

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- Abdulgani-Knapp, Retnowati. *A Fading Dream: the Story of Roeslan Abdulgani and Indonesia*. Singapore: Times Media Private. 2003
- Abrahamsen, Rita. *Sudut Gelap Kemajuan: Relasi Kuasa dalam Wacana Pembangunan* (terj. Heru Prasetya). Yogyakarta: Lafald Pustaka. 2004
- Abuza, Zachary. *Political Islam and Violence in Indonesia*. London and New York: Routledge. 2007
- Anderson, Benedict R.O.G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso. 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Java in a Time of Revolution*. London: Verso. 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kuasa Kata: Jelajah Budaya-Budaya Politik Indonesia* (terj. Reviyanto Budi Santoso). Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa. 2000
- Appadurai, Arjun. "Disjuncture & Difference in the Global Culture Economy." dalam Jonathan Xavier Inda and Renato Rosaldo [Eds.]. *The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader*. Malden: Massachussets. 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1996.
- Barnet, R.J dan Muller, R.E. *Menjangkau Dunia Menguk Kekuasaan Perusahaan Multinasional*. Jakarta: LP3ES. 1984
- Beckman, Bjorn. "The Liberation of Civil Society: Neo-Liberal Ideology and Political Theory." *Review of African Political Economy*. No. 58 (November 1993). pp. 20-33.
- Bertrand, Jacques. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2004.
- Boland, B.J. *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1982
- Brown, David. *Contemporary Nationalism: Civic, Ethnocultural, and Multicultural Politics*. London dan New York: Routledge. 2000
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The State and Ethnic Politics in South-East Asia*. London dan New York: Routledge. 1996.

- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Post-Soeharto Muslim Engagements with Civil Society and Democratization" dalam Hanneman Samuel dan Henk Schulte Nordholt. *Indonesia in Transition: Rethinking 'Civil Society,' 'Region,' and 'Crisis.'* Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar. 2004
- Calhoun, Craig. *Nations Matter: Culture, History, and the Cosmopolitan Dream.* London and New York: Routledge. 2007
- Castells, Manuel. *The Power of Identity.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. 1997
- Chalmers, Ian dan Hadiz, Vedi (eds.). *The Politics of Economic Development in Indonesia: Contending Perspectives.* London: Routledge. 1997
- Coppel, Charles A. *Tionghoa Indonesia dalam Krisis.* Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan. 1994
- Dault, Adhyaksa. *Islam dan Nasionalisme, Reposisi Wacana Universal Dalam Konteks Nasional,* Jakarta: Pustaka Al Kautsar, 2005
- Delanty, Gerard and O'Mahony, Patrick. *Nationalism and Social Theory.* London: Sage. 2002.
- Dick, Howard, et.al. *The Emergence of a National Economy: an Economic History of Indonesia, 1800 – 2000.* New South Wales: Allen and Unwin. 2002
- Elson, R.E. *The Idea of Indonesia: A History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2008
- Fairclough, Norman. *Discourse and Social Change.* Cambridge: Polity Press. 1992.
- Faulks, Keith. *Political Sociology: A Critical Introduction.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1999.
- Feith, Herbert dan Castles, Lance (eds). *Indonesian Political Thinking.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1970
- Foucault, Michel. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (Ed. C. Gordon et.al.). Brighton: Harvester Press. 1980
- Fukuyama, Francis, *State-Building, Governance and World Order in the Twenty-first Century,* Profile Books, London 2005
- Gans, Chaim. *The Limits of Nationalism.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003

- Geertz, Clifford. *The Religion of Java*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960.
- Habermas, Jurgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: the MIT Press. 1995.
- Hardiman, F. Budi. *Menuju Masyarakat Komunikatif: Ilmu, Masyarakat, Politik, dan Postmodernisme menurut Jurgen Habermas*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius. 1993.
- Heryanto, Ariel dan Mandal, Sumit K. *Challenging Authoritarianism in South-East Asia: Comparing Indonesia and Malaysia*. London: RoutledgeCurzon. 2003
- Hikam, Muhammad AS. *Demokrasi dan Civil Society*. Jakarta: LP3ES. 1999. Cetakan kedua
- Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. *Mengenal Hizbut Tahrir, Partai Politik Islam Ideologis*. Jakarta: HTI. 2004
- Imdadun, Muhammad. “*Transmisi Gerakan Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia 1980 – 2002: Studi Atas Gerakan Tarbiyah dan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia.*” Tesis S2 Program Studi Kajian Timur Tengah dan Islam Universitas Indonesia. 2003. Tidak diterbitkan.
- Johnson, Samuel. *Boswell’s Life of Johnson. Vol. II*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1934
- Jorgensen, Marianne W dan Phillips, Louise J. *Analisis Wacana Teori dan Metode* (terj. Imam Suyitno dkk.). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar. 2007.
- Kahin, George Mc. Turnan. *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 1952.
- Kellas, James T. *the Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*. London: Macmillan Press. 1998.
- Kohn, Hans. *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History*. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1955
- Korver, A.P.E. *Sarekat Islam 1912-1916: Sebuah Gerakan Ratu Adil?*. Jakarta: Grafiti. 1992
- Kumar, Krishan. “Civil Society: An Inquiry into the Usefulness of an Historical Term,” *The British Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1993).

- Kurzman, Charles (ed.). *Liberal Islam: a Sourcebook*. New York: Oxford University. 1998
- Legge, J.D. *Intellectual and Nationalism in Indonesia: a Study of the Following Recruited by Sutan Sjahrir in Occupation Jakarta*. Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesian Project. 1988
- Little, David. "Belief, Ethnicity, and Nationalism." dalam *United States Institute of Peace Newsletter* (Edisi Maret-April 1995)
- Masdiana dkk, Erlangga. *Peran Generasi Muda Dalam Ketahanan Nasional*, Kementerian Negara Pemuda dan Olahraga. Jakarta, 2008
- Mallarangeng, Rizal. *Mendobrak Sentralisme Ekonomi Indonesia 1986 – 1992*. Jakarta: Gramedia. 2008. Cetakan ketiga
- Martinussen, John. *Society, State, and Market: a Guide to Competing Theories of Development*. London: Zed Books. 1997.
- McCrone, David. "The Sociology of Nationalism: Tomorrow's Ancestors", Routledge, London dan Newyork, 1988
- Moleong, Lexy J. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, Remaja Rosdakarya, Bandung, 1998
- Mubarak, Muhammad Zaki. *Genealogi Islam Radikal di Indonesia: Gerakan, Pemikiran, dan Prospek Demokrasi*. Jakarta: LP3ES. 2008
- Muhaimin, Yahya A. "Bisnis dan Politik: Kebijakan Ekonomi Indonesia 1950- 1980". Jakarta: LP3ES. 1990
- Muladi. Dalam *Dialog Pemuda Dalam Membangun Bangsa, 80 Tahun Sumpah Pemuda*. Jakarta: Kemenegpora RI, 2009
- Newman, W. Lawrence. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 2003
- Patton, Michael Quinn. *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methode*, Sage Publication, London 2002
- Porter, Donald J. *Managing Politics and Islam in Indonesia*. London: RoutledgeCurzon. 2002
- Rahmad, Jalaludin. *Metode Penelitian Komunikasi*, Rosda Karya, Bandung 1999
- Raillon, Francois. *Politik dan Ideologi Mahasiswa Indonesia: Pembentukan dan Konsolidasi Orde Baru 1966 – 1974*. Jakarta: LP3ES. 1985

- Rais, Mohammad Amien. *Agenda Mendesak Bangsa: Selamatkan Indonesia!*. Yogyakarta: PPSK Press. 2008
- Ramage, Douglas E. *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam, and the Ideology of Tolerance*. London: Routledge. 1995
- Robison, Richard dan Hadiz, Vedi. *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: the Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets*. New York dan London: Routledge. 2004
- Rupert, Mark. *Ideologies of Globalization: Contending Visions of a New World Order*, London: Routledge, 2000, hlm. 43
- Samuel, Hanneman dan Nordholt, Henk Sculte (eds.). *Indonesia in Transition: Rethinking 'Civil Society', 'Region', and 'Crisis'*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar. 2004
- Saul. John Ralston. *Runtuhnya Globalisme dan Penemuan Kembali Dunia* (terj. Darianto). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar. 2008
- Simandjuntak, P.N.H. *Kabinet-Kabinet Republik Indonesia dari Awal Kemerdekaan sampai Reformasi*. Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan. 2003
- Singarimbun, Masri. *Metode Penelitian Survei*, LP3ES, Jakarta 1995
- Usman, Wan. *Daya Tahan Bangsa*. Program Studi Pengkajian Ketahanan Nasional UI. Jakarta, 2003
- Zamzami, Irsyad. *Organisasi Masyarakat Sipil dan Diskursus Nasionalisme Indonesia Pasca Otoritarian: Studi Terhadap Lima NGO dan Ormas di Jakarta*, Tesis S-2 Program Pascasarjana Departemen Sosiologi, 2008. Tidak Diterbitkan

#### **Makalah / Artikel / Koran**

- Wahid, Abdurrahman. "Agama dan Kebangsaan." *Tempo*, 13 Oktober 1983
- Dewanto, Nirwan. "Internasionalisme Baru, Kelisanan Baru: Catatan Akhir Tahun Dunia dan Kita." *Kompas*, Sabtu, 20 Desember 2003
- Zamjani, Irsyad. "Shariah Bylaws, Democratic Activist Pay Attention!" *The Jakarta Post*, 19 September 2008
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Spirit of Nationalism and the Silent Separatism." *The Jakarta Post*, 21 Agustus 2008
- "Ahmad Suaedy dan Ekspresi Islam Indonesia," *Kompas*, 8 Maret 2008

“Apa Kabar Kebangsaan Indonesia?”, *Suara Baru*, No. 16, Juli 2007

“Lebih Dekat dengan Hafid Abdurrahman, Ketua Umum DPP Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: Medan Jihad Kami Adalah Kesadaran Masyarakat,” *Jawa Pos*, 19 Maret 2006

“Persatuan Rakyat Indonesia Anti Imperialisme: Kolonialisme Belum Mati,”  
www.walhi.or.id

“Siang Jahanam di Silang Monas.” *Tempo*, 15 Juni 2008

Wawancara La Tofi dan Faisal Bintang dengan Adhaksa Dault, dalam *Biografi Politik*. Jakarta: La Tofi Enterprise, 2008

### **Arsip**

RUU Kepemudaan Kementrian Negara Pemuda dan Olahraga RI

Pidato Panglima TNI Jendral Djoko Susanto dalam Dialog Pemuda Dalam Membangun Bangsa, Kemenegpora RI, Jakarta 2009

Pidato Gubernur Lemhanas Prof. Muladi dalam Dialog Pemuda Dalam Membangun Bangsa, Kemenegpora RI, Jakarta 2009

Transkripsi wawancara “Muhammad Ismail Yusanto dan Burhanuddin tentang Khilafah”, dokumen pribadi Muhammad Ismail Yusanto

Arsip Pelatihan Kader KMHDI

### **Internet**

[www.gemapembebasankaltim.wordpress.com](http://www.gemapembebasankaltim.wordpress.com)

[www.gemapembebasan-jatim.blogspot.com](http://www.gemapembebasan-jatim.blogspot.com)

[http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gema\\_Pembebasan](http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gema_Pembebasan)

[www.gmni.or.id](http://www.gmni.or.id)

[www.kammi.or.id](http://www.kammi.or.id)

[www.hizbut-tahrir.or.id](http://www.hizbut-tahrir.or.id)

[www.gmnisurabaya.org](http://www.gmnisurabaya.org)

[www.dedyrachmadi.wordpress.com](http://www.dedyrachmadi.wordpress.com)

[www.kmhdi.org](http://www.kmhdi.org)

[www.wayansudane.net](http://www.wayansudane.net)