

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abu Ulya, Harits. *Terorisme (Mengeja Akar dan Realitas Penindakannya di Indonesia)*. Diupload pada 29 Oktober 2013. Diakses dari [hati.unit.itb.ac.id/2013/10/29/terorisme-mengeja-akar-dan-realitas-penindakannya-di-indonesia](http://hati.unit.itb.ac.id/2013/10/29/terorisme-mengeja-akar-dan-realitas-penindakannya-di-indonesia), pada 8:21 AM 10/18/2016.
- Abu Ulya, Harits. *Densus 88 Menebar Teror Paska Bom Mapolres Poso*. Diupload pada 11 Juni 2013. Diakses dari <http://www.m.voa-islam.com/news/intelligent/2013/06/11/25417/ciia-indonesia-telah-berubah-menjadi-state-terrorism>, pada 6:36 PM 10/18/2016.
- Abu Ulya, Harits. *Teror Paris Untuk Apa?* Diupload pada 15 November 2015. Diakses dari <http://www.alhikmah.co/2015/11/15/teror-paris-untuk-apa>, pada 8:27 PM 10/18/2016.
- Adam W. Sukarno. "Dilema Peliputan Terorisme dan Pergeseran Pola Framing Berita Terorisme di Media Massa". *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* Volume 14, Nomor 3, Maret 2011. Pp 333-348.
- Adiong, Nassef M. *Securitization: Understanding Its Process in the Field of International Relations*. Paper diseminarkan dalam "Special Problems and Topics in International Security (Intl Stud 267 - WNOP)" pada 25 Maret 2009.
- Aditjondro, George J. "Ninjas, Nanggalas, Monuments, nad Mossad Manuals: An Anhropology of Indonesian State Terror in East Timor". Dalam Sluka, Jeffrey A. (ed). *Death Squad: The Anthropology of State Terrorism*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. Pp. 158-188.
- Allard, Tom. *Australia Paying Troops Who 'Torture'*. Diupload pada 13 September 2010. Diakses dari <http://www.smh.com.au/world/australia-paying-troops-who-torture-20100912-1571d.html>, pada 7:31 PM 10/17/2016.
- Altheide, David L. *Terrorism and the Politics of Fear*. Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2006.
- Bagdikian, Ben H. *The New Media Monopoly*. Massachussets: Beacon Press, 2004.
- Ballard, Richard. *The Unseen Terror: The French Revolution in the Provinces*. London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010.
- Balzacq, Thierry (ed). *Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge ada Dissolve*. London and New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Barnett, Thomas P. M. *Blueprint For Action: A Future Worth Creating*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2005.



- Barsamian, David. *Interview with John Pilger*. Diupload pada November 2002. Diakses dari: <http://www.progressive.org/nov02/intv1102.html>, pada 7:19 PM 10/19/2016.
- Becker, Tal. *Terrorism and the State: Rethinking the Rules of State Responsibility*. Oregon: Hart Publishing, 2006.
- Bernays, Edward L. *Propaganda*. Brooklyn, New York: Ig Publishing, 2005.
- Berridge, G. R. dan Lloyd, Lorna. *The Palgrave macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy*. Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Blakeley, Ruth. "Bringing the State Back into Terrorism Studies." *European Political*, 2007. Pp 228-253.
- Blakeley, Ruth. *State Terrorism and Neoliberalism: The North in the South*. Oxon: Routledge, 2009.
- Byman, Daniel L. *The Changing Nature of State Sponsorship of Terrorism*. Paper Analisis No. 16, Mei 2008. The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, 2008.
- Chomsky, Noam. *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002.
- Christopher Williams. 2004. "Populism". Dalam Millar, James R. (ed in chief). 2004. *Encyclopedia of Russian History*. MacMillan Reference USA, 2004.
- Clark, J. Ransom. *Intelligence and National Security: A Reference Handbook*. Connecticut, London: Praeger Security International, 2007.
- Copeland, Thomas. *Fool Me Twice: Intelligence Failure and Mass Casualty Terrorism*. Leiden/Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007.
- Cribb, Robert. "From Petrus to Ninja: Death Squads in Indonesia." Dalam Campbell, Bruce B., and Arthur D. Brenner,. *Death Squads in Global Perspectives: Murder with Deniability*. London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000. Pp 181-202.
- Dolinec, Vladimir. *The Role of Mass Media in the Securitization Process of International Terrorism*. Diakses dari [www.politicevedy.fpv.mv.umb.sk](http://www.politicevedy.fpv.mv.umb.sk), tidak berangkat tahun.
- Donsbach, Wolfgang. *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*. MA, Oxford, Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2008.
- Durodie, Bill. "Securitising Education To Prevent Terrorism Or Losing Direction?" dalam *British Journal of Educational Studies* 64 (1), 2016. Pp. 21-35.



- Ganser, D. *NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe*. London: Frank Cass, 2004.
- Goodin, Robert E. *What's Wrong with Terrorism?* Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press, 2006.
- Griffiths, Martin, Terry O'Callaghan, dan Steven C. Roach. *International Relations: The Key Concepts, 2nd edn*. London, New York: Routledge, 2008. Pp. 199-202.
- Güss, C. D., Foust, A. dan Dörner, D. "Fear of Suicide Terrorism: Consequences for Individuals and Politics". Dalam Sinclair, S. J. and Antonius, D. (ed.) *The Political Psychology of Terrorism Fears*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp 107-124.
- Hendropriyono. *Dari Terorisme Sampai Konflik TNI-Polri*. Jakarta: Kompas, 2013.
- Heryanto, Ariel. *State Terrorim and Political Identity in Indonesia: Fatally Belonging*. London, New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Heryanto, Ariel. *Terorisme Negara*. Majalah Tempo edisi 22 Januari 2006. Diakses dari <http://arielheryanto.wordpress.com> pada 2:47 PM 10/18/2016.
- Indrahsi, Yulia. "Melawan Terorisme Melalui Sosialisasi Pendidikan." *Info Singkat Kesejahteraan Sosial* Vol. VIII, No. 02/II/P3DI/Januari/2016. Diakses dari [http://berkas.dpr.go.id/puslit/files/info\\_singkat/Info%20Singkat-VIII-2-II-P3DI-Januari-2016-29.pdf](http://berkas.dpr.go.id/puslit/files/info_singkat/Info%20Singkat-VIII-2-II-P3DI-Januari-2016-29.pdf). Pp. 9-12.
- Jackson, Richard. "The Ghosts of State Terror: Knowledge, Politics and Terrorism Studies." *International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference*. San Fransisco, 2008.
- Jackson, Richard, Smyth, Marie Breen dan Gunning, Jeromen (ed). *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*. London, New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Jackson, Richard, Eamon Murphy, and Scott Poynting. *Contemporary State Terrorism: Theory and Practice*. Oxon: Routledge, 2010.
- Jackson, Richard, "The Study of Terrorism 10 Years After 9/11: Successes, Issues, Challenges", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Volume 8, No 32 (Winter 2012). Pp. 1-16.
- Jenkins, Brian Michael. *The Study of Terrorism: Definitional Problems*. Available at: <http://www.rand.org>, 1960.



- Kahin, Audrey. *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia* (3rd Ed). Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefiels, 2015. P 374.
- Kamassa, Fransminggi. *Terorisme: Kebijakan Kontra Terorisme Indonesia*. Yogyakarta, Graha Ilmu, 2015.
- Knottnerus, Abel S. "International Law and the Use of Armed Force by states". Dalam Koch, Bettina. *State Terror, State Violence: Global Perspective*. Springer VS, 2016. Pp. 13-30.
- Kushner, Harvey W. *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2003.
- Laqueur, Walter. *New Terrorism: Fanatisme dan Senjata Pemusnah Massal* (Terj). Yogyakarta: Juxtapose & Kreasi Wacana, 2005.
- Laqueur, Walter. *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Lavelle, William Anthony. *State-Terrorism and the Death Squad: A Study of the Phenomenon*. A thesis submitted to California State University, 1992.
- Lim, Merlyna. *Islamic Radicalism and Anti-Americanism in Indonesia: The Role of the Internet*. Washington: East-West Center Washington, 2005.
- Lim, Merlyna. *League of 13: Media Concentration in Indonesia*. Diupload pada 21 Februari 2012. Diakses dari <http://www.merlyna.org/2012/02/21/league-of-13-media-concentration-in-indonesia>, pada 6:07 PM 10/16/2016.
- Maulani, Z. A. *Perang Afghanistan: Perang Menegakkan Hegemoni Amerika di Asia Tengah*. Jakarta: Dalancang Setra, 2002.
- McCulloch Jackson, Richard, Eamon Murphy, and Scott Poynting. *Contemporary State Terrorism: Theory and Practice*. Oxon: Routledge, 2010.
- Merari, Ariel. "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency." *Journal Terrorism and Political Violence* Vol 5. No 4, 1993: 213-251.
- Mubarok dan Madrah, Muna. *Stigma Media dan Terorisme*. Banda Aceh: Bandar Publishing, 2012.
- Patria, Nezar (Ed). *Reformasi Sektor Keamanan: Panduan Untuk Jurnalis*. Jakarta: IDSPS, AJI, Friedrich Efbert Stiftung (FES), 2008.
- Perl, Raphael. 2003. *Terrorism, the Future and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Available at: <http://www.congress.gov>.
- Pipes, Daniel. *Conspiracy: How the Paranoid Style Flourishes and Where it Comes From*. New York, The Free Press, 1997.



- Poynting, Scott dan Whyte, David (ed). *Counter-Terrorism and State Political Violence: The 'war on terror' as terror*. Oxon: Routledge, 2012.
- Raviv, Dan dan Melman, Yossi. *Every Spy a Prince: The Complete History of Israel's Intelligence Community*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990.
- Schmid, Alex P. (ed). *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism*. Oxon: Routledge, 2011.
- Schmid, Alex P. "Frameworks For Conceptualising Terrorism" *Journal Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16:2, Pp 197-221, DOI: 10.1080/09546550490483134.
- Sebastian, L. C. "The Indonesian Dilemma: How to Participate in the War on Terror Without Becoming a National Security State". Dalam Ramakrishna, K. dan See Seng Tan (ed.) *After Bali: The Threat of Terrorism in Southeast Asia*. Nanyang and Toh Tuck Link: Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies and World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd, 2003. Pp. 357-381.
- Second commentary by George W. Bush. Diakses dari: [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/onpolitics/transcripts/bushtext2\\_091101.htm](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/onpolitics/transcripts/bushtext2_091101.htm). pada 11:30 AM 10/14/2016.
- Silke, Andrew. "The Road Less Travelled: Recent Trends in Terrorism Research." Dalam Silke, Andrew (ed). *Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements & Failures*. London, Portland: Frank Cass, 2004. Pp. 186-213.
- Stohl, Michael. "States, Terrorism and State Terrorism: The Role of the Superpowers" dalam Slater, Robert O. dan Stohl, Michael (ed). *Current Perspectives on International Terrorism*. London: Macmillan Press, 1988. Pp. 155-205.
- Suradji, Adjie. *Terorisme*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 2005.
- Tanter, Richard. *Briefing Note: The Return of Indonesian State Terror? Australian Involvement in Police and Military Torture*. Diupload pada 15 September 2010. Diakses dari <http://www.nautilus.org/apsnet/briefing-note-the-return-of-indonesian-state-terror-australian-involvement-in-police-and-military-torture>, pada 9:17 PM 10/14/2016.
- Taufiq, Muhammad. *Terorisme Demokrasi 2: Sensus & Terorisme Negara*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2016.
- The Washington Post. *Bush Announces Strikes Against Taliban*. Diupload pada 7 Oktober 2001. Diakses dari: [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nations/special/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress\\_100801.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nations/special/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress_100801.html)

- The Washington Post. *Joint Resolution of Congress Authorizing Use of Force*. Diupload pada 15 September 2001. Diakses dari: [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nations/special/attacked/transcripts/jointresolution\\_091401.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nations/special/attacked/transcripts/jointresolution_091401.html)
- The Washington Post.. *Bush on Bringing bin Laden to Justice*. Diupload pada 17 September 2001. Diakses dari: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nations/special/attacked/transcripts/bush091701.html>
- Thontowi, Jawahir. *Terorisme Negara: Kerjasama Konspiratif Menjinakkan Islam Fundamental*. Yogyakarta: UII Press, 2013.
- Transnational Terrorism, Security and Rule of Law. “*Defining Terrorism:*” WP 3. 1 Oktober 2008. <http://www.transnationalterrorism.eu>,
- UN Press Release. *Council Calls on All States to Bring Perpetrators to Justice*. Diupload pada 12 September 2001. Diakses dari <http://www.un.org/press/en/2001/SC7143.doc.htm>
- UN Press Release. *Security Council Unanimously Adopts Wide-Ranging Anti-Terrorism Resolution’ Calls for Suppressing Financing, Improving International Cooperation*. Diupload pada 28 September 2001. Diakses dari <http://www.un.org/press/en/2001/sc7158.doc.htm>
- Wasserman, Edward. *The Post-9/11 Decline of Media Independence*. Diupload pada 29 Agustus 2011. Diakses dari: <http://ewasserman.com/2011/08/29/the-post-911-decline-of-media-independence/> pada 10:20 PM 10/14/2016.
- Westra, Laura. *Faces of State Terrorism*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Wibisono, Ali Abdullah. *Securitisation of Terrorism in Indonesia*. PhD Thesis University of Nottingham. Diakses dari <http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/292289/1/Thesis%20Ali%20Wibisono%20-%20Final.pdf>, 2015.
- William M. Wise. *Indonesia’s War on Terror*. The United States–Indonesia Society, 2005.
- Wirosoebroto, Jussac M. R. *The Truth About East Timor: Notes and Analysis About the Decolonization of Portugal’s Last Colonial Outpost in the East*. 1976. Materi tidak diterbitkan.
- Wong, Kam C. *The Impact of USA Patriot Act On American Society: An Evidence Based Assessment*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc, 2007.
- Wuryandari, dkk. *Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia dan Isu Terorisme Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2014.



XiaLin, Maurice. "*Densus 88*" *Indonesia's Heroes or Death Squad*. Diupload pada 18 April 2016. Diakses dari <http://www.theglobalquorum.com/2016/04/18/densus-88-indonesias-heroes-or-death-squad/amp/> pada 10:19 AM 10/21/2016.

Yamin, Muhammad dan Matengkar, Sebastian. *Intelijen Indonesia: Towards Professional Intelligence*. Jakarta Selatan: IRSC dan LPPBHI, 2006.