

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### BUKU-BUKU

- Abbot, Anita, *Educational Sovereignty and Transnational Exchanges in Post-Secondary Indonesian Education*, New Zealand, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017.
- Acharya, Amitav, *Indonesia Matters: Asia's Emerging Democratic Power*, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2014.
- Ambrose, Stephen E. dan Brinkley, Douglas G., *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938*, New York: Penguin Books, 1997.
- Bamford, James, *The Shadow Factory: The Ultra-Secret NSA from 9/11 to the Eavesdropping on America*, New York: Random House, 2008.
- Ball, Kristie., Snider, Laureen., *The Surveillance-Industrial Complex: A Political Economy of Surveillance*, New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Choucry, Nazly, *Cyberpolitics in International Relations*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2012.
- Drooglever, P. J., *Tindakan pilihan bebas: Orang Papua dan Penentuan Nasib Sendiri*, Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2010.
- Evans, Graham., Newnham, Jeffrey, *Dictionary of International Relations*, London: Penguin Books, 1998.
- Frederick, William dan Worden, Robert, *Indonesia: a Country Study*, (Washington DC, Library of Congress, 2011.
- Foucault, Michel, *Disiplin and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan, New York: Vintage Books, 1991.
- Fierke, Karin M., *Critical Approaches to International Security*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015.
- Granick, Jennifer Stisa, *American Spies: Modern Surveillance, Why You Should Care, and What to do about it*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Greenwald, Glen, *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, Pembongkar Sistem Pengintaian Massal AS*, terj. Reni Indardini, Yogyakarta: Penerbit Bentang, 2016.
- Hadi (ed), *Merangkul China: Hubungan Indonesia-China Pasca Soeharto*, Jakarta: Gramedia, 2009.
- Handelman, Don, *Prologue: Olympic Surveillance as a Prelude to Securitization. In Surveilling and Securing the Olympics* Palgrave, Macmillan, 2016.
- Hermawan, Yulius P., dkk, "The Role of Indonesia in the G-20, Jakarta: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. 2011.
- Huijgh, Ellen, *The Public Diplomacy of Emerging Powers Part 2: The Case of Indonesia*, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2016.
- Johnson, Loch K. (ed.), *Handbook of Intelligence Studies* Abingdon: Routledge 2007.

- Kalic, Sean N. dan Brown, Gates M., *Russian Revolution of 1917: The Essential Reference Guide*, Santa Barbara California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2017.
- Knightley, Phillip, *The Second Oldest Profession: Spies and Spying in The Twentieth Century*, London: Pimlico 2003.
- Leifer, Michael, *Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia*, trjmh: Drs. A Ramlan Surbekti, MA, Gramedia, Jakarta 1986.
- Lyon, David, *Theorizing Surveillance: the Panopticon and Beyond* New York: Routledge, 2011.
- McCoy, Alfred W., *In the Shadow of American Century: The Rise and Decline of US Global Power*, Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2017.
- Monahan, Torin dan Torres, Rodolfo, *Schools under Surveillance: Cultures of Control in Public Education*, New Brunswick N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2010.
- O'Harrow, Jr., Robert, *No Place to Hide*, New York: Free Press, 2005.
- Shulsky, Abram dan Schmitt, Gary, *Silent Warfare Understanding the World of Intelligence*, Virginia: Potomac Books, 2002.
- Sims, Jennifer E. dan Gerber, Burton, *Vaults Mirrors and Masks: Rediscovering US Counterintelligence*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press 2009.
- Votti, Paul R., dan Kauppi, Mark V., *International Relations Theory*, Pearson Education, New York: 2012.
- Waever, Ole, "Securitization and Desecuritization, dalam. Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed) On Security, New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Waltz, Kenneth, *Theory of International Politics*, New York: Random House, 1979.
- Walsh, Patrick F., *Intelligence and Intelligence Analysis*, Abingdon: Routledge 2011.
- Walt, Stephen M., *The Origin of Alliances*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- Zakaria, Fareed, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998.

## MAKALAH, JURNAL, DAN PENELITIAN

- Andriasanti, Lelly, "Identitas Islam Moderat dalam Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia" *GLOBAL* Vol. 16 No. 1 Mei 2014, <http://global.ir.fisip.ui.ac.id/index.php/global/article/download/7/211>
- An Intelligence Assessment, "The Nonaligned Movement: Dynamics and Prospect", *National Foreign Assessment Center*, Confidential, Approved for Release in 7 Agustus 2002. (1979).
- Berrigan, Frida, "Indonesia at The Crossroads: U.S. Weapons Sales and Military Training" *World Policy Journal*, Oktober 2001, <https://worldpolicy.org/indonesia-at-the-crossroads-u-s-weapons-sales-and-military-training/>

- Capie, David, "Between a Hegemon and a Hard Place: The 'War on Terror' and Southeast Asia-U.S. Relations," *Pacific Review* 17:2, Juni, 2004.
- Churches, Genna, "Everybody Knows: Snowden's NSA Leaks, Metadata and Privacy Implications for Australia", *LWC320 Research Paper*, 2013, [https://espace.cdu.edu.au/eserv/cdu:46190/Churches\\_46190.pdf](https://espace.cdu.edu.au/eserv/cdu:46190/Churches_46190.pdf)
- Chander, Anupam dan Le, Uyen P., "Data Nasionalism" *Emory Law Journal*, Vol. 64:677, 2015, hal. 715, [http://law.emory.edu/elj/\\_documents/volumes/64/3/articles/chander-le.pdf](http://law.emory.edu/elj/_documents/volumes/64/3/articles/chander-le.pdf)
- Dingman, Roger, "John Foster Dulles and the Creation of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization in 1954", *Journal The International History Review*, 11,3, 1989, Diakses dari <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.1989.9640520>
- Deeks, Ashley, "An International Legal Framework for Surveillance", *Virginia Journal of International Law*, Vol. 22:2, 2015.
- Dobson, Jerome E. dan Fisher, Peter F., "The Panopticon's Changing Geography", *American Geographical Society*, 2007, [https://www.jstor.org/stable/30034174?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/30034174?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents).
- Effendi, Tonny Dian, "Agenda Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia Paska Pemilihan Presiden 2009" *Jurnal UMM* 2016, <http://ejournal.umm.ac.id/index.php/bestari/article/view/138/164>
- Eroukhmanoff, Clara, "Securitisation Theory: An Introduction", *E-International Relations Students*, 14 Januari 2018, <http://www.e-ir.info/2018/01/14/securitisation-theory-an-introduction/>
- Forcese, Craig, "Spies without Borders, International Law and Intelligence Collection" *Journal of National Security Law & Policy*, Vol. 5:179, 2011, [http://jnsplp.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/05\\_Forceses.pdf](http://jnsplp.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/05_Forceses.pdf).
- Howe, George F., "The Early History of NSA", *Cryptologic Spectrum*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1974, [http://www.nsa.gov/public\\_info/\\_files/cryptologic\\_spectrum/early\\_history\\_nsa.pdf](http://www.nsa.gov/public_info/_files/cryptologic_spectrum/early_history_nsa.pdf)
- Jennifer R. Henrichsen dan Hannah Bloch-Wehba, "Electronic Communications Surveillance", <https://www.rcfp.org/rcfp/orders/docs/SURVEILLANCE.pdf>
- Kerrey, Robert dan Manning, Robert, "The United States and Southeast Asia: A Policy Agenda for the New Administration", *Council on Foreign Relations*, 2001.
- Lander, S., "International intelligence cooperation: An inside perspective". *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 17.3, 2007.
- Layne, Christopher, "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise", *International Security*, Vol. 17, no. 4 (The MIT Press, Spring, 1993).
- Lisbet, "Sikap Indonesia terhadap Isu Penyadapan Amerika Serikat dan Australia", *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* Vol. V, No.21/1/P3DI/November/2013, <berkas.dpr.go.id/puslit/files/.../Info%20Singkat-V-21-I-P3DI-November-2013-69.pdf>

- Mcaslan, Hugh R., "Contempoary United States Foreign Policy towards Indonesia"  
Kansas, 2004, <http://www.dtic.mil/get-tr-doc/pdf?AD=ADA428789>
- Mohan, Mahdev, "Rule of Law untuk Hak Asasi Manusia di Kawasan ASEAN: Studi  
Data Awal", *Human Right Resource Centre*, 2011.
- Peter, Klemensits dan Marton, Fenyo, "The Foreign Policy of Indonesia", *Semantik  
Scholar*, 2015, [https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/5d24/  
6b2412ad47c69e8279cb00f46e83898a8842.pdf](https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/5d24/6b2412ad47c69e8279cb00f46e83898a8842.pdf)
- Parameswaran, Prashanth, "The Power of Balance: Advancing US-ASEAN Relations  
under the Second Obama Administration" Vol.37:1, 2013,  
[https://static1.squarespace.com/static/579fc2ad725e253a86230610/t/57ec7e  
12d1758e495873c6f9/1475116568032/Parameswaran\\_37-1.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/579fc2ad725e253a86230610/t/57ec7e12d1758e495873c6f9/1475116568032/Parameswaran_37-1.pdf)
- Patterson, Robert Earl, "United States - Indonesian relations, 1945-1949: negative  
consequences of early American Cold War policy", Tesis Master, 1998.
- Puspitasari, Irfa, "Indonesia's New Foreign Policy – 'Thousand Friend – Zero  
Enemy'", *Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses*, New Delhi, 23 Agustus  
2010, [https://idsa.in/system/files/IB\\_IndonesiaForeignPolicy.pdf](https://idsa.in/system/files/IB_IndonesiaForeignPolicy.pdf)
- Rabasa, Angel dan Chalk, Peter, "Indonesia's Future: Challenges and Implications  
for Regional Stability and U.S. Security Interests", *RAND publications*, 2001,  
[https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_briefs/RB70/index1.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB70/index1.html)
- Richards, Neil M., "The Dangers of Surveillance", *The Harvard Law Review*, 2013,  
<https://harvardlawreview.org/2013/05/the-dangers-of-surveillance/>.
- Rilistya, Cesarani, "Implementasi Kerjasama Indonesia dengan AS Dalam  
Penanganan Aksi Terorisme di Indonesia" *Journal of International Relations*,  
Volume 2, Nomor 1, Tahun 2016, [http://ejournal-  
s1.undip.ac.id/index.php/jihi](http://ejournal-s1.undip.ac.id/index.php/jihi).
- RJ. Aldrich, "Transatlantic intelligence and security cooperation", *International  
Affairs*, 80-4, 2004.
- Seniwati & Alimuddin, "The United States – Indonesian Military Relationship in  
Countering Terrorism in Indonesia", *International Journal of Management  
and Applied Science*, Agustus 2016, [www.ijraj.in/journal/...file/.../14-287-  
147488197089-94.pdf](http://www.ijraj.in/journal/...file/.../14-287-147488197089-94.pdf)
- Seniwati dan Alimuddin, Andi, "The United States – Indonesian Military  
Relationship in Countering Terrorism in Indonesia" *International Journal of  
Management and Applied Science*, Vol. 2, isu 8, Agustus 2016,  
[http://www.ijraj.in/journal/journal\\_file/journal\\_pdf/14-287-147488197089-  
94.pdf](http://www.ijraj.in/journal/journal_file/journal_pdf/14-287-147488197089-94.pdf)
- Snowden, Edward, "Xkeyscore", [https://edwardsnowden.com/wp-  
content/uploads/2013/10/2008-xkeyscore-presentation.pdf](https://edwardsnowden.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/2008-xkeyscore-presentation.pdf)
- Sudrajat, 'Mengisi Kemitraan Startegis RI-RRT', *Jurnal Luar Negeri*, Vol. 26, No.  
2, Mei-Agustus 2009.
- Sukma, Rizal, "Keamanan Internasional Pasca 11 September: Terorisme, Hegemoni  
AS dan Implikasi Regional", (Makalah disampaikan dalam Seminar

Pembangunan Hukum Nasional VIII), Denpasar: Juli 2003,  
[www.lfip.org/english/pdf/bali.../keamanan%20intl%20-%20rizal%20sukma.pdf](http://www.lfip.org/english/pdf/bali.../keamanan%20intl%20-%20rizal%20sukma.pdf)

Sundstrom, Scott A., "You've Got Mail! (and the government knows it): Applying the Fourth Amendment to Workplace E-Mail Monitoring", *N.Y.U. Law Review*, Vol. 73:2064-2102, Desember 1998.  
<http://www.nyulawreview.org/sites/default/files/pdf/NYULawReview-73-6-Sundstrom.pdf>

Sulistiyono, Singgih Tri, "Contest for hegemony: The dynamics of inland and maritime cultures relations in the history of Java Island, Indonesia", *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, Volume 2, Issue 2, December 2013,  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.imic.2013.10.002>

Unger, David "The Foreign Policy Legacy of Barrack Obama", *The International Spectator*, Vol. 51, No. 4, 2016,  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2016.1227914>

Walsh, Patrick F. dan Miller, Seumar, "Rethinking 'Five Eyes' Security Intelligence Collection Policies and Practice Post Snowden", *Intelligence and National Security*, Routledge, 2015, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2014.998436>

Waltz, Kenneth, "Structural Realism after the Cold War", *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2000.

Waltz, Kenneth, "Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory" *Journal of Internasional Affairs*, Ebsco Publishing, 2003.

## INTERNET DAN MEDIA MASSA

Allen, Peter, "Obama in crisis call with French president after Wikileaks documents reveal NSA spied on him and two of his predecessors", *The Daily Mail*, 24 Juni 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3136659/New-WikiLeaks-documents-reveal-NSA-eavesdropping-THREE-French-presidents.html#ixzz5AnH0LkR8>

Astuti, Dewi, "Indonesia's Foreign Minister on ASEAN as a Model for Relations Within Asia-Pacific", *Asia Society*, 30 September 2014,  
<https://asiasociety.org/blog/asia/indonesias-foreign-minister-asean-model-relations-within-asia-pacific>

Acharya, Amitav, "Is There a Lack of Focus in Indonesia's Foreign Policy", *Straits Times*, 2 October 2000.

Ball, James, "NSA monitored calls of 35 world leaders after US official handed over contacts", *The Guardian*, 25 Oktober 2013.

Barboza, David, "China Passes Japan to Become No. 2 Economy", *The New York Times*, 2014.

Bello, Walden, "A 'Second Front' in the Philippines" *The Nation*, 28 Februari 2002,  
<https://www.thenation.com/article/second-front-philippines/>



- Boon, Floor, dkk, NSA Infected 50,000 Computer Networks with Malicious Software, *NRC.NL* (NETH.) 23 November 2013, <http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2013/11/23/nsainfected-50000-computer-networks-with-malicious-software/>
- Brissenden, Michael, "Australia spied on Indonesian president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, leaked Edward Snowden documents reveal" *ABC News*, 5 Desember 2014.
- Bureau ff East Asian and Pacific Affairs "U.S. Relations with Indonesia" *U.S. Department of States*, 17 Januari 2017, <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2748.htm>
- Cavanaugh, Darien, "The CIA and KGB Both Tried to Blackmail This World Leader with Sex Tapes", <https://medium.com/war-is-boring/the-cia-and-kgb-tried-to-blackmail-this-world-leader-with-sex-tapes-927fc7ddbd48>
- Clark, Helen, "New Zealand: Spying for the Club", *The Diplomat*, 6 Maret 2015.
- Campbell, Kurt, "The South China Sea and Asia Pacific in Transition," Keynote Speech, Maritime Security in the South China Sea conference, CSIS.
- Cahall, Bailey, dkk., "Do NSA's Bulk Surveillance Programs Stop Terrorists?" *New America*, 13 Januari 2014, <https://www.newamerica.org/international-security/policy-papers/do-nsas-bulk-surveillance-programs-stop-terrorists/>
- Craig Whitlock, "U.S. to resume ties with Indonesia's once-harsh special forces" *Washington Post*, 22 Juli 2010.
- Clinton, Hillary, "America's Pasific Century", *Foreign Policy*, 11 Oktober 2011, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/11/americas-pacific-century/>
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Remarks With Thai Deputy Prime Minister Korbsak Sabhavas" 21 Juli 2009, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2009a/july/126271.htm>
- Dalpino, Catharin, "China's Emergence in Asia and Implications for U.S. Relations with Southeast Asia," statement before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 7 Juni, 2005.
- Doring, Philip, "Exposed: Australia's Asia Spy network", *Sidney Morning Herald*, 31 Oktober 2013.
- Dorling, Philip, "Top-secret documents reveal Australia targeting Indonesia, South Pacific mobile phone networks", *The Sidney Morning Herald*, 6 Maret 2015.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Top-secret documents reveal Australia targeting Indonesia, South Pacific mobile phone networks", *The Sidney Morning Herald*.
- Erlanger, Steven, "Outrage in Europe Grows Over Spying Disclosures" *The New York Times*, 1 Juli 2013.
- Entous, Adam, dkk, "Gorman, U.S. Scurries to Shore up Spying on Russia", *The Wall Street Journal*, 24 Maret 2014, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-scurries-to-shore-up-spying-on-russia-1395625416>

- Ellis, Ted, "Grand Strategy: George W. Bush vs. Barack Obama" *The National Interest*, 21 Januari 2017, diakses dari <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/grand-strategy-george-w-bush-vs-barack-obama-19109>
- Freeport-McMoRan: Indonesia, <https://www.fcx.com/operations/indonesia>.
- Gallagher, Ryan, "From Paris to Boston, Terrorists were Already Known to Authorities" *The Intercept*, 19 November 2015.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Titanpionte: The NSA's Spy Hub in New York, Hidden in Plain Sight", *The Intercept*, 17 November 2016, <https://theintercept.com/2016/11/16/the-nsas-spy-hub-in-new-york-hidden-in-plain-sight/>.
- Gedung Putih, "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America", Washington, D.C. Maret 2006, [www.lbouza.net/INTERNAC/SEGNAC06.DOC](http://www.lbouza.net/INTERNAC/SEGNAC06.DOC)
- Glass, Andrew, "Bush creates Office of Homeland Security, Oct. 8, 2001" *Politico*, 8 Oktober 2016.
- Glanz, James dan Lehen, Andrew, "N.S.A. Spied on Allies, Aid Groups and Businesses", *The New York Times*, 20 Desember 2013.
- Greenwald, G., "NSA collecting Phone Records of Millions of Verizon Customers Daily", *The Guardian*, 6 Juni 2013
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Top-Secret Document Reveals NSA Spied On Porn Habits As Part Of Plan To Discredit 'Radicalizers'", *Huffington Post*, 26 November 2013.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "FISA Court Oversight: a Look Inside a Secret and Empty Process", *The Guardian*, 19 Juni 2013.
- Gellman, Barton dan Poitras, Laura, "U.S. British intelligence mining data from nine U.S. internet companies in broad secret program", *The Washington Post*, 7 Juni 2013.
- Goldman, Adam, dan Apuzzo, Matt, "NYPD: Muslim spying led to no leads, terror cases", *The Associated Press*, 21 Agustus 2012, <https://www.ap.org/ap-in-the-news/2012/nypd-muslim-spying-led-to-no-leads-terror-cases>.
- Hall, Melanie, "GCHQ 'monitored' foreign politicians' computers at G20 London summits", *The Telegraph*.
- Harris, Paul, "Bush admits spying on America", *The Guardian*, 18 Desember 2005.
- Henrichsen, Jennifer R. dan Bloch-Wehba, Hannah, "Electronic Communications Surveillance", <https://www.rcfp.org/rcfp/orders/docs/SURVEILLANCE.pdf>
- Horowitz, D., "U.S. Electronic Espionage: A Memoir", 11 *Rampart* 35, 1972.
- Ika, Aprillia, "AS Jadi Pasar Ekspor Karet Alam Terbesar Indonesia Sejak 2010", *Kompas*, 4 Februari 2012.
- ITU, "ITU releases latest tech figures & global rankings", *Committed to connecting the world*, 2013, [http://www.itu.int/net/pressoffice/press\\_releases/2013/41.aspx#.WpOe16hubDd](http://www.itu.int/net/pressoffice/press_releases/2013/41.aspx#.WpOe16hubDd)

- Jackson, David, "Keeping top-secret tabs on your phone calls" *USA Today Online*, 6 Juni 2013.
- Jones, Steve, "Understanding the Bush Doctrine" *ThoughtCo*, 18 Maret 2017, <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-bush-doctrine-3310291> (23 Februari 2018).
- Kagan, Robert, "Clinton and Indonesia", *The Weekly Standard*, 3 November 1996, <https://www.weeklystandard.com/robert-kagan/clinton-and-indonesia>
- Kloc, Joe, "The Definitive Guide to NSA Spy Program", *The Daily Dot*, 14 Agustus 2014, terakhir diupdate 25 Februari 2017, <https://www.dailydot.com/layer8/nsa-spy-prgrams-prism-fairview-blarney/>
- Knox, Oliver, "White House denies NSA spies on allies for economic warfare", *Yahoo News*, 29 Oktober 2013, <https://www.yahoo.com/news/white-house-denies-nsa-spies-on-allies-for-economic-warfare-174903245.html>
- Kober, Stanley, "The CIA as Economic Spy: The Misuse of U.S. Intelligence after the Cold War", *Policy Analysis* No. 185, CATO Institute, 8 Desember 1992, <https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/cia-economic-spy-misuse-us-intelligence-after-cold-war>
- Koener, Robin, "William Binney: NSA Claim Not to Be Mining Content is an 'Outright Lie'", *Huffington Post*, 22 Juli 2016.
- Kuhn, Anthony, "Exposing Indonesia's Cold War Communist Purge", *NPR*, 9 April 2012, <https://www.npr.org/2012/04/09/150149910/exposing-indonesias-cold-war-communist-purge>
- Kuik, Cheng-Chwee, dkk, "The China Factor in the U.S. 'Reengagement' With Southeast Asia: Drivers and Limits of Converged Hedging", *Wiley Online Library*, 5 Juli 2012. Diakses dari <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1943-0787.2012.01361.x>
- Lang, Jarno, "Indonesia-Myanmar Relations: Promoting Democracy in South-East Asia", *Fair Observer*, 22 Mei 2012, [https://www.fairobserver.com/region/asia\\_pacific/indonesia-myanmar-relations-promoting-democracy-south-east-asia/](https://www.fairobserver.com/region/asia_pacific/indonesia-myanmar-relations-promoting-democracy-south-east-asia/)
- Lashmar, P. Oliver, J., "How we destroy Sukarno, Foreign Office 'dirty tricks' helped overthrow Indonesia's President Sukarno in 1966. Over the next 30 years, half a million people died" *Independent*, 1 Desember 1998.
- Lennard, N., "The Original NSA Whistleblower: Snowden is a Patriot", *Salon.com*, 12 November 2013
- Leopold, Jason, "Revealed: NSA pushed 9/11 as key 'sound bite' to justify surveillance" *Aljazeera America*, 30 Oktober 2013, <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/10/30/revealed-nsa-pushed911askeysoundbitetojustifysurveillance.html> (21 Februari 2018)
- Lichtblau, Eric., "In Secret, Court Vastly Broadens Powers of N.S.A.", *The New York Times*, 6 Juli 2013



- Lohman, Walter, "U.S. – Indonesia Relations: Build for Endurance, Not Speed" *Heritage Foundation*, No. 2381, 4 Maret 2010, [www.heritage.org/Research/AsiaandthePacific/bg2381.cfm](http://www.heritage.org/Research/AsiaandthePacific/bg2381.cfm)
- Lyon, David, "Surveillance Studies: Understanding Visibility, Mobility and the Phenetic Fix", <https://ojs.library.queensu.ca/index.php/surveillance-and-society/article/view/3390>
- MacAskill, Ewen, dkk, "NSA: Australia and US used climate change conference to spy on Indonesia", *The Guardian*, 2 November 2013.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "GCHQ Intercepted Foreign Politicians' Communications at G20 Summits", *The Guardian*, 17 Juni 2013.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "GCHQ Taps Fibre-optic Cables for Secret Access to World's Communications" *The Guardian*, 2013.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "New NSA leaks show how US is bugging its European allies", *The Guardian*, 30 Juni 2013.
- McAslan, Hugh R., "Contempoary United States Foreign Policy Towards Indonesia", 2004, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a428789.pdf> (12 Februari 2018)
- Margolin, Emma, "Study asks: Does the NSA data mining program stop terrorists?" *MSNBC Online*, 13 Januari 2014, <http://www.msnbc.com/news-nation/does-nsa-data-mining-stop-terrorists>
- Mark Landler, "Clinton Praised Indonesian Democracy," *The New York Times*, 18 Februari 2009.
- Marx, Garry T., "Surveillance Studies" 2015, [http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/surv\\_studies.pdf](http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/surv_studies.pdf)
- McCoy, Alfred, "Obama's Expanding Surveillance Universe", *TomDispatch.com*, 14 Juli 2013, <http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/175724/>
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Exploring the Shadows of America's Security State" *TomDispatch.com*, 24 Agustus 2017, [http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/176321/tomgram:\\_alfred\\_mccoy,\\_the\\_cia\\_and\\_me/](http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/176321/tomgram:_alfred_mccoy,_the_cia_and_me/)
- McLaughlin, Jenna, "U.S. Mass Surveillance has no Record of Thwarting Large Terror Attacks, Regardless of Snowden Leaks", *The Intercept*, 18 November 2015.
- Murdock, Jason, "Snowden's NSA files: America has been spying on the EU, UN, World Bank and IMF", *International Bussines Times*, 17 November 2016, <https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/snowdens-nsa-files-america-has-been-spying-eu-un-world-bank-imf-1592108>
- Murphy, Katherine, "Indonesia says it's 'not cricket' for Australia to spy for the US in Asia", *The Guardian*, 1 November 2013
- Murray Hiebert dan Osius Gregory B., "A US – Indonesia Partnership for 2020: Recommendations for Forging a 21st Century for 2020", *Center for Strategic & International Studies*, September 2013.

- Mills, Chris, "The United States' Asia-Pacific Policy and the Rise of the Dragon"  
*Indo-Pacific Strategic Paper*, Agustus 2015,  
<http://www.defence.gov.au/ADC/Publications/IndoPac/R23177605-1.pdf>
- NSA, CSS, "UKUSA Agreement Release 1940-1956", <https://www.nsa.gov/news-features/declassified-documents/ukusa/>
- NSA SIGINT Strategy 2012-2016, 23 February 2012, didownload dari  
<https://archive.org/details/nsa-sigint-strategy-2012-2016>
- O'Cleirigh, Fiona, "Bill Binney, the 'original' NSA whistleblower, on Snowden, 9/11 and illegal surveillance", *Computerweekly.com*,  
<http://www.computerweekly.com/feature/Interview-the-original-NSA-whistleblower>
- Ockenden, Will, "Australia Prepared Briefing on US Global Internet Spying Program PRISM before Snowden Revelations, *ABC News*, 8 Oktober 2013,  
<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-10-08/australia-prepared-briefing-on-prism-spying-program/5004290>
- Owen, Paul, "NSA 'spied on porn habits to target radicalisers'", *The Guardian*, 27 November 2013.
- Perthes, Volker, "After 9/11 three dimensions of Change" *Open Democracy*, 9 September 2011.
- Pitzke, Marc, "US Commentators Defend NSA Surveillance of Allied Leaders" *Der spiegel*, 28 Oktober 2013.
- Piccone, Ted dan Yusman, Bimo, "Indonesian Foreign Policy: 'A Million Friends and Zero Enemies'", *The Diplomat*, 14 Februari 2014  
<https://thediplomat.com/2014/02/indonesian-foreign-policy-a-million-friends-and-zero-enemies/>
- Pidato Presiden Obama kepada Parlemen Australia, Parliament House Canberra, Australia. The White House Office of the Press Secretary, November 17, 2011  
<https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-pressoffice/2011/11/17/remarks-president-obama-australian-parliament>
- Pramono, Siswo, "A Million Friends Diplomacy", *The Jakarta Post Online*, 13 Juni 2010.
- Reilly, Mollie, "Obama Defends NSA Surveillance Program, Says It's 'Transparent'", *The Huffington Post*, 17 Juni 2013,  
[https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/06/17/obama-nsa-surveillance\\_n\\_3455771.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/06/17/obama-nsa-surveillance_n_3455771.html)
- Risen, James, dan Poitras, Laura, "Spying by N.S.A. Ally Entangled U.S. Law Firm", *The New York Times*, 15 Februari 2014.
- \_\_\_\_\_, dan Lichtblau, Eric., "The Patriot Act Gives Too Much Power to Law Enforcement" *The New York Times*.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Patriot Act Gives Too Much Power to Law Enforcement" *The New York Times*, 16 Desember 2005.

- Rice, X., "Internet: Last Piece of Fibre-optic Jigsaw Falls into Place as Cable Links East Africa to Grid", *The Guardian*.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Internet: Last Piece of Fibre-optic Jigsaw Falls into Place as Cable Links East Africa to Grid", *The Guardian*.
- Romero, Simon, dan Arcibold, Randal, "Brazil Angered over Report N.S.A. Spied on Presiden", *The New York Times*, 2 September 2013.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Snowden Offers Help to Bazil in Spy Case", *The New York Times*, 17 Desember 2013.
- Rosen, Jeffrey, "The Patriot Act Gives Too Much Power to Law Enforcement", *The New York Times*, 8 September 2011.
- Routers, "NSA tapped German Chancellery for decades, WikiLeaks claims", *The Guardian*, 8 Juli 2015.
- Sana, Asma, "United States Interests in Asia-Pacific: Implications for Pakistan" *ISSRA Papers*, 2012. [http://www.ndu.edu.pk/issra/issra\\_pub/articles/issra-paper/ISSRA\\_Papers\\_Vol4\\_IssueI\\_2012/05-United-States-Interests-Ms-Asma-Sana.pdf](http://www.ndu.edu.pk/issra/issra_pub/articles/issra-paper/ISSRA_Papers_Vol4_IssueI_2012/05-United-States-Interests-Ms-Asma-Sana.pdf)
- Sanger, David E. dan Weiner, Tim, "Emerging Role for the CIA, Economic Spy", *The New York Times*, Arsip, 1995, <https://www.nytimes.com/1995/10/15/world/emerging-role-for-the-cia-economic-spy.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Bush Ends Trip at Careful Stop in Indonesia", *The New York Times*, 21 November 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "In Cyberspace, New Cold War", *The New York Times*, 21 November 2006.
- Santikajaya, Awidya, "Emerging Indonesia and its global posture", *East Asia Forum*, 7 Maret 2013.
- Schultz, Colin, "In the period 2009 - 2013, the NSA has faced the FISA Court 8,164 times for electronic or physical surveillance licenses", *Smithsonian.com*, 1 Mei 2014, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/fisa-court-has-only-denied-nsa-request-once-past-5-years-180951313/> (28 Februari 2018).
- Sheppard, Kate, dan Grim, Ryan, "Snowden Docs: U.S. Spied on Negotiators At 2009 Climate Summit", *Huffington Post*, 30 Januari 2014.
- Sicat, Gerardo P., "Nike in Indonesia – Employing more than a hundred thousand workers" *Philstar Global*, 17 April 2013, <https://www.philstar.com/business/2013/04/17/931434/nike-indonesia-employing-more-hundred-thousand-workers>
- Sihaloho, Markus. J, "Prinsip SBY "Thousand Friends, Zero Enemies" Dinilai Sudah Tak Relevan", *Berita Satu*.
- Snowden, Edward, "Exclusive: Snowden Docs Show British Spies Used Sex and 'Dirty Tricks'", *NBCnews*, 7 Februari 2014.

- Soebagjo, Natalia, "Indonesia-China ties: more than just money", *The Jakarta Post Online*, 28 April 2011.
- Stuenkel, Oliver, "Is Indonesia a Rising Power to be Reckoned With?" *Post-Western World*, 9 Mei 2014.
- The White House, "Joint Statement of the 2ND U.S.- ASEAN Leaders Meeting" 24 September 2010, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2010/09/24/joint-statement-2nd-us-asean-leaders-meeting>
- Toh, Amos, dkk, "Overseas Surveillance in an Interconnected World" *Brennan Center for Justice*, 16 Maret 2016, <https://www.brennancenter.org/publication/overseas-surveillance-interconnected-world>
- Tran, Mark, "Bush Signs Controversial Surveillance Bill", *The Guardian*, 6 Agustus 2007.
- U.S. Department of Defense, "Security Cooperation Agency", *Historical Facts Book*, September 2012, <http://www.dsca.mil/programs/biz-ops/factsbook/Historical%20Facts%20Book%20%2030%20Sep%202012.pdf>
- U.S. Department of State, "Background Note: Indonesia", *Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs*, Januari 2010, at <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2748.htm>
- \_\_\_\_\_, "United States-Indonesia Comprehensive Partnership," July 24, 2011, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2011/07/169001.htm>
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Indonesia-U.S. Third Joint Commission Meeting," September 20, 2012, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/09/197980.htm>
- Vaughn, Bruce dan Morrison, Wayne, "China-Southeast Asia Relations: Trends, Issues, and Implications for the United States". Weisbrot, Mark, "2016: When China Overtakes the US", *The Guardian*, 27 April 2011.
- Villasenor, John, "Why the NSA Leaks Will Lead to More Economic Espionage Against American Companies", *Brookings*, 11 Juni 2013, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/why-the-nsa-leaks-will-lead-to-more-economic-espionage-against-american-companies/>
- Watanabe, Tsuneo, "US Engagement Policy toward China", *The Tokyo Foundation for Policy Rerearch*, 31 Januari 2014, <http://www.tokyofoundation.org/en/articles/2014/us-engagement-policy-toward-china3>
- Watts, Jonathan, "NSA accused of spying on brazilian oil company Petrobras", *The Guardian*, 9 September 2013.
- Wolf, Naomi, "The New Totalitarianism of Surveillance Technology", *The Guardian*.
- "Asean Statistical Yearbook 2014", Asean Secretariat Jakarta, Juli 2015, <http://www.asean.org/storage/images/2015/July/ASEAN-Yearbook/July%202015%20-%20ASEAN%20Statistical%20Yearbook%202014.pdf>

- “Bos Nike Puas, Indonesia akan Jadi Basis Produksi Terbesar di Dunia”, *Detik Finance*, 9 April 2013, <https://finance.detik.com/industri/d-2215762/bos-nike-puas-indonesia-akan-jadi-basis-produksi-terbesar-di-dunia>
- “Fact Sheet: United States-Indonesia Relations”, *U.S. Embassy & Consulates in Indonesia*, <https://id.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/embassy-fact-sheets/fact-sheet-united-states-indonesia-relations/>
- “History of the U.S. and Indonesia” *U.S. Embassy & Consulates in Indonesia*, <https://id.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/>
- “Impor dan Ekspor AS-Asia” *Asia Matters for America*, <http://www.asiamattersforamerica.org/asia/data/trade/importexport>
- “Indonesia-United States Strategic Consultations on The Comprehensive Partnership” *Wikileaks*, [https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/09JAKARTA2081\\_a.html](https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/09JAKARTA2081_a.html)
- “Indonesia, China Demand US Answer Spy Allegations”, *Voanews*, 31 Oktober 2013, diakses dari <https://www.voanews.com/a/indonesia-china-demand-us-answer-spy-allegations/1780901.html>.
- “Is it Illegal to Spy on Indonesian Officials, as President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Claims?” 10 Desember 2013, diakses dari <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-12-03/yudhoyono-goes-too-far-on-legality-of-spying/5117318> (20 Maret 2018)
- “Joint Statement between the United States of America and the Republic of Indonesia” *White House*, 22 Oktober 2003, <https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/eap/rls/ot/25510.htm> (5 Januari 2018).
- “Joint Statement of the 3rd U.S.-ASEAN Leaders Meeting”, 18 November 2011, <https://asean.usmission.gov/joint-statement-of-the-3rd-u-s-asean-leaders-meeting/>
- “NSA spies on International Payments”, *Der Spiegel Exclusive*, 15 September 2013, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/spiegel-exclusive-nsa-spies-on-international-bank-transactions-a-922276.html>
- “Partners in Prosperity: U.S. Investment in Indonesia”, *AmCham Indonesia*, *USAID*, and *The U.S. Chamber of Commerce*, <http://www.aiccusa.org/IndonesiaInvestmentSurvey.pdf>
- “President Bush Meets with President Yudhoyono of Indonesia at APEC” *The White House*, 8 September 2007. Diakses dari <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2007/09/20070908-1.html>
- “Produk Domestik Bruto Indonesia” *Indonesia Investments*, 25 Maret 2018, <https://www.indonesia-investments.com/id/keuangan/angka-ekonomi-makro/produk-domestik-bruto-indonesia/item253?>
- “Report: NSA Collecting Domestic Phone Records”, *NPR Online*, 11 Mei 2006, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5398629>



- “Surveillance ‘Known to Indonesia’: Spy Expert”, *SBS News*, 2 November 2013, diakses dari <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/surveillance-known-to-indonesia-spy-expert>
- “The slides that show Australian attempts to monitor Yudhoyono's phone”, *The Guardian*, 18 November 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2013/nov/18/slides-australian-yudhoyono-phone-indonesia>
- “U.S. Department of Defense, Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2010”, *U.S. Department of Defense*, Washington, D.C, 2010.
- “U.S. Policy toward East Timor”, 12 November 1997. <https://etan.org/timor/uspolicy.htm>
- “U.S. Relation with Indonesia”, *U.S. Department of States*, 17 Januari 2017.
- “U.S. Imports and Exports to and from Indonesia”, *Embassy of The Republik of Indonesia*, Washington, DC, <http://www.embassyofindonesia.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/EXIM-2014-WEBSITE.pdf>
- “WTO to rule on U.S. clove cigarette ban-sources”, *Routers*, 20 July 2010, <https://uk.reuters.com/article/trade-cigarettes/wto-to-rule-on-u-s-clove-cigarette-ban-sources-idUKLDE66J1A520100720>
- “World Bank: Indonesia World’s 10th Largest Economy” *Jakarta Globe*, 4 Mei 2014. <http://jakartaglobe.id/archive/world-bank-indonesia-worlds-10th-largest-economy/>
- “Wyden, Udall Statement on The Disclosure of Bulk Email Records Collection Program”, Ron Wyden United States Senator for Oregon, 2 Juli 2013.
- “Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality of Southeast Asia (ZOPFAN) and Southeast Asia Nuclear Free Zone” Centre for International Law diakses dari [www.cil.nus.edu.sg](http://www.cil.nus.edu.sg)