UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Perubahan Strategi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Counterterrorism Amerika Serikat pada masa Pemerintahan Presiden Obama
ANINDITA MEIDYANTI P, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2016 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

Buckley, Marry and Fawn, Rick. (ed.). 2003. *Global Responses to Terrorism: 9/11, Afghanistan, and Beyond,* Routledge: New York

Collins, Joseph J. 2011. *Understanding War in Afghanistan,* National Defense University Press: Washington D.C

Cipto, Bambang. 2003. *Politik dan Pemerintahan Amerika,* Lingkaran Buku: Yogyakarta

Coplin, W. D. 1992. *Introduction to International Politics: a Theoretical Overview*, terjemahan Marsedes Marbun, *Pengantar Politik Internasional: Suatu Telaah Teoretis,* Sinar Baru: Bandung

Daalder, Ivo H. and Lindsay, James M.2003. *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*. Brookings Institution Press: Washington, D.C.

Dougherty, James E. & Pfaltzgraff Jr., Robert L.1990. *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey 3rd edition,* Harper & Row: New York

Gibson, H. 1944. *The Road to Foreign Policy,* Doubleday, Doran and Co: New York. dalam S. L. Roy. 1984. *Diplomasi.* Rajawali Press: Jakarta

Holsti, K.J.1988.*Politik Internasional: Kerangka untuk Analisis.*Erlangga: Jakarta

Kissinger, Henry.2002.*Does America Need a Foreign Policy? Toward a Diplomacy for the 21st Century,* Touchstone

Mahally, Abdul Halim.2003. *Membongkar Ambisi Global Amerika Serika.* Pustaka Sinar Harapan: Jakarta

Mahler, Gregory S. 1990. *Israel After Begin.* State University of New York Press: USA

Mas'oed, Mochtar.1991. *Studi Hubungan Internasional: Tingkat Analisis dan Teorisasi.* LP3ES: Jakarta

Moens, Alexander.2004.*The Foreign Policy of George W. Bush*.Ashgate Publishing Company: USA

Nye, Joseph S.2004.*Power in the Global Information Age: From Realism to Globalization.*Routledge: London

Nye, Joseph S.2007.*Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* Public Affairs: New York

Obama, Barack. 2008. *The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream,* Vintage Books: New York City

Rosenau, James N.1969.*International Politics and Foreign Policy: A Reader in Research and Theory*.The Free Press: New York

Rosenau, James N.*et.al.*,*World Politics: An Introduction.*The Free Press: New York

Russet, Bruce dan Starr, Harvey.1988.*World Politics: The Menu for Choice 2nd edition.*W.H. Freeman and Co: New York

Setiawati, Siti Muti'ah. *et.al.,* 2004. *Irak di bawah Kekuasaan Amerika: Dampaknya bagi stabilitas politik Timur-Tengah dan Reaksi (rakyat)*

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Perubahan Strategi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Counterterrorism Amerika Serikat pada masa Pemerintahan Presiden Obama
ANINDITA MEIDYANTI P, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2016 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Indonesi. Pusat Pengkajian Masalah Timur Tengah (PPMTT), Universitas Gadjah Mada: Yogyakarta

Singh R. & Buckley, Mary. 2006. *The Bush Doctrine and the War on Terrorism: Global respons, Global Consequences.* Routledge: New York

Viotti, P. R. & Kauppi, M. V. 1990. *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, and Globalism,* MacMillan: New York

Waldman, Tom. 2000. *The Best Guide to American Politics.* Renaissance Books: Los Angeles

Williams, Paul D.2012.*Security Studies: An Introduction*. Routledge: New York

Winarno, Budi.2014.*Dinamika Isu-isu Global Kontemporer*.CAPS (Centre of Academic Publishing Service): Yogyakarta

Wittkopf, Eugene R., Jones, Christopher M., and Kegley Jr., Charles W. 2008. *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process 7th edition*, Thomson Wadsworth: USA

Jurnal

Armitage, Richard L. and Nye Jr., Joseph S.2007. *CSIS Commission on Smart Power: A Smarter, More Secure America*, Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS): Washington, D.C

Badan Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Kebijakan Masalah Luar Negeri Departemen Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2003, *Penanganan Terorisme Internasional dan Perubahan Corak Politik Luar Negeri Amerika Serikat*, Pusat Kajian Wilayah Amerika Program Pascasarjana Universitas Indonesia

Baker, Nancy V. 2003. "The Impact of Antiterrorism Policies on Separation of Powers: Assessing John Ashcroft's Role", Presidential Studies Quarterly, Vol. 32, No. 4, December

Byers, Michael. "Terrorism: The Use of Force and International Law After 11 September", *International Relations Journal*, Vol. 6 No.2, Prentice Hall Inc.: New York

Calin, Costel. 2010. *Hawks versus Doves: The Influence of Political Ideology on the Foreign Policy Behavior of Democratic States*, The University of Tennessee

Damania, Siddharth. 2011. *The Perfect Storm: The Politics, Policies, and People of USA Patriot Act*, diakses dari http://web.stanford.edu/group/journal/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Damania_SocSci_2011.pdf pada tanggal 14 September 2016

Evera, Stephen Van. 2006. *Assessing U.S. Strategy in the War on Terror.* The Annals of the American Academy

Galal, Ashraf. Mahmoud Galander, Philip J. Auter. 2008. *The Image of United States Portrayed in Arab World Online Journalism*, University of Texas

Gupta, Sanjay.2008, "The Doctrine of Pre-emptive Strike: Application and Implications During the Administrative of President George W. Bush", International Political Science Review (2008), Vol. 29, No. 2, Sage Publications, Ltd.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Perubahan Strategi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Counterterrorism Amerika Serikat pada masa Pemerintahan Presiden Obama
ANINDITA MEIDYANTI P, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2016 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2007. *The U.S. Invasion of Iraq: Explanations and Implications.* Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 16 No. 3, Routledge: London

Hynek, Nik. 2009, "Continuity and Change in the U.S. Foreign and Security Policy with the Accession of President Obama", Institute of International Relations Policy Paper Prague/ August 2009

Ikenberry, G. J.2007."America's Imperial Ambition". dalam *American Foreign Policy Theoretical Essay 4th Ed,* W.W. Norton and Company Inc: New York

Indurthy, Rathnam. 2011. "The Obama's Administration Strategy in Afghanistan", International Journal on World Peace, Vol. 28, No. 3 (September 2011)

Kusuma, Arnold Arswenda. 2015. *Kebijakan Pemerintah Amerika Serikat dalam Mengatasi Gerakan Terorisme Internasional di Afghanistan*. eJournal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Volume 3, Nomor 3

Lee, Heajeong.2003.*The Bush Doctrine: A Critical Appraisal.*The Korean Journal of International Relations Vol.43 No.5

Leffler, Melvyn P. 2011. "9/11 in Retrospect: George W. Bush's Grand Strategy, Reconsidered". Foreign Affairs Volume 90 No. 5, September/October 2011

Levy, J. S.1994."Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping A Conceptual Minefield", *International Organization* Vol. 48 No. 2

Lieberfield, Daniel. 2005. *Theories of Conflict and the Iraq War.* International Journal of Peace Studies, Volume 10, Number 2, Autumn/Winter 2005

Lindsay, James M. 2011. "George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and the future of U.S Global Leadership", International Affairs Vol. 87 Issue 4

Maran, Rita. 2006. *'Detention and Torture in Guantanamo*', Social Justice Vol. 33, No. 4, (Social Justice/Global Options, 2006)

Nye, Joseph S.2010."The Future of American Power".*Foreign Affairs* November-Desember Volume 89 No.6

Nye, Joseph S. 2010. "The Future of Soft Power in US Foreign Policy". dalam Inderjeet Parmar & Michael Cox. 2010. *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy,* Routledge: New York

Pfiffner, James P. 2003. "George W. Bush: Policy, Politics, and Personality", The School of Public Policy George Mason University, diakses dari http://pfiffner.gmu.edu/files/pdfs/Book_Chapters/Bush%20Personality,%2004.pdf pada tanggal 8 Oktober 2016

Restad, Hilde Eliassen. 2012. *The War on Terror from Bush to Obama: On Power and Path Dependency,* Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

Tangredi, Sam J. 2002. "Assesing New Mission", dalam Hans Binnendijk (ed), *Transforming Americas Military,* National Defense University Press: Washington D.C.

Vercruyssen, Vincent.2013.*American Foreign Policy: The Bush and Obama Doctrine,*Washington Summer Seminar 2012-2013

Warsono. 2006. *Dampak Serangan World Trade Center terhadap Kinerja Pasar Modal Indonesia,* PROFESI, Vol. 10, No. 2, Mei 2006

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Perubahan Strategi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Counterterrorism Amerika Serikat pada masa Pemerintahan Presiden Obama
ANINDITA MEIDYANTI P, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2016 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Wulandari, Dewi Ayu .2015. *Agresi Amerika Serikat terhadap Irak Periode 2003-2010.* Journal of International Relations, Volume 1, Nomor 2, Universitas Diponegoro

Wong, Kam C. 2007. *The Impact of USA Patriot Act on American Society: An Evidence Based on Assesment*, Nova Science Publisher Inc.: New York

Woodward, Bob. 2002. *Bush at War*, Simon & Schuster: New York, diakses dari http://www.shemeam.com/pdf/BW-Bush-A-W.pdf pada tanggal 8 Oktober 2016

Artikel

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. 2010. 'From Hope to Audacity: Appraising Obama's Foreign Policy', Foreign Affairs, Vol. 89 No. 1 (January/February 2010)

Cutler, Leonard.2010. *Bush Vs. Obama Detainee Policy Post 9/11: An Assesment*, Air University (U.S) Press

Olive, David. 2008. *An American History: The Speeches of Barack Obama: a Primer*, ECW Press: Canada

Perl, Raphael. 2003. "Terrorism, The Future, and US Foreign Policy", Issue Brief for Congress

Website

Aljazeera, 2016, "Obama to Slow Pace of Afghanistan troop Withdrawal", diakses dari http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/07/obama-leave-8400-troops-afghanistan-160706144621883.html pada tanggal 29 September 2016

Amadeo, Kimberly. 2016. "How the 9/11 Attacks Still Affect the Economy today", diakses dari https://www.thebalance.com/how-the-9-11-attacks-still-affect-the-economy-today-3305536 pada tanggal 21 Oktober 2016

Bergen, Peter. 2012. 'Drone is Obama's Weapon of Choice', CNN International, diakses dari http://edition.cnn.com/2012/09/05/opinion/bergen-obama-drone/ pada tanggal 26 September 2016

Biddle, Stephen D. *et.al.*, 2010, "Obama's NSS: Promise and Pitfalls", diakses dari http://www.cfr.org/world/obamas-nss-promise-pitfalls/p22240 pada tanggal 20 September 2016

Biography.com. 2015. "George W. Bush Biography", diakses dari http://www.biography.com/people/george-w-bush-9232768#early-life pada tanggal 7 Oktober 2016

Coggins, Eric. 2016. "President Barack Obama's Leadership Styles", diakses dari https://toughnickel.com/business/Barack-Obamas-Leadership-Styles pada tanggal 15 Oktober 2016

DePietro, Andrew. 2016. "Ways 9/11 Impacted the U.S Economy", diakses dari https://www.gobankingrates.com/personal-finance/ten-years-after-economic-impacts-9-11/ pada tanggal 24 Oktober 2016

Dugan, Andrew. 2015. "Fewer in U.S. View Iraq, Afghanistan Wars as Mistakes", diakses dari http://www.gallup.com/poll/183575/fewer-view-iraq-afghanistan-wars-mistakes.aspx pada tanggal 26 Oktober 2016

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Perubahan Strategi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Counterterrorism Amerika Serikat pada masa Pemerintahan Presiden Obama
ANINDITA MEIDYANTI P, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2016 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

DW.com, 2009, "Presiden Obama: Penarikan Pasukan AS dari Irak Tahun 2010", diakses dari http://www.dw.com/id/presiden-obama-penarikan-pasukan-as-dari-irak-tahun-2010/a-4063307 pada tanggal 28 September 2016

Feaver, Peter. 2010. "Obama's National Security Strategy: Real Change or just 'Bush Lite?'", diakses dari http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/05/27/obamas-national-security-strategy-real-change-or-just-bush-lite/ pada tanggal 25 Oktober 2016

George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum, "The President and Family: George W. Bush", diakses dari http://www.georgewbushlibrary.smu.edu/The-President-and-Family/George-W-Bush.aspx pada tanggal 07 Oktober 2016

History. "George W. Bush", diakses dari http://www.history.com/topics/us-presidents/george-w-bush pada tanggal 07 Oktober 2016

Hughes, Dana 2013, "US Drone Strikes in Pakistan are Illegal, Says UN Terrorism Official", ABCNews, diakses dari http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2013/03/us-drone-strikes-in-pakistan-are-illegal-says-un-terrorism-official/ pada tanggal 27 September 2016

Holsti, Ole R. "Theories of International Relations", diakses dari http://people.duke.edu/~pfeaver/holsti.pdf pada tanggal 9 Oktober 2016

Holzman, Todd. 2009. "Obama Seeks 'New Beginning' with Muslim World", diakses dari http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=104891406 pada tanggal 20 September 2016

International, Zogby. 2006. "5 Nation Survey of the Middle East", Arab American Institute, diakses dari https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/aai/pages/9757/attachments/original/1431961503/5NationSurveyMiddleEast_2006.pdf?1431961503 pada tanggal 21 Oktober 2016

Manan, Abdul. 2013. "Sejarah Ringkas Penjara Guantanamo, Kuba", diakses dari https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2013/05/06/118478160/sejarah-ringkas-penjara-guantanamo-kuba pada tanggal 22 Agustus 2016

Mardell, Mark. 2012. "White House in First Detailed Comments on Drone Strikes", BBC News, diakses dari http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-17901400 pada tanggal 27 September 2016

Obama, Barack. 2007. *'Renewing American Leadership'*, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 4 (July/August 2007), diakses dari https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2007-07-01/renewing-american-leadership pada tanggal 14 September 2016

Sari, Amanda Puspita. 2014. "Guantanamo: dari Tanah Sewa ke Penjara", diakses dari http://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20141208203042-134-16778/guantanamo-dari-tanah-sewa-ke-penjara/ pada tanggal 06 September 2016

Savage, Charlie. dan Davis, Julie Hirschfeld. 2016. "Obama Sends Plan to Close Guantanamo to Congress", diakses dari http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/24/us/politics/obama-guantanamo-bay.html?_r=0 pada tanggal 29 September 2016

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Perubahan Strategi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Counterterrorism Amerika Serikat pada masa Pemerintahan Presiden Obama
ANINDITA MEIDYANTI P, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2016 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Stratfor Global Intelligence, 2012, "Armed UAV Operations 10 Years On", diakses dari https://www.stratfor.com/weekly/armed-uav-operations-10-years pada tanggal 30 September 2016

Syafputri, Ella. 2014. "Amerika Tinggalkan Afghanistan Akhir 2016", diakses dari http://www.antaranews.com/berita/436312/amerika-tinggalkan-afghanistan-akhir-2016 pada tanggal 29 September 2016

The New York Times, 2013, "Obama's Speech on Drone's Policy", diakses dari http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/24/us/politics/transcript-of-obamas-speech-on-drone-policy.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1& pada tanggal 27 September 2016

"Biografi Barack Obama", diakses dari https://duniapustaka2.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/biografi-barack-obama.pdf pada tanggal 13 Oktober 2016

"Jihad against Jews and Crusaders: World Islamic Front Statement", diakses dari http://fas.org/irp/world/para/docs/980223-fatwa.htm pada tanggal 05 September 2016

"Military Order-Detention, Treatment, and Trial of Certain Non-Citizens in the War Against Terrorism", Administration of George W. Bush, 2001, diakses dari https://www.law.cornell.edu/background/warpower/fr1665.pdf pada tanggal 22 Agustus 2016

"War in Afghanistan (2001-present)", diakses dari http://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/War-in-Afghanistan-2001-Present.pdf pada tanggal 05 September 2016

Dokumen Resmi

Biro Program Informasi Internasional Departemen Luar Negeri AS. 2005. *Garis Besar Sejarah Amerika Serikat*

Bureau of International Information Programs United States Department of State, "Barack Obama the 44th President of the United States" p. 2, diakses dari http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/media/pdf/books/obamaen.pdf pada tanggal 14 Oktober 2016

Department of Justice, "The USA PATRIOT ACT: Preserving Life and Liberty", diakses dari https://www.justice.gov/archive/ll/what_is_the_patriot_act.pdf pada tanggal 22 Agustus 2016

Garunay, Melanie. 2016. "President Obama Presents the Plan to Close Guantanamo: 'This is About Closing a Chapter in History", diakses dari https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2016/02/23/president-obamas-plan-close-guantanamo-about-closing-chapter-history pada tanggal 30 September 2016

Haddam, Anwar N. 2009. "The Obama Administration: Engaging the Muslim World with a new mindset – Challenges and Opportunities", Presented at the CSID 10th Convention: Washington D.C, may 5th 2009, diakses dari https://www.csidonline.org/documents/pdf/Anwar_Haddam_Obama_Administration_CSID_Conference.pdf pada tanggal 21 Oktober 2016

Katzman, Kenneth. 2013. *Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security, and U.S Policy,* Congressional Research Service Report

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Perubahan Strategi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Counterterrorism Amerika Serikat pada masa Pemerintahan Presiden Obama
ANINDITA MEIDYANTI P, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2016 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

National Strategy for Counterterrorism, 2011, p. 1, diakses dari https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism_strategy.pdf pada tanggal 21 September 2016

Office of Homeland Security, 2002, *National Strategy for Homeland Security*, diakses dari https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/nat-strat-hls-2002.pdf pada tanggal 01 September 2016

Pew Research Center, 2008, "Global Public Opinion in the Bush Years: America's Image: Muslims and Westerns; Global Economy; Rise of China", diakses dari http://www.pewglobal.org/2008/12/18/global-public-opinion-in-the-bush-years-2001-2008/ pada tanggal 24 Oktober 2016

Phillips, Macon. 2009. "President Barack Obama's Inaugural Address", diakses dari https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2009/01/21/president-barack-obamas-inaugural-address pada tanggal 20 September 2016

Relyea, Harold C.2005. "Terrorist Attacks and National Emergencies Act Declarations". CRS Report for Congress. The Library of Congress

The American Presidency Project. 2001. "George W. Bush, Executive Order 13239-Designation of Afghanistan and the Airspace Above as a combat zone", diakses dari http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=61520 pada tanggal 22 Agustus 2016

The Bureau, 2011, 'The Bush Years: Pakistan Strikes 2004-2009', The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, diakses dari https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/2011/08/10/the-bush-years-2004-2009/ pada tanggal 27 September 2016

"The National Security Strategy of the United States of America", diakses dari http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf pada tanggal 24 Agustus 2016

The Secretary of Defense. 2003. "Memorandum for The President, Subject: Extension of the Declaration of National Emergency in Proclamation 7463", diakses dari http://library.rumsfeld.com/doclib/sp/2991/2003-08-08%20to%20President%20George%20W%20Bush%20re%20Extension%20of%20Declaration%20of%20National%20Emergency%20in%20Proclamation%207463.pdf pada tanggal 22 Agustus 2016

The White House.2009.*Remarks by The President at Cairo University 06-04-2009,* diakses dari https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-cairo-university-6-04-09 pada tanggal 9 Desember 2015

The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 2009, "Remarks by the President at the Acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize", diakses dari https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-acceptance-nobel-peace-prize pada tanggal 27 September 2016

The White House. 2009. "President Obama's Speech in Cairo: A New Beginning", diakses dari https://www.whitehouse.gov/files/documents/anewbeginning/SPEECH_as_delivered-Indonesian.pdf pada tanggal 28 September 2016

White House. 2009. "Sambutan Presiden kepada Bangsa tentang langkah maju di Afghanistan dan Pakistan", diakses dari https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/091201-obama-afghanistan-speech-indonesian.pdf pada tanggal 05 September 2016

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Perubahan Strategi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Counterterrorism Amerika Serikat pada masa Pemerintahan Presiden Obama
ANINDITA MEIDYANTI P, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2016 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

White House Government,2010,*National Security Strategy*, diakses dari https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf pada tanggal 26 Oktober 2016

Whitehouse.org, 2010, "Overview of National Security Strategy", dalam National Security Strategy, diakses dari https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf pada tanggal 20 September 2016

Karya Ilmiah

Gita, I Gede Armyn.2012.*Analisis Smart Power dalam Strategi Militer Amerika Serikat Melawan Al-Qaeda (2009-2012)* [Tesis].Universitas Indonesia: Jakarta

Wildan, 2012, *Strategi Pencitraan Diri Presiden Amerika Serikat, Studi Kasus: Barack Hussein Obama pada Pemilihan Presiden 2008,* [Skripsi], Universitas Indonesia: Depok