

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Aben, Dauren. 2019. "Regional Security in Central Asia: Addressing Existing and Potential Threats and Challenges." *Eurasian Research Journal*.
- Akbarzadeh, Shahram. 2004. 689-705. Taylor Francis Ltd.
- Akbarzadeh, Shahram. 2003. "India and Pakistan's geostrategic rivalry in Central Asia." *ResearchGate*.
- Arikunto, Suharsimi. 2014. In *Prosedur Penelitian: Suatu Pendekatan Praktik*, 172-173. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.
- Armchair. 2004. *Defense Policy Versus Strategy and Tactics*. December 1. Accessed April 14, 2021.
http://armchairgeneralist.typepad.com/my_weblog/2004/12/1_defense_polic.html.
- Bacevich, Andrew J. 2002. "Steppes to Empire." *The National Interest* 52.
- Bachri, Bachtiar S. 2012. "Meyakinkan Validasi Data Melalui Triangulasi Pada Penelitian Kualitatif." <http://yusuf.staff.ub.ac.id/files/2012/11/meyakinkan-validitas-data-melalui-triangulasi-pada-penelitian-kualitatif.pdf>.
- Baizakova, Zhulduz. 2015. "Reassessing the Barriers to Islamic Radicalization in Kazakhstan." *SSI Monographs*.
- BBC. 2009. *DPR Kyrgyzstan tutup markas AS*. Februari 19. Accessed Mei 24, 2021.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/indonesian/news/story/2009/02/090219_kyrgyzstan.shtml.
- Beehner, Lioner. 2005. *ASIA: U.S Bases in Central Asia*. <http://www.cfr.org/russia-and-central-asia/asia-us-military-bases-central-asia/p8440>.
- Biard, Aurelie. 2016. "Religion in Central Asia ." *CAP Papers*.
- Bishkek. 2006. *Kyrgyzstan Joint Statement the United States and the Kyrgyz Republic on Coalition Airbase*. Juli 14. Accessed Mei 26, 2021.
http://bishkek.usembassy.gov/july_14_joint_statement_on_coalition_airbase.html.
- Blank, Stephen J. 2002. "The United States and Central Asia." *Allison* 142.
- Bowker, Mike. 2007. "Russia, America and the Islamic World." *Aldershot Ashgate*.
- Broxup, Alexandre Bennigsen and Marie. 1983. In *The Islamic Threat to the Soviet State*, 87. London: Croom Helm.
- Bush, George W. 2001. *Topics GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR*. Accessed Mei 24, 2021.
<https://www.georgewbushlibrary.smu.edu/en/Topics/GWOT>.

- Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver. 2003. "Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security." *Cambridge University Press*.
- Caballero, Anthony M. 2016. *An Introduction to Non-Traditional Security Studies – A Transnational Approach*. . London: Sage Publications.
- Caballero, Mely. 2006. *Non-Traditional Security in Asia: Dilemmas in Securitisation*. London: Ashgate.
- Chalk, Peter. 2002. "The Response to Terrorism as a Threat to Liberal Democracy." *Australian Journal of Politics & History*.
- Clarke. 2006. "Cina and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: The Dynamics of "New Regionalism," "Vassalization," and Geopolitics in Central Asia." *Citeseerx*. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.1031.6370&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.
- Clarke, Michael. 2008. "Cina and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: The Dynamics of "New Regionalism," "Vassalization," and Geopolitics in Central Asia."
- Cooley, Alexander. 2008. "U.S. Bases and Democratization in Central Asia." *Orbis* 74.
- Crelinsten, Ronald D. 1989. "Terrorism, Counter-Terrorism and Democracy: The Assessment of National Security Threats." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 242-270.
- Curiel, Jonathan. 2002. "Q&A; Ahmed Rashid; The Toughest Beat in the World." *Sunday Review* 2.
- Curtis, Glenn E. 1996. "Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan." *Library of Congress Federal Research Division, Country Studies*.
- Daly, John C. K. 2007. "Kyrgyzstan's Manas Airbase: A Key Asset in the War on Terrorism." *Terrorism Monitor*.
- defenseink. 2005. *The National Defense Strategy of the United States of America*. March. Accessed April 14, 2021. www.defenseink.mil/news/Mar2005/d20050318nds1.pdf.
- dospen. 2020. *Dosenpendidikan*. September 15. <https://www.dosenpendidikan.co.id/penelitian-kualitatif/>.
- Eden, Mognus. 1998. In *Afghanistan: Mullah, Marx and Mujahid*,, 87. Pakistan: Pak Book Corporation.
- Epstein, Edward. 2002. "Bush Foreign Aid Budget Called Way Too Low,." *The San Francisco Chronicle* A13.
- Eriksen, Svein. 2012. "Criteria for good governance in the defence sector International standards and principles." *Centre for Integrity in the Defence Sector (CIDS)*.
- Fairbanks, Charles. 2002. "Bases of Debate: America in Central Asia." *The National Interest*, 44-53.

- Fredholm, Michael. 2014. "Uzbek Islamic Extremists in the Civil Wars of Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan: From Radical Islamic Awakening." In *Eastern Orthodox Encounters of Identity and Otherness*, by Thomas Bremer Andrii Krawchuk, 333-351. 2014.
- Fumagalli, Matteo. 2008. *Uzbekistan Rejoins the CSTO: Are Russian-Uzbek Relations Heading toward Mutual Entrapment? Central Asia–Caucasus Analyst*. September 18. Accessed Mei 25, 2021. <http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=node/4254>.
- Glebov, S. 2009. "Military Bases: Historical Perspectives, Contemporary Challenges." *Lisbon: IOS Press*.
- Govrei. 2002. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. September. Accessed April 14, 2021. www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html.
- GTD. 2012. *National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), Terrorism Database*. Accessed Mei 27, 2021. <http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd>.
- Gutteridge, William. 1998. "Terrorism and Political Violence." *Mansell Publishing Limited*.
- Haghighyehi, Mehrdad. 1995. In *Islam and Politics in Central Asia*, 85. New York: NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Hahn, Gordon M. 2009. *Islam, Islamism, and Politics in Eurasia Report (IIPER)*. Accessed Mei 27, 2021. <https://www.csis.org/programs/russia-and-eurasia-program/archives/islam-islamism-and-politics-eurasia-report>.
- Hakam, Saiful, wawancara oleh Elnatan Purnama Sangehao Harefa. 2021. *Kawasan Asia Tengah* (28 Mei).
- Harding, Luke. 2009. *Kyrgyzstan to close key US military airbase*. February 4. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/feb/04/kyrgyzstan-us-base-afghanistan>.
- Hidayat, Anwar. 2012. *Penelitian Kualitatif: Penjelasan Lengkap*. Oktober 14. <https://www.statistikian.com/2012/10/penelitian-kualitatif.html>.
- Hoke, Zlatica. 2015. *Pakar: Asia Tengah Jadi Sumber Pejuang Asing bagi ISIS*. Juni 11. Accessed Juni 25, 2021. <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/pakar-asia-tengah-jadi-sumber-pejuang-asing-bagi-isis/2816894.html>.
- House, Freedom. 2014. *See relevant country reports in 2014 Nations in Transit*. <https://freedomhouse.org/explore-the-map?type=fiv&year=2020>.
- Humanity, Vision of. 2020. *Global Terrorism Index*. Accessed Mei 27, 2021. <https://www.visionofhumanity.org/maps/#/>.
- Ikenberry, G. John. 2001. "After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars." *Princeton University Press*.

- Jack, Kranz. 2017. *Central Asia Fertile Ground for Terrorism*. November 1. Accessed April 10, 2021. <http://www.businessinsider.com/central-asia-fertile-ground-for-terrorism-sayfullo-saipov-2017-11>.
- Jackson, Richard. 2007. "War on terrorism - United States History."
- Johan. 2018. "Security in the Caucasus: Russian policy and military posture." *FOI: Stockholm*.
- Kakenova, Zarina. 2014. *Military-Political Cooperation between the U.S and Central Asian States*. August 14 . Accessed Mei 27, 2021. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1877042814044619>.
- Kazantsev, Andrey. 2016. "Central Asia: Secular Statehood Challenged by Radical Islam." *Valdai Paper*.
- Khalid, Adeb. 2007. "Islam after communism: religion and politics in Central Asia ." *Berkeley: University of California Press*.
- Klepp, Deborah. 2004. *The U.S. Needs a Base Where?: How the U.S. Established an Air Base in the Kyrgyz Republic* . Washington, D.C: National Defense University.
- Kontan. 2020. September 11. Accessed April 14, 2021. <https://internasional.kontan.co.id/news/peringatan-peristiwa-911-ini-dia-latar-belakang-serangan-al-qaeda-ke-gedung-wtc>.
- Kranz. 2017. *Business Insider*. November 1. Accessed April 10, 2021. <http://www.businessinsider.com/central-asia-fertile-ground-for-terrorism-sayfullo-saipov-2017-11>.
- Krueger, Alan B. 2008. "What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the Roots of Terrorism." *Princeton Univeristy Press* 53-104.
- Kuchins, Andrew C, Jeffrey Mankoff, Aitolkyn Kourmanova, and Backes Oliver. 2015. "Central Asia in a Reconnecting Eurasia: Kazakhstan's Evolving Foreign Economic and Security Interests." *Center for Strategic and International Studies:Washington D.C*. Accessed Mei 11, 2021. https://csisprod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fspublic/legacy_files/files/publication/15061-2_Kuchins-_CentralAsiaKazakhstan_Web.pdf .
- Lang, Józef. 2013. "The Radical Islamic Militants of Central Asia ." *Warsaw OSW*.
- Lang, Józef. 2013. "The radical Islamic militants of Central Asia." *OSW Report* 20.
- Leonard, Peter. 2012. *Religious Radicals Sought for Kazakh Mass Murder*. September 27. Accessed Mei 27, 2021. <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/religious-radicals-sought-for-kazakh-mass-murder>.
- Levine, Ilya. 2017. "Confrontation in Kyrgyzstan." In *US Policies in Central Asia: Democracy, Energy, and The War on Terror*, 50. San Diego: Routledge .
- Linn, Johannes. 2007. *Central Asia – National Interests and Regional Prospects”, China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 3, p. 5*.

- Lord, Christopher. 2011. "The political theory and practice of parliamentary participation in the Common Security and Defence Policy." 1133-1150. *Journal of European Public Policy*.
- Louw, Maria. 2007. "Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia." *New York, Routledge*.
- Lubin, Nancy. 1999. *Calming the Ferghana Valley: Development and Dialogue in the Heart of Central Asia*. Washington: The Century Foundation.
- Lumpe, Lora. 2010. "A Timeline of U.S. Military Aid Cooperation with Uzbekistan." *Open Society Foundations Occasional Paper Series*.
- Makarenko, Tamara. 2002. *The Changing Dynamics of Central Asian Terrorism*. Jane's Intelligence Review.
- Malik, Hafeez. 1994. "Central Asia's geopolitical significance and problems of independence: An introduction" in Malik, Hafeez (ed.) *Central Asia: Its strategic importance and future prospects*, . *St. Martin's Press: New York*.
- Malysheva, Dina. 2004. "Central Asia and The Southern Caucasus: Regional Security In Teh World Order." *Institute of World Economy and International Relations*.
- Marat, Erica. 2013. *Rethink Papers, Two Decades of U.S.–Kyrgyz Relations*.
- Marat, Erica. 2013. "Two Decades of U.S.–Kyrgyz Relations." *Rethink Paper*.
- McDermott, Roger. 2006. "Bishkek's Manas Base in Crisis, Vol. 3, No. 228." *Eurasia Dayli*, . Desember 11. Accessed Mei 26, 2021.
<https://jamestown.org/program/bishkeks-manas-base-in-crisis/#.U6NqrbGLa-g>.
- Milla, Jana. 2012. "Kebijakan Luar Negeri Amerika Serikat terhadap Kelompok Terorisme Al-Qaeda pada Masa Pemerintahan Barack Obama Vol. 02, No.02, ." *JOM FISIP Universitas Riau 2*.
- Moleong, Lexy J. 2017. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Cetakan Ke-36*. Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya Offset.
- Montgomery, John Heathershaw and David. 2016. "Islam, Secularism and Danger: A Reconsideration of the Link Between Religiosity, Radicalism and Rebellion in Central Asia." In *State and Society 44*, 192-218. Stockholm: Ministry of Defence.
- Morgan, Patrick M. 1997. "Regional Security Complexes and Regional Orders." In *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*, by David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan. University Par: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Namangani, Tohir Yuldashev and Juma. 2008. "The IMU emerged from Adolat, an Islamist political party founded in Uzbekistan's Ferghana Valley in 1991."
- Namangani, Tohir Yuldashev and Juma. n.d. "The IMU emerged from Adolat, an Islamist political party founded in Uzbekistan's Ferghana Valley in 1991." 2008.

- Naumkin. 2005. "Militant Islam in Central Asia: The Case of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan." *Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Working Paper Series*. Accessed Mei 30, 2021. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7ch968cn>.
- Naumkin, Vitaly V. 2003. *'Militant Islam in Central Asia: The Case of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan*. Juli 1. Accessed Mei 30, 2021. Naumkin, Vitaly V.
- Newswire, RFE/RL. 2001. *Kyrgyzstan to Consult with CIS States on Granting Antiterrorism Coalition Use of its Air Bases*. November 29. Accessed Mei 24, 2021. <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1142571.html>.
- Nichol, James. 2009. "Kyrgyzstan and the Status of the U.S. Manas Airbase: Context and Implications." *Library of Congress*.
- Nichol, Jim. 2009. "Kyrgyzstan and the Status of the U.S. Manas AirBase: Context and Implications." *Congressional Research Service (CSR)* .
- Novakova, Sabina. 2015. "Manas Air Base and U.S.-Kyrgyz Relations." *Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Social Science, Institute of Internasional Studies* 7.
- Novakova, Sabina. 2015. "Manas Air Base and U.S.-Kyrgyz Relations." *Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Social Science, Institute of Internasional Studies* 7.
- nytimes. 2006. *President Bush's Speech on Terrorism*. September 6. https://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/06/washington/06bush_transcript.html.
- Olcott, Martha B. 1996. "Central Asia's New States: Independence, Foreign Policy, and Regional Security ." (*Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press* .
- Osmonov, Joldosh. 2006. "The U.S.-Kyrgyz Military Base Negotiations." *Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst Bi-Weekly Briefing* 21.
- Pannier, Bruce. 2019. *Majlis Podcast: The 'Terrorist' Attack In Tajikistan – What's Fact And What's Fiction*. November 10. Accessed Juni 25, 2021. <https://www.rferl.org/a/majlis-podcast-terrorist-attack-tajikistan-fact-fiction-islamic-state/30262814.html>.
- Paper, ORG Briefing. 2001. "The first of these was: The United States, Europe and the Majority World after 11 September."
- Peimani, Hooman. 1998. " Regional Security and the Future of Central Asia: The Competition of Iran, Turkey, and Russia. ." *Westport, CT: Praeger*.
- Peyrouse, Sebastien. 2007. "Islam in Central Asia: National Specificities and Post-Soviet Globalization, Religion, State, and Society."
- Pickart, Damien. 2009. "Manas KC-135s Revolutionize Combat Operations." *Air Force News Service*.
- Pillalamarri, Akhilesh. 2014. *The United States Just Closed Its Last Base in Central Asia*. Juni 10. Accessed Mei 26, 2021. <https://thediplomat.com/2014/06/the-united-states-just-closed-its-last-base-in-central-asia/>.

- Politik, Mata. 2020. *Ancaman Militasi Islam Yang Berlebihan di Asia Tengah*. Februari 27. Accessed Juni 25, 2021. <https://www.matamatapolitik.com/ancaman-militansi-islam-yang-berlebihan-di-asia-tengah-analisis/>.
- Radnitz, Scott. 2014. *Memories of Manas: What Central Asia Taught America about Geopolitics*. June 30. <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/memories-manas-what-central-asia-taught-america-about-10782>.
- Rafiyeva, Mavlouda. 2015. *Tajikistan Tries 23 Alleged Members of Jamaat Ansarullah*. April 11. Accessed Mei 27, 2021. <http%3a%2f%2fnews.Tj%2fen%2fnews%2ftajikistan-Tries-23-Alleged-Members-Jamaat-Ansarullah>.
- Rashid, Ahmed. 2002. "Trouble Ahead." *FEER*.
- RFE. 2002. *Central Asia Report*. Juni 20. Accessed Mei 28, 2021. <http://www.rferl.org>.
- RFERL. 2013. *IMU Members Target Of Tajik Operation*. Januari 16. Accessed Juni 26, 2021. <https://www.rferl.org/a/tajikistan-imu/24825405.html>.
- RO. 2002. "Russia Tops U.S. in Central Asia." *Office of Research, Department of State* 5.
- Rossabi, Morris. n.d. *Central Asia: A Historical Overview*. <https://asiasociety.org/central-asia-historical-overview?page=0,0>.
- Sanderson, Thomas M. 2014. "Central Asian Militancy." *CSIS* 4.
- Sania, Makna. 2019. "Islam and politics in central Asia." *International journal of basic and applied research*.
- Sarkesian. 2008. "US National Security: Policymakers, Processes & Politics FOURTH EDITION." 3-25. USA: LYNNE RIENNER.
- Schroeder, Matt. 2002. "War on Terrorism Aid Tables." *Washington, DC: Federation of American Scientists*.
- Schwartz, Michael. 2011. "TheNewYorkTimes." *New Leader Says U.S Base in Kyrgyzstan Will Be Shut*. November 1. Accessed Mei 26, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/02/world/asia/kyrgyzstan-says-united-states-manas-air-base-will-close.html?mcubz=0>.
- Security, Global. 2005. *Manas International Airport, Ganci Air Base Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan*. April 26. Accessed Mei 2021, 2021. <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/manas.htm>.
- Starr, Frederick. 2002. "Central Asia's sudden prominence." *The World & I* 17.
- Sullivan, Dr. Charles J. 2019. "The Superpower and the "Stans": Why Central Asia is Not "Central" to the United States." *SAIS*.
- Tinnes, Judith. 2015. "Terrorism in, or Originating from the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Russia (Part 1). Perspectives on Terrorism." 122-156.

Warikoo, K. 1996. In *Central Asia Emerging New Order*, 211. New Delhi: Haranand Publication.

World, Maps of. n.d. *Manas Air Base Kyrgyzstan*. Accessed mei 2021, 2021.
<http://www.mapsofworld.com/kyrgyzstan/information/manas-air-base-kyrgyzstan.html>.

Zanotti, Jim. 2014. *Turkey: Background and US Relations*. Washington: Congressional Research Service.

