

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- Bachrach dan Baratz. "Decisions and Nondecisions: An Analytical Framework". *American Political Science Review*. September, 1963: 632-642.
- Bakry, Umar Suryadi. 2016. *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Barston, R.P. 2014. *Modern Diplomacy: Fourth Edition*. London: Routledge.
- Berg, Andrew. "The Asia Crisis: Causes, Policy Responses, and Outcomes". *IMF Working Paper*. 1999.
- Bodgan, Robert. 2005. *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
- Clarke, D. "Cultural Diplomacy". *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*.  
<https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-543>
- Cummings, M.C. 2003. *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey*. Washington D.C.: Center for Arts and Culture.
- Djajasudarma, T. F. 2006. *Metode Linguistik Ancangan Metode Penelitian dan Kajian*. Bandung: PT. Eresco.
- Effendi, Tonny Dian. 2011. *Diplomasi Publik Jepang: Perkembangan dan Tantangan*. Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia.
- Goff, Patricia, M. 2013. "Cultural Diplomacy". *Oxford Handbook Online*.  
10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199588862.013.0024
- Haar, Edwin van de. 2009. *Classical Liberalism and International Relations Theory*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Herlambang, Wijaya. 2013. *Kekerasan Budaya Pasca 1965*. Jakarta: Marjin Kiri.

- International Educational Exchange Service. 1959. *Cultural diplomacy*. Washington, DC. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951d035623983&view=1up&seq=1>
- Jamil, Arya Hamsul. 2017. "Kebijakan Luar Negeri Amerika Serikat Terhadap Counter-Terrorism Pada Masa Kepemimpinan Obama". *JOM FISIP*, Vol. 4, No. 2.
- Kim, M., & Knuckey, J. O. 2021. "Trump and US soft power". *Policy Studies*.
- Kivimaki, Tomo. 2000. "U.S.—Indonesian Relations During the Economic Crisis: Where Has Indonesia's Bargaining Power Gone?". *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 22, No. 3.
- Kuhn, Thomas S. 1996. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 3rd Ed.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lenczowski, J. 2007. "Cultural Diplomacy, Political Influence, and Integrated Strategy" in *Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counterpropaganda, and Political Warfare*. Washington: Institute of World Politics Press.
- Lutter, Kadri. 2015. "Soft Power and Cultural Exchange: the Obama Administration and the Impact of U.S. Public Diplomacy on the Beliefs of Estonians". Honors Theses.
- Meiser, Jeffrey W. 2017. *International Relations Theory*. Bristol: E-International Relations Publishing.
- Moleong, Lexy J. 2013. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Edisi Revisi*. Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 2003. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics". *International Organization*, Vol. 51, Issue 4.

- Noland, Marcus. 2019. "Protectionism under Trump: The China Shock, Intolerance, and the 'First White President'". *Peterson Institute For International Economics*.
- Nugraha, Aryanta. "Moderate Islam as New Identity in Indonesian Foreign Policy: Between Global Role Aspiration and Co-Religious Solidarity". *JICSA, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2012*.
- Nye, Joseph. 1990. *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books.
- Nye, Joseph. 1990. "Soft Power". *Foreign Policy, Autumn, No. 80*.
- Nye, Joseph. 2004. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Nye, Joseph. 2021. "Soft power: the origins and political progress of a concept". *Palgrave Communication, Vol 1*.
- Nye, Joseph. 2021. "Soft power: the evolution of a concept". *Journal of Political Power*.
- Nygaard dan Gates. 2013. "Soft power at home and abroad: Sport diplomacy, politics and peace-building". *International Area Studies Review, 16(3)*.
- Ohnesorge, Hendrik. W. 2009. *Soft Power: The Forces of Attraction in International Relations*. Cham: Springer Nature.
- Omar, Baqueiro. 2017. "Mexico's Cultural Diplomacy: Analysis of its impact on development and what constitutes an effective strategy". Master's Thesis. Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication.
- Panikkar KM. 1957. *The Principle and Practice of Diplomacy*. Bombay.
- Pajtinka, Erik. 2014. "Cultural Diplomacy in Theory and Practice of Contemporary International Relations". *Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations, Politické Vedy, 17(4)*.

- Ransom, David. 2006. *Mafia Berkeley dan Pembunuhan Massal di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Koalisi Anti Utang.
- Rugh, William. 2014. *Front Line Public Diplomacy: How US Embassies Communicate with Foreign Publics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Schéré, Elizabeth. "Soft Power - The Underestimated Strategy for Global Influence". *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs: Critical Intersections in Foreign Policy*. Summer 2021, Vol 45.
- Simon, Mark. 2008. "A Comparative Study of the Cultural Diplomacy of Canada, New Zealand and India". Thesis. The University of Auckland.
- Smith, Anthony L., "A Glass Half Full: Indonesia-U.S. Relations in the Age of Terror", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 2003.
- Susetyo, Benny. 2005. *Politik Pendidikan Penguasa*. Yogyakarta: LKIS Pelangi Aksara.
- Tulus Warsito dan Wahyuni Kartikasari. 2007. *Diplomasi Kebudayaan Dalam Konsep dan Relevansi Bagi Negara Berkembang: Studi Kasus Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Upe, Damsyid Ambo. 2010. *Asas-Asas Multiple Researches: Dari Normam K.Denzim Hingga John W. Creswell dan Penerapannya*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Tiara Wacana.

### **Jurnal**

- Ahmad Rizky Mardhatillah Umar. 2016. "A Genealogy of Moderate Islam: Governmentality and Discourses of Islam in Indonesia's Foreign Policy". *Studia Islamika*. Vol 23 (3).
- Andrew Moravcsik. 2003. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics". *International Organization*. Vol. 51, Issue 4.

- Anthony L. Smith. 2003. "A Glass Half Full: Indonesia-U.S. Relations in the Age of Terror". *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Vol. 25, No. 3.
- Arya Hamsul Jamil. 2017. "Kebijakan Luar Negeri Amerika Serikat Terhadap Counter-Terrorism Pada Masa Kepemimpinan Obama". *JOM FISIP*. Vol. 4, No. 2.
- Aryani, dkk. 2020. "Diplomasi Gamelan di Australia". *Global & Policy*. Vol. 8, No. 1.
- Aryanta Nugraha. 2012. "Moderate Islam as New Identity in Indonesian Foreign Policy: Between Global Role Aspiration and Co-Religious Solidarity". *JICSA*. Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Bachrach dan Baratz. 1963. "Decisions and Nondecisions: An Analytical Framework". *American Political Science Review*. Hal. 632-642.
- Cianflone, dkk. 2007. "Anatomy of a Terrorist Attack: An in-Depth Investigation into the 2002 Bali, Indonesia, Bombings". *Ridgway Center Student Papers*. Issue 14.
- Diana Mutiara Bahari. 2022. "The Comparison of the United States Foreign Policy Against The Islamic World Under Presiden Barack Obama and President Donald Trump's Administration". *Journal of Islamic World and Politics*. Vol. 6, No. 2, Desember.
- Elizabeth Schéré. 2021. "Soft Power - The Underestimated Strategy for Global Influence". *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs: Critical Intersections in Foreign Policy*. Vol 45.
- Evi Fitriani. 2017. "The Trump Presidency and Indonesia: Challenges and Opportunities". *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Vol. 39, No. 1.
- James B. Hoesterey. 2020. "Islamic Soft Power in the Age of Trump: Public Diplomacy and Indonesian Mosque Communities in America". *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*.

- John W. McDonald. 2012. "The Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy". *Journal of Conflictology*. Vol. 3, Issue 2.
- Kim, M., & Knuckey, J. O. 2021. "Trump and US soft power". *Policy Studies*.
- Mark L. Simon. 2010. "Rethinking cultural diplomacy: The cultural diplomacy of New Zealand, the Canadian Federation and Quebec", *Political Science*. Vol (62) 1.
- Notter, J., & Diamond, L. 1996. "Building peace and transforming conflict: Multi-track diplomacy in practice". *Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy*.
- Nygaard dan Gates. 2013. "Soft power at home and abroad: Sport diplomacy, politics and peace-building". *International Area Studies Review*. Vol 16 (3).
- Erik Patjinka. 2014. "Cultural Diplomacy in Theory and Practice of Contemporary International Relations. *Politické Vedy*. Vol 17 (4), hal. 103-106.
- Tomo Kivimaki. 2000. "U.S.—Indonesian Relations During the Economic Crisis: Where Has Indonesia's Bargaining Power Gone?". *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Vol. 22, No. 3.