Foreign Policy. In D. Wurfell & B. Burton (Eds.), *The Political Economy Of Foreign Polcy in Southeast Asia* (pp. 74–101). Palgrave Macmillan.

Kompas. (2007a). *Interpelasi DPR Pelajaran Penting Bagi Presiden*. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/65186/interpelasi-dpr-pelajaran-penting->

bagi-presiden

Kompas. (2007b). *Yuddy Chrisnandi : Tak Bisa Terus Paksakan Hadirnya Presiden*. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/69564/yuddy-chrisnandi-tak-bisa-terus-paksakan-hadirnya-presiden>

Kompas. (2008). *Presiden Terbang ke Senegal*. <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/119084/presiden-terbang-ke-senegal>

Kumparannews. (2021a). *Kisah Paspampres Soeharto Pernah Saling Todong Bedil dengan Pengawal PM Israel*. <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/kisah-paspampres-soeharto-pernah-saling-todong-bedil-dengan-pengawal-pm-israel-1vmrrsgD318/1>

Kumparannews. (2021b). *Mereka yang Punya Kisah dengan Israel: LB Moerdani, Soeharto dan Gus Dur*. <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/mereka-yang-punya-kisah-dengan-israel-lb-moerdani-soeharto-dan-gus-dur-1vmnGB523rE/1>

Kumparannews. (2021c). *Polemik Nama Mustafa Kemal Ataturk Jadi Nama Jalan di Jakarta*. Kumparannews.Com. <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/polemik-nama-mustafa-kemal-ataturk-jadi-nama-jalan-di-jakarta-1wkLm4a8Yuc/1>

Kurniawati, E. (2021). *Bamus Betawi Tolak Nama Jalan Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, Ini Usul Gantinya*. Tempo.Co. <https://metro.tempo.co/read/1519554/bamus-betawi-tolak-nama-jalan-mustafa-kemal-ataturk-ini-usul-gantinya>

Lamont, C. (2015). *Research Methods in International Relations*. SAGE.

Leifer, M. (1973). Continuity and Change in Indonesian Foreign Policy. *Asian Affairs*, 4(2), 173–180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068377308729666>

Liddle, R. W. (1996). The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 55(3), 613–634. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2646448>

Liputan6. (2007). *Kontroversi Nuklir Iran*. <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/139385/kontroversi-nuklir-iran>

- Luxiana, K. M. (2021). *Wagub DKI Ungkap KBRI Beri Masukan ke Turki untuk Ganti Nama Ataturk*. Detik.Com. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5791643/wagub-dki-ungkap-kbri-beri-masukan-ke-turki-untuk-ganti-nama-ataturk>
- Maarif, A. S. (2018). *Islam, Humanity, and Indonesian Identity: Reflections on History*. Leiden University Press.
- Machmudi, Y. (2008). Islamising Indonesian: The Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). In *Islamising Indonesian: The Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)*. https://doi.org/10.26530/oopen_459299
- Mackenzie, N., & Knipe, S. (2006). Research Dilemmas: Paradigms, Methods and Methodology. *Issues in Educational Research*, 16(2), 1–13.
- Madinier, R. (2015). *Islam and Politics in Indonesia The Masyumi Party between Democracy and Integralism*. NUS Press.
- Mardhatillah Umar, A. R. (2019). Why Is It Really Hard to Move On? Explaining Indonesia's Limited Foreign Policy Reform After Soeharto. In M. Lane (Ed.), *Continuity and Change after Indonesia's Reforms: Contributions to an Ongoing Assessment* (pp. 195–212). ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814843232-011>
- Mietzner, M. (2006). The Politics of Military Reform in Post-Suharto Indonesia : Elite Conflict, Nationalism, and Institutional Resistance. *Policy Studies*, 23.
- Mietzner, M. (2008). Comparing Indonesia's party systems of the 1950s and the post-Suharto era: From centrifugal to centripetal inter-party competition. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 39(3), 431–453. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463408000337>
- Mochamad Yani, Y. (2009). Change and Continuity in Indonesian Foreign Policy. *Sosiohumaniora*, 11(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.24198/sosiohumaniora.v11i1.5575>

- Morin, J.-F., & Paquin, J. (2018). *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Toolbox*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Muhammadiyah.or.id/. (2020). *Anggaran Dasar*.
<http://m.muhammadiyah.or.id/id/content-51-det-anggaran-dasar.html>
- Muhammadiyah.or.id. (2020). *KH Ahmad Dahlan (Ketua 1912 - 1922)*.
<http://m.muhammadiyah.or.id/content-156-det-kh-ahmad-dahlan.html>
- Muhammadiyah.or.id. (2022). *Organisasi Otonom*. Muhammadiyah.or.Id.
<https://muhammadiyah.or.id/organisasi-otonom/>
- Mujani, S. (2003). *Religious Democrats: Democratic Culture And Muslim Political Participation In Post-Suharto Indonesia*. The Ohio State University.
- Murphy, A. M. (2009). Indonesia Returns to the International Stage: Good News for the United States. *Orbis*, 53(1), 65–79.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2008.10.007>
- Murphy, A. M. (2016). Democratization and Indonesian Foreign Policy : Implications for the United States. *Asia Policy*, 13, 83–111.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/asp.2012.0011>
- Nabbs-Keller, G. (2013). Reforming Indonesia’s Foreign Ministry: Ideas, Organization and Leadership. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 35(1), 56–82.
<https://doi.org/10.1355/cs35-lc>
- Nabbs-Keller, G. (2014). *The Impact of Democratisation on Indonesia’s Foreign Policy*. Griffith University.
- Nashir, H. (2015). *Understanding the Ideology of Muhammadiyah*. Muhammadiyah University Press.
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. In *Teaching Sociology* (Vol. 30, Issue 3). Pearson.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3211488>
- Nu.or.id. (2007a). *PBNU Nilai Resolusi DK PBB Tahap Awal Hancurkan Iran*.
<https://www.nu.or.id/amp/warta/pbnu-nilai-resolusi-dk-pbb-tahap-awal->

hancurkan-iran-74so5

Nu.or.id. (2007b). *PBNU Sesalkan Sikap Presiden Terkait Interpelasi Nuklir Iran*.

<https://www.nu.or.id/warta/pbnu-sesalkan-sikap-presiden-terkait-interpelasi-nuklir-iran-46r1M>

Nugraha, A. (2012). Moderate Islam as New Identity in Indonesian Foreign Policy : Between Global Role Aspiration and Co-Religious Solidarity. *Jicsa*, 1(1), 12–35.

O'Rourke, K. (2002). *Reformasi: The Struggle For Power In Post-Soeharto Indonesia*. Allen&Unwin.

Oppermann, K., Brummer, K., & Willigen, N. Van. (2017). Coalition Governance and Foreign Policy Decision Making. *European Political Science*, 16, 489–501.

pan.or.id/prinsip-dasar. (2019). *Prinsip Dasar*. <http://pan.or.id/prinsip-dasar/>

Pangestu, R. R. (2021). *Tokoh NU Ingin Tahu Umat Islam Mana yang Keberatan dengan Nama Jalan Mustafa Kemal Ataturk*. Pikiranrakyat.Com. <https://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/nasional/pr-012834601/tokoh-nu-ingin-tahu-umat-islam-mana-yang-keberatan-dengan-nama-jalan-mustafa-kemal-ataturk>

ParlemenIndoensia.org. (2022). *Interpelasi*. <http://parlemenindonesia.org/fungsi-dpr/pengawasan/interpelasi/>

Pepinsky, T. B., Liddle, R. W., & Mujani, S. (2010). *Indonesian Democracy and the Transformation of Political Islam*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>

Perwita, A. A. B. (2007). *Indonesia And The Muslim World: Islam and Secularism in the Foreign Policy of Soeharto and Beyond*. NIAS.

Porter, D. J. (2002). *Managing Politics and Islam in Indonesia*. RoutledgeCurzon.

Potter, P. B. K. (2010). Methods of Foreign Policy Analysis. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, January, 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.34>

- Pringle, R. (2010). *Understanding Islam In Indonesia: Poitics And Diversity*. Mainland Press.
- Purwono, A. (2017). Islam in Foreign Policy: Promotion of Moderate Islam in Indonesia Foreign Policy 2004-2014. *Indonesian Journal of International Relations*, 1(1), 15–30. <https://doi.org/10.32787/ijir.v1i1.10>
- Purwono, A. (2020). Diplomasi Kiai Nahdlatul ‘Ulama (NU) Melalui Konferensi Ulama Internasional. *Sosio Dialektika*, 5(2), 22. <https://doi.org/10.31942/sd.v5i2.3875>
- Purwono, A. (2016). Moderate Islam in Indonesia Foreign Policy Towards Cases With Islamic Dimension in European Countries. *Proceeding of the 2nd International Seminar and Conference on Global Issues (ISCoGI) 2016: European and Asian in the Age of Globalization: Cooperation and Challenge*, 1–7.
- Putnam, R. D. (1988). Diplomacy and domestic politics : the logic of two-level games. *International Organization*, 42(3), 427–460.
- Putra, E. P. (2021). Ketua MUI DKI Tolak Nama Jalan Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Repu. <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/r17472484/ketua-mui-dki-tolak-nama-jalan-mustafa-kemal-ataturk>
- Qodir, Z. (2021). *Studi Politik Islam, Kekuasaan, Dan Politik Indonesia*. UMY Press.
- Raditya, I. (2019). *Sejarah & Isi Perubahan Amandemen UUD 1945 Pertama Tahun 1999*. <https://tirto.id/sejarah-isi-perubahan-amandemen-uud-1945-pertama-tahun-1999-ejFQ>
- Rahmadi, D. (2021). M Taufik Gerindra soal Polemik Jalan Ataturk di DKI: Gak Ada Urusan Sama Sekulernya. Merdeka. <https://www.merdeka.com/jakarta/m-taufik-gerindra-soal-polemik-jalan-ataturk-di-dki-gak-ada-urusan-sama-sekulernya.html>
- Ratnawati, T., & Haris, S. (2008). Political Parties in Indonesia from the 1950s to

2004: An Overview. In *Crise* (Issue 61).

Republika.co. (2009). *Hassan Wirajuda: Islam-Demokrasi Jalan Seiring*.
<https://www.republika.co.id/berita/89778/hassan-wirajuda-islamdemokrasi-jalan-seiring>

Ressay. (2007). *PBNU: Ulama-Ulama Dunia Kecewa terhadap Pemerintah Indonesia*. <https://ressay.wordpress.com/2007/03/27/pbnu-ulama-ulama-dunia-kecewa-terhadap-pemerintah-indonesia/>

Reus-Smit, C. (2005). Constructivism. In S. Burchill, A. Linklater, & R. Devetak, (Eds.), *Theories of International Relations* (3rd ed., pp. 1–344). Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203799727-1>

Ricklefs, M. C. (2008). *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200 Fourth* (Fourth). Palgrave Macmillan.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>

Ridwan, N. K. (2012). *Khittah NU*. NU Online.
<https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/39709/khittah-nu>

Risse-Kappen, T. (1991). Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies. *World Politics*, 43(4), 479–512.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2010534>

Robinson, K. (2009). *Gender, Islam and Democracy in Indonesia*. Routledge.

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*, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967828X17706570>

Rosyidin, M. (2019). *Judul: Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia Dalam Perspektif Budaya Jawa: Dari Sukarno Samapai Joko Widodo*. CV. Pustaka Ilmu Group Yogyakarta.

Rüland, J. (2017). Democratizing Foreign-Policy Making in Indonesia and the Democratization of ASEAN: A Role Theory Analysis. *Trans-Regional and National Studies of Southeast Asia*, 5(1), 49–73.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2016.26>

Salim, A. (2017). *Foreign Policy Legitimacy and Moderate Islamic Identity in Indonesia: The Megawati Government's Response to the International War on Terrorism (2001-2004)*. University of Melbourne.

Sari, A. C. (2018). *A Neoclassical Realist Explanation of Indonesia's Involvement in Muslim-Related Secessions In Non-Muslim Countries*. 1–29.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2057891118787930>

Sartori, G. (1976). *Parties and party systems: A framework for analysis*. Cambridge University Press.

Schwarz, A. (2000). *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability* (Second). Westview Press. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429495489>

Setiawan, A., & Mochamad Yani, Y. (2019). Perubahan Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia, Terhadap Isu Nuklir Iran Di Dewan Keamanan PBB Tahun 2007-2008. *Global Political Studies Journal*, 3(2), 146–169.
<https://doi.org/10.34010/gpsjournal.v3i2>

Sihambung, R. F. (2021a). *Golkar Tak Masalah Ataturk Jadi Nama Jalan di Jakarta*. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5777521/golkar-tak-masalah-ataturk-jadi-nama-jalan-di-jakarta>

Sihambung, R. F. (2021b). *Tolak Ataturk Jadi Nama Jalan, PAN Pilih Ahmad Dahlan atau Hasyim Asy'ari*. Detik.Com. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5777274/tolak-ataturk-jadi-nama-jalan-pan-pilih-ahmad-dahlan-atau-hasyim-asyari>

Singer, D. (1961). The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations. *World Politics*, 14(1), 77–92. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009557>

Smith, A. L. (2000). Indonesia's Foreign Policy under Abdurrahman Wahid: Radical or Status Quo State? *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 22(3), 498–526.
https://doi.org/10.1355/cs22_3d

Sukma, R. (1995). *The Evolution of Indonesia's Foreign Policy: An Indonesian*

- View. *Asian Survey*, 35(3), 304–315. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2645547>
- Sukma, R. (1999). Indonesia and China: The Politics of a Troubled Relationship. In *Pacific Affairs* (Vol. 74, Issue 1). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2672515>
- Sukma, R. (2003). *Islam in Indonesian Foreign Policy*. RoutledgeCurzon.
- Sukma, R. (2011). *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia* (S. J. Lee & J. Melissen (eds.)). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sukma, R. (2015). *Insight: Muhammadiyah and Indonesia's International Identity*. Jakarta Post. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/08/04/insight-muhammadiyah-and-indonesia-s-international-identity.html>
- Sulistyo, H. (2002). Electoral Politics in Indonesia: A Hard Way to Democracy. *Croissant/Bruns/John*, 75–100.
- Suryadinata, L. (1995). Islam and Suharto's Foreign Policy: Indonesia, the Middle East, and Bosnia. *Asian Survey*, 35(3), 291–303. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2645546>
- Suryadinata, L. (1996). *Indonesia's Foreign Policy Under Soeharto: Aspiring to International Leadership*. Times Academic Press.
- Suryanto. (2007). *Arab Tak Persoalkan Sikap RI Dukung Resolusi PBB 1747*. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/57514/arab-tak-persoalkan-sikap-ri-dukung-resolusi-pbb-1747>
- Tan, P. J. (2007). Navigating A Turbulent Ocean: Indonesia's Worldview And Foreign Policy. *Asian Perspective*, 31(3), 147–181.
- Tayfur, F. M. (1994). Main Approaches To The Study Of Foreign Policy: A Review. *Metu Sudies in Development*, 21(1), 113–141.
- Tomsa, D. (2008). *Party Politics And Democratization In Indonesia*.
- Tomsa, D. (2018). Parties and Party Politics in the Post-Reformasi Era. In R. W. Hefner (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Indonesia*. Routledge.

<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315628837>

Ufen, A. (2006). Political Parties in Post-Suharto Indonesia: Between Politik Aliran and “Philippinisation.” In *GIGA WP* (Issue 37).
<https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.977982>

Umar, A. R. M. (2016). A Genealogy of Moderate Islam: Governmentality and Discourses of Islam in Indonesia’s Foreign Policy. *Studia Islamika*, 23(3), 399–435.

van Bruinessen, M. (2002). Genealogies of Islamic radicalism in post-Suharto Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 10(2), 117–154.
<https://doi.org/10.5367/000000002101297035>

van Bruinessen, M. (2014). Ghazwul Fikri or Arabization? Indonesian Muslim Responses to Globalization. *Southeast Asian Muslims in the Era of Globalization*, 61–85. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137436818_4

Vatikiotis, M. R. J. (1998). *Indonesian Politics Under Suharto: The Rise and Fall of the New Order*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203279809>

Vickers, A. (2013). *Komünistlerden İslamcılara/Bir 20. Yüzyıl Tarihi: Endonezya*. Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Walt, S. M. (1998). International Relations : One World , Many Theories. *Foreign Policy*, 110, 29–46. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1149275> .

Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge.

Winslett, G. (2012). Party Competition as a Driver of Foreign Policy: Explaining Changes in the British Labour Party’s Immigration Policies and the Turkish AKP’s Approach to Cyprus. *The Joseph Korb Journal of Advanced International Studies*, 4, 127–153.

Wirajuda, M. H. (2014). *The Impact of Democratisation on Indonesia ’ s Foreign Policy : Regional Cooperation , Promotion of Political Values , and Conflict Management*. August.

www.pkb.id/page/mabda-siyasi/. (2020). *Mabda’ Siyasi*.

<https://www.pkb.id/page/mabda-siyasi/>

www.pkb.id. (2019). *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*. PKB. <https://pkb.id/upload/dokumen/ad-art-pkb.pdf>

Yasmin, N. (2019). *Indonesia's Foreign Policy Priorities for the Next 5 Years*. Jakarta Globe. <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/indonesias-foreign-policy-priorities-for-the-next-5-years/>

Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods* (Sixth). SAGE. <https://doi.org/10.1177/109634809702100108>

Yıldırım, A. (1999). Nitel Araştırma Yöntemlerinin Temel Özellikleri ve Eğitim Araştırmalarındaki Yeri ve Önemi. *Eğitim ve Bilim*, 23(112).

Zarkasyi, H. F. (2008). The Rise of Islamic Religious-Political Movements in Indonesia: The Background, Present Situation and Future. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 2(2), 336–378. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2008.2.2.336-378>