

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Achroni, Keen. *Jokowi Memimpin dengan Hati*. 1 ed. Jogjakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2017.
- Akbar, Yonarisman Muhammad. "Ukraine - Russia, G20 Summit, and Indonesia's Presidency Challenge." *Open Access Indonesia Journal of Social Sciences* 7, no. 4 (April 17, 2024): 1572–1580. <https://www.journalsocialsciences.com/index.php/oaijs/article/view/246>.
- Andika, Muhammd Tri. "An Analysis of Indonesia Foreign Policy Under Jokowi's Pro-People Diplomacy." *Indonesian Perspective* 1, no. 2 (2016).
- Antara. "Russia-Ukraine war and the Indonesian peace mission." *Antara News*, 2022. <https://en.antaranews.com/news/237153/russia-ukraine-war-and-the-indonesian-peace-mission>.
- Arifin, Saru. "Joko Widodo's 'Bebas-Aktif' Foreign Policy Approach: Continuity and Change." *Muslim Politics Review* 2, no. 2 (Desember 22, 2023): 318–340. <https://journal.uiii.ac.id/index.php/mpr/article/view/205>.
- AS, Bojang. "The Study of Foreign Policy in International Relations." *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs* 06, no. 04 (2018).
- Balmforth, Richard, dan Gabriela Baczynska. "EU suspends trade talks with Ukraine, crowds rally against government." *Reuters*. Last modified 2013. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSL6N0JU0BV/>.
- Bland, Ben. *Man of Contradiction: Joko Widodo and the Struggle to Remake Indonesia*. Penguin Group Australia, 2020.
- Budiana, Muhammad. "Analysis of Indonesia's Foreign Policy during President Jokowi." *Jurnal Mantik* 6, no. 3 (2022): 3564–3570. <https://iocscience.org/ejournal/index.php/mantik/article/view/3265>.
- Cahill, Ben. "European Union Imposes Partial Ban on Russian Oil." *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, 22M. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/european-union-imposes-partial-ban-russian-oil>.
- Creswell, J.W. & Creswell, J.D. *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. SAGE Publications Inc. Vol. 1, 2018.
- Darwis, ., dan Bama Andika Putra. "The Decline of Indonesia's Leadership Role in ASEAN: Systemic and Domestic Constraints of Jokowi's Foreign Policy Alterations." *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 11, no. 1 (Januari 3, 2022): 115. <https://www.richtmann.org/journal/index.php/ajis/article/view/12756>.
- Demir, Sertif. "The 2022 Russia-Ukraine war: reasons and impacts." *Bölgesel Araştırmalar Dergisi* 6, no. 1 (2022): 13–40.

- Dharmaputra, Radityo. "How will Indonesia deal with Russia and Ukraine at the G20?" *Indonesia at Melbourne*, 2022. <https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/how-will-indonesia-deal-with-russia-and-ukraine-at-the-g20/>.
- . "Understanding Indonesia's Response to Russia's war in Ukraine: A Preliminary Analysis of the Discursive Landscape." *Journal Of Global Strategic Studies* 2, no. 1 (Juni 27, 2022): 115–128. <https://ejournal.fisip.unjani.ac.id/index.php/JGSS/article/view/1057>.
- Endah, Alberthiene. *Jokowi Menuju Cahaya*. Solo: Tiga Serangkai, 2018.
- Fu, Huachen. "The History and Impact of the Conflict between Russia and Ukraine." *Journal of Education, Humanities and Social Sciences* 6 (Desember 31, 2022): 94–98. <https://drpress.org/ojs/index.php/EHSS/article/view/4047>.
- Herrmann, Richard. "The Power of Perceptions in Foreign-Policy Decision Making: Do Views of the Soviet Union Determine the Policy Choices of American Leaders?" *American Journal of Political Science* 30, no. 4 (November 1986): 841. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2111276?origin=crossref>.
- Holsti, Ole. *Making American Foreign Policy*. Routledge, 2013. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203625446>.
- Ikhwan Syahtaria, Mohamad. "Stragic review of the impact of the Russia-Ukraine war on Indonesia national economy." *Global Journal of Engineering and Technology Advances* 12, no. 3 (2022).
- Indonesia, C N N. "4 Hasil Pertemuan Jokowi dan Presiden Zelensky di Ukraina." *CNN Indonesia*, 2022. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20220630071703-134-815318/4-hasil-pertemuan-jokowi-dan-presiden-zelensky-di-ukraina>.
- Junaedi, Junaedi. "The Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on the Indonesian Economy." *Journal of Socia Commerce* 2, no. 2 (2022).
- Kementerian Sekretariat Negara. "Empat Kesepakatan Berhasil Dicapai Indonesia dan Ukraina." *Setneg.go.id*. Last modified 2016. https://setneg.go.id/baca/index/empat_kesepakatan_berhasil_dicapai_indonesia_dan_ukraina.
- . "Indonesia dan Rusia Bahas Peningkatan Kerja Sama Ekonomi." *Setneg.go.id*. Last modified 2024. https://setneg.go.id/baca/index/indonesia_dan_rusia_bahas_peningkatan_kerja_sama_ekonomi.
- Kemlu. "Indonesian Government Statement regarding the Military Attack in Ukraine." *Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia*, 2022. <https://kemlu.go.id/vancouver/en/news/17861/indonesian-government->

statement-regarding-the-military-attack-in-ukraine.

- Kemlu RI. “Bertemu Dengan Presiden Putin Presiden Jokowi Indonesia Siap Menjembatani Komunikasi Rusia Ukraina | Portal Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia.” *Kemlu.go.id*, 2022. <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/3756/berita/bertemu-dengan-presiden-putin-presiden-jokowi-indonesia-siap-menjembatani-komunikasi-rusia-ukraina>.
- . “Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia di Moskow, Merangkap Republik Belarus FEDERASI RUSIA.” *Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia*, 2023. <https://kemlu.go.id/moscow/id/read/hubungan-bilateral-antara-indonesia-dan-rusia/392/etc-menu>.
- Kompas. “Kemenangan Fenomenal Jokowi-Rudy.” *KOMPAS.com*, 2010. <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2010/05/21/03402631/Kemenangan.Fenomenal.Jokowi-Rudy>.
- Manurung, Hendra. “Enhancing Bilateral Cooperation: Indonesia-Russia Defense Relations.” *Journal of Advance in Social Science and Policy* 1, no. 1 (2021).
- Marie Murphy, Ann. “Ukraine war highlights differences between Indonesian and US foreign policy frameworks.” *East Asia Forum*, 2022. <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2022/08/05/ukraine-war-highlights-differences-between-indonesian-and-u-s-foreign-policy-frameworks/#:~:text=Indonesia’s foreign policy stance differs,and demanding that Russia withdraw>.
- Mas’ oed, Mohtar. *Ilmu hubungan internasional: disiplin dan metodologi*. Jakarta: PT Pustaka LP3ES, 1994.
- Mearsheimer, John J. “The Causes and Consequences of the Ukraine War.” *Horizons: Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development* 8, no. 21 (2022).
- Mottaleb, Khondoker Abdul, Gideon Kruseman, dan Sieglinde Snapp. “Potential impacts of Ukraine-Russia armed conflict on global wheat food security: A quantitative exploration.” *Global Food Security* 35 (Desember 2022): 100659. <https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S2211912422000499>.
- Negara, Direktorat Jenderal Kekayaan. “Apa itu G20 dan Manfaatnya untuk Indonesia.” *Kemenkeu.go.id*, 2022. <https://www.djkn.kemenkeu.go.id/kpknl-singkawang/baca-artikel/14747/Apa-itu-G20-dan-Manfaatnya-untuk-Indonesia.html>.
- NOVREL ESA YUBEL, RISTA HERJANI DWIJAYANI, PEBRIA PRAKARSA RENTA, dan AHMAD SAHIDE. “Economic Impact Of Russian Invasion To Ukraine: Indonesian Government’s Response By Increasing Fuel Prices In 2022.” *MANU Jurnal Pusat Penataran Ilmu dan Bahasa (PPIB)* 34, no. 2 (Desember 1, 2023): 153–177. <https://jurcon.ums.edu.my/ojums/index.php/MANU/article/view/4775>.

- Nugraha, Ogi Nanda Raka Ade Candra, Arum Pramesti Wirawati, Muhammad Erwan Syah, Danang Prasetyo, dan Frega Ferdinand Wenas Inkiriwang. "Diplomatic Bluff against Indonesia's G20 Presidency amid the Ukraine - Russia Conflict: A View from Political Psychology." *Papua Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* 2, no. 2 (Agustus 7, 2022): 123–141. <https://ejournal.uncen.ac.id/index.php/PJDIR/article/view/2241>.
- Pakpahan, Aknolt Kristian. "Indonesia, Rusia, dan G20." *Universitas Katolik Parahyangan*, 2022. <https://unpar.ac.id/indonesia-rusia-dan-g20/>.
- Pattinussa, Jhon Maxwell Yosua. "Pengaruh Presiden Joko Widodo pada Penguatan Peran Diplomasi Ekonomi di Indonesia." *Papua Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* 1, no. 2 (November 24, 2021): 85–104. <https://ejournal.uncen.ac.id/index.php/PJDIR/article/view/1734>.
- Prasodjo, Darmawan. *Jokowi Mewujudkan Mimpi Indonesia*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2020.
- Priyowidodo, Gatut, Grace Swestin, dan Titi NurVidyarini. "The faces of conflict in a political organization: the case of the Indonesia Democracy Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan PDI-P)." *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 5, no. 19 (2014): 608–618.
- Purwati, Ria, Hikmat Zakky Almubaroq, dan Edy Saptano. "Indonesia's role in the G20 presidency during the conflict between Russia and Ukraine." *Defense and Security Studies* 4, no. January (Januari 31, 2023): 23–28. <https://journals.ardascience.com/index.php/dss/article/view/228>.
- Putra, Tomy Darma, dan Muhamad Rosyidin. "Pengaruh Kepribadian Presiden Jokowi dalam Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia: Studi Kasus Pelanggaran Cina di Natuna." *Journal of International Relations Universitas Diponegoro* 5, no. 2 (2019): 323–331.
- RI, Kemlu. "Indonesia's Foreign Policy." *Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia*, 2024. https://kemlu.go.id/washington/en/pages/kebijakan_luar_negeri_ri/716/etc-menu.
- Rizkiya Anjani, Nurwulan, dan Arie Kusuma Paksi. "The Involment of The United States in The Russia-Ukraine War in The Perspective of Realism." *Jpurnal of International Relations* 7, no. 1 (2023).
- Rosyidin, Mohamad. "Foreign policy in changing global politics." *South East Asia Research* 25, no. 2 (2017): 175–191.
- Rourke, John T. *International Politics on the World Stage*. Mcgraw-Hill PP - New York, 2008.
- Schwartz, Laura. "Indonesian Foreign Policy under Jokowi." *The National Bureau of Asian Research* (2015). <http://nbr.org/research/activity.aspx?id=510>.

- Sebastian, Leonard C., dan Keoni Marzuki. "Let sleeping bears lie: an analysis of the factors behind Indonesia's response to the Russo-Ukrainian war and its implications for the Indo-Pacific region." *International Politics* (September 20, 2023). <https://link.springer.com/10.1057/s41311-023-00478-0>.
- Sebastian, Leonard C., dan Adhi Priamarizki. "Indonesia's Russia-Ukraine war stance and the Global South: Between solidarity and transactionalism." *Global Policy* n/a, no. n/a (Mei 21, 2024). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.13380>.
- Sekretariat Negara. "Presiden Jokowi: Kunjungan ke Ukraina Wujud Kepedulian Indonesia untuk Ukraina | Sekretariat Negara." www.setneg.go.id, 2022. https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/presiden_jokowi_kunjungan_ke_ukraina_wujud_kepedulian_indonesia_untuk_ukraina.
- Setiawati, Siti Mutiah, dan Ali Roziqin. "New Trends of Indonesia's Foreign Policy Under President Joko Widodo in The First Period." *Technium social Sciences Journl* 54 (2024): 6249–262.
- Sudjatmiko, Totok, Meilinda Sari Yayusman, Firman Budianto, dan Tri Rainny Syafarani. "Peran Indonesia Sebagai Kekuatan Menengah dalam G20 Di Tengah Disrupsi Geopolitik Konflik Rusia-Ukraina." *Jurnal Penelitian Politik* 19, no. 2 (Desember 30, 2022): 93. <https://ejournal.politik.lipi.go.id/index.php/jpp/article/view/1224>.
- Sulistia Wargi. "Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia Di Era Jokowi Melalui Diplomasi Ekonomi Dalam Upaya Untuk Menguasai Pasar Halal Dunia." *Indonesian Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 2 (Agustus 29, 2021): 320–341. <https://journal.aihii.or.id/index.php/ijir/article/view/228>.
- Tiara, Dinda Tulus, dan Syasya Yuania Fadila Mas'udi. "Diplomasi Indonesia dalam Konflik Rusia - Ukraina: Sebuah Kajian Tentang Soft-Power." *Journal of Political Issues* 4, no. 2 (Januari 31, 2023): 74–88. <https://jpi.ubb.ac.id/index.php/JPI/article/view/95>.
- Ty, Rey. "Russia's Special Military Operation in Ukraine: Before, During, and the Morning After." *Religion and Social Communication* 21, no. 1 (2023).
- Warburton, Eve. "Jokowi and the New Developmentalism" 52, no. 3 (2016).
- Wee, Sui-Lee. "Once Inward-Looking, Joko Widodo Casts Himself as a Global Statesman." *The New York Times*, 2022. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/13/world/asia/indonesia-joko-widodo-g20.html>.
- Yahya, Isep P. "Articulation of Indonesia's Bebas-Aktif Foreign Policy in Responding Russia-Ukraine Conflict." *Jurnal Politika Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri dan Hubungan Internasional* 14, no. 2 (Desember 31, 2023): 111–129. <https://jurnal.dpr.go.id/index.php/politika/article/view/4160>.
- Zulkarnain, A., dan Syamsudin Harris. "Fenomena Blusukan dalam Model

Kepemimpinan Politik Joko Widodo.” *Jurnal Kajian Politik dan Masalah Pembangunan* 13, no. 1 (2017).

“The Reason Behind Jokowi’s Consecutive Absence in UN General Assembly.”
Dinsights *Katadata*, 2022.
<https://dinsights.katadata.co.id/read/2022/09/20/the-reason-behind-jokowis-consecutive-absence-in-un-general-assembly>.

