

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### A. Dokumen Resmi

Instruksi Presiden No. 14/1967

Instruksi Presiden No. 2/1996

Keputusan Presiden No. 51/1977

Keputusan Presiden No. 14/1979

Keputusan Presiden No. 14A/1979

Keputusan Presiden No. 10/1980

Keputusan Presiden No. 42/1980

Keputusan Presiden No. 18/1981

Keputusan Presiden No. 20/1981

Keputusan Presiden No. 29/1984

Keputusan Presiden No. 25/1988

Keputusan Presiden No. 29/1990

Keputusan Presiden No. 20/1992

Keputusan Presiden No. 52/1995

Keputusan Presiden No. 74/1995

Keputusan Presiden No. 90/1995

Keputusan Presiden No. 42/1996

Keputusan Presiden No. 92/1996

Keputusan Presiden No. 93/1996

Keputusan Presiden No. 1/1997

Ketetapan Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara No. XXIII/MPRS/1966

Undang-Undang Penanaman Modal Asing, No. 1 Tahun 1967

Undang-Undang Penanaman Modal Dalam Negeri, No. 6 Tahun 1968

B. Buku-buku dan Makalah

- Abdulgani-Knapp, Retnowati. (2007). *Soeharto: The Life and Legacy of Indonesia's Second President*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Editions.
- Aditjondro, George Junus. (1998). *Harta Jarahan Harto*. Jakarta: Pustaka Demokrasi.
- Aditjondro, George Junus. (2006). *Korupsi Kepresidenan, Reproduksi Oligarki Berkaki Tiga; Istana, Tangsi, dan Partai Penguasa*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- Alexiadou, Despina. (2011). Political Economy. In Bertrand Badie (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Political Science: Volume I* (pp.1979-1984). California: SAGE Publishing.
- Aspinall, Edward, & Berenschot, Ward. (2019). *Democracy for Sale: Elections, Clientelism, and the State in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Aspinall, Edward, & Klinken, Gerry van. (2011). The state and illegality in Indonesia. In Edward Aspinall & Gerry van Klinken (Ed.), *The State and Illegality in Indonesia* (pp.1-28). Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Backman, Michael. (2001). *Asian Eclipse: Exposing the Dark Side of Business in Asia* (Rev. ed). Singapore: John Wiley & Sons (Asia) Pte Ltd.
- Baker, Raymond W. (2005). *Capitalism's Achilles Heel: Dirty Money and How to Renew the Free-Market System*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Barr, Cristopher, et al. (2010). *Financial governance and Indonesia's Reforestation Fund during the Soeharto's and Post-Soeharto's periods, 1989-2009: A political economic analysis of lessons for REDD+*. Bogor: Center for International Forestry Research.

Booth, Anne. (1998). *The Indonesian Economy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A History of Missed Opportunities*. Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Borsuk, Richard. (2015). Markets: The Limits of Reform. In Donald K. Emmerson (Ed.), *Indonesia Beyond Suharto: Polity, Economy, Society, Transition* (pp.136-167). Oxon: Routledge.

Borsuk, Richard, & Chng, Nancy. (2016). *Liem Sioe Liong's Salim Group: The Business Pillar of Suharto's Indonesia*. Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute.

Bosma, Ulbe. (2017). Multatuli, the liberal colonialists and their attacks on the patrimonial embedding of commodity production in Java. In van Schendel, Willem (Ed.). *Embedding Agricultural Commodities: Using historical evidence, 1840s-1940s* (pp.30-54). Oxon: Routledge.

Bourchier, David. (2015). *Illiberal Democracy of Indonesia: The Ideology of Family-State*. Oxon: Routledge.

Bratton, Michael. (2011). Neo-Patrimonialism. In Bertrand Badie (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Political Science: Volume I* (pp.1679-1681). California: SAGE Publishing.

Breman, Jan. (1989). *Taming the Coolie Beast: Plantation Society and The Colonial Order in Southeast Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bresnan, John. (1993). *Managing Indonesia: The Modern Political Economy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Chaniago, Andrianof A. (2012). *Gagalnya Pembangunan: Membaca Ulang Keruntuhan Orde Baru*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Chua, Christian. (2008). *Chinese Big Business in Indonesia: The state of capital*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Clapham, Christopher. (2004). *Third World Politics: An Introduction*. London: Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Cribb, Robert, & Kahin, Audrey. (2004). *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Crouch, Harold. (2007). *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*. Singapore: Equinox Publishing.
- Davidson, Jamie S. (2015). *Indonesia's Changing Political Economy: Governing the Roads*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dieleman, Marleen. (2007). *The Rhythm of Strategy: A Corporate Biography of the Salim Group of Indonesia*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Elson, Robert E. (2001). *Suharto: A Political Biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Feith, Herbert. (2007). *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. Jakarta & Kuala Lumpur: Equinox Publishing.
- Fisman, Raymond, & Miguel, Edward. (2008). *Economic Gangsters: Corruption, Violence, and the Poverty of Nations*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Friend, Theodore. (2003). *Indonesian Destinies*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

- Furnivall, J.S. (2010). *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gellert, Paul K. (2005). Oligarchy in the Timber Markets of Indonesia: From Apkindo to IBRA to the Future of the Forests. In Budy P. Resosudarmo (Ed.), *The Politics and Economics of Indonesia's Natural Resources* (pp.145-161). Singapore: ISEAS Publications.
- Gelman-Taylor, Jean. (2003). *Indonesia: Peoples and Histories*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Glassburner, Bruce. (2007). Economic Policy-Making in Indonesia, 1950-1957. In Bruce Glassburner (Ed.), *The Economy of Indonesia: Selected Readings* (pp.70-98). Jakarta & Kuala Lumpur: Equinox Publishing.
- Gottschalk, Louis. (1986). *Mengerti Sejarah*. (Nugroho Notosusanto, Trans.). Jakarta: UI Press.
- Habir, Ahmad D. (2015). Conglomerates: All in the Family. In Donald K. Emmerson (Ed.), *Indonesia Beyond Suharto: Polity, Economy, Society, Transition* (pp.168-202). Oxon: Routledge.
- Haber, Stephen. (2006). Authoritarian Government. In Barry R. Weingast & Donald A. Wittman (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy* (pp.693-707). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hadiz, Vedi R. (2005). *Dinamika Kekuasaan: Ekonomi Politik Indonesia Pasca-Soeharto*. Jakarta: LP3ES.

- Hasanah, Mahesti. (2015). *Ekonomi Politik Kolonialisme: Perspektif Kebijakan Ekonomi Politik Pemerintah Hindia Belanda dalam Mengelola Industri Gula Mangkunegaran Pada Tahun 1870-1930*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit PolGov.
- Hill, Hal. (1999). *The Indonesian Economy in Crisis: Causes, Consequences, and Lessons*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Hill, Hal. (2000). *The Indonesian Economy* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hiscock, Geoff. (1997). *Asia's Wealth Club: Who's really who in business – the top 100 billionaires in Asia*. London & Sonoma: Nicholas Brealey Publishing Limited.
- Houben, Vincent J.H. (2000). Java in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: consolidation of a territorial state. In Howard Dick, et al., *The Emergence of a National Economy: An Economic History of Indonesia, 1800-2000* (pp.56-81). Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Iswandi. (1998). *Bisnis Militer Orde Baru: Keterlibatan ABRI dalam Bidang Ekonominya dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Rezim Otoriter*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya Bandung.
- Jenkins, David. (1984). *Suharto and His Generals: Indonesian Military Politics 1975-1983*. New York: Cornell University.
- Jenkins, David. (2010). One Reasonably Capable Man: Soeharto's Early Fundraising. In Edward Aspinall & Greg Fealy (Ed.), *Soeharto's New Order and its Legacy: Essays in honour of Harold Crouch* (pp.17-25). Canberra: ANU E Press.

- Kingsbury, Damien. (2003). *Power Politics and the Indonesian Military*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Kunio, Yoshihara. (1988). *The Rise of Ersatz Capitalism in South East Asia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lin, Nan. (2003). *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lindblad, J. Thomas. (1998). *Foreign Investment in Southeast Asia in the Twentieth Century*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Lindblad, J. Thomas. (2000). The late colonial state and economic expansion, 1900-1930s. In Howard Dick, et al., *The Emergence of a National Economy: An Economic History of Indonesia, 1800-2000* (pp.111-152). Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Lindblad, J. Thomas. (2008). *Bridges to New Business: The Economic Decolonization of Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Lubis, Mochtar. (1969). Masalah Pertamina. In Atmakusumah & Sri Rumiati Atmakusumah (Ed.), *Tajuk-Tajuk Mochtar Lubis di Harian Indonesia Raya, Seri II: Korupsi dan Ekonomi, Pendidikan dan Generasi Muda, Hukum, ABRI* (pp.24-25). Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Lubis, Mochtar. (1971). Proyek Miniatur Indonesia. In Atmakusumah & Sri Rumiati Atmakusumah (Ed.), *Tajuk-Tajuk Mochtar Lubis di Harian Indonesia Raya, Seri I: Politik Dalam Negeri dan Masalah Nasional* (pp.294-297). Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.

- Lubis, Mochtar. (1971a). Kembali Main Teror?. In Atmakusumah & Sri Rumiati Atmakusumah (Ed.), *Tajuk-Tajuk Mochtar Lubis di Harian Indonesia Raya, Seri 1: Politik Dalam Negeri dan Masalah Nasional* (pp.304-306). Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Macintyre, Andrew. (1991). *Business and Politics in Indonesia*. New South Wales: Allen & Unwin Pty Ptd.
- Macintyre, Andrew. (2000). Funny Money: Fiscal Policy, Rent-seeking, and Economic Performance in Indonesia. In Jomo K.S. & Mustaq Khan (Ed.), *Rent-Seeking in Southeast Asia* (pp.248-273). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mackie, J.A.C. (2007). The Indonesian Economy, 1950-1963. In Bruce Glassburner (Ed.), *The Economy of Indonesia: Selected Readings* (pp.16-69). Jakarta & Kuala Lumpur: Equinox Publishing.
- Mackie, J.A.C. (2010). Patrimonialism: The New Order and Beyond. In Edward Aspinall & Greg Fealy (Ed.), *Soeharto's New Order and its Legacy: Essays in honour of Harold Crouch* (pp.81-96). Canberra: ANU E Press.
- Mallarangeng, Rizal. (2008). *Mendobrak Sentralisme Ekonomi: Indonesia 1986-1992*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Mas'oed, Mochtar. (1989). *Ekonomi dan Struktur Politik Indonesia: Orde Baru 1966-1971*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Matsumoto, Yasuyuki. (2007). *Financial Fragility and Instability in Indonesia*. Oxon: Routledge



- McLeod, Ross H. (2011). Institutionalized public sector corruption: a legacy of the Suharto franchise. In Edward Aspinall & Gerry van Klinken (Ed.), *The State and Illegality in Indonesia* (pp.45-63). Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Moertopo, Ali. (1973). *Some Basic Thoughts on the Acceleration and Modernization of 25 Years' Development*. Jakarta: Centre for Strategic and International Studies.
- Mortimer, Rex. (2006). *Indonesian Communism under Sukarno: Ideology and Politics, 1959-1965*. Jakarta & Singapore: Equinox Publishing.
- Muhaimin, Yahya A. (1991). *Bisnis dan Politik: Kebijaksanaan Ekonomi Indonesia 1950-1980*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Nasution, A.H. (1970). The Army as a Functional Group. In Herberth Feith & Lance Castle (Ed.), *Indonesian Political Thinking: 1945-1965* (pp.428-431). Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.
- Nitisastro, Widjojo. (2010). Krisis Pertamina (25 Juni 1975). In Widjojo Nitisastro, *Pengalaman Pembangunan Indonesia: Kumpulan Tulisan dan Uraian Widjojo Nitisastro*, (pp.299-326). Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Pangaribuan, Robinson. (1996). *The Indonesian State Secretariat: 1945-1993* (Vedi Hadiz, Trans.). Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Rachbini, Didik J. (2002). *Politik Ekonomi: Paradigma dan Teori Pilihan Publik*. Jakarta: Penerbit Ghalia Indonesia.
- Rachbini, Didik J. (2008). *Teori Bandit*. Jakarta: RM Books.
- Ricklefs, M.C. (2001). *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed). Hampshire: Palgrave.

- Ricklefs, M.C., et al. (2013). *Sejarah Asia Tenggara: Dari Masa Prasejarah sampai Kontemporer*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu.
- Robison, Richard. (1990). *Power and Economy in Soeharto's Indonesia*. Manila: The Journal of Contemporary Asia Publishers.
- Robison, Richard. (2009). *The Rise of Capital*. Singapore: Equinox Publishing.
- Robison, Richard, & Hadiz, Vedi. (2004). *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The politics of oligarchy in an age of markets*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Ross, Michael L. (2001). *Timber Booms and Institutional Breakdown in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sadli, Mohammad. (2005). Mohammad Sadli. In Thee Kian Wie (Ed.), *Pelaku Berkisah: Ekonomi Indonesia 1950-an sampai 1990-an* (pp.96-122). Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Sadli, Mohammad. (1997). Commemorating the Economic Policies of 3 October 1966. In Ian Chalmers & Vedi R. Hadiz (Ed.), *The Politics of Economic Development in Indonesia: Contending perspectives* (pp.42-44). London: Routledge.
- Said, Salim. (2013). *Dari Gestapu ke Reformasi: Serangkaian Kesaksian*. Bandung: PT Mizan Pustaka.
- Schwarz, Adam. (2000). *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Soesilo. (1998). *Monopoli Bisnis Kroni & KKN Keluarga Cendana: Asal Usul – Kiprah Kejatuhannya*. Depok: Penerbit PERMATA – AD.

- Suryadinata, Leo. (1986). *Politik Tionghoa Peranakan di Jawa: 1917-1942*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Tamara, Nasir. (1997). *Mengkaji Indonesia (Pengaruh Amerika dalam Dunia Intelektual Indonesia)*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya.
- Transparency International. (2004). *Global Corruption Report 2004*. London & Sterling: Pluto Press.
- van Zanden, Jan Luiten, & Marks, Daan. (2012). *An Economic History of Indonesia: 1800-2012*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Vatikiotis, Michael. (2003). *Indonesian Politics under Suharto: The Rise and Fall of the New Order* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). London: Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Vickers, Adrian. (2013). *A History of Modern Indonesia* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Vlekke, Bernard H.M. (2016). *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia* (Samsudin Berlian, Trans.). Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Wanandi, Jusuf. (2012). *Shades of Grey: A Political Memoir of Modern Indonesia: 1965-1998*. Singapore: Equinox Publishing.
- Weber, Max. (2019). *Economy and Society: A New Translation* (Keith Tribe, Trans.). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Wie, Thee Kian. (2000). The Soeharto era and after: stability, development and crisis, 1966-2000. In Howard Dick, et al., *The Emergence of a National Economy: An Economic History of Indonesia, 1800-2000* (pp.194-243). Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Winters, Jeffrey A. (1996). *Power in Motion: Capital Mobility and the Indonesian State*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Winters, Jeffrey A. (2011). *Oligarchy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

World Bank. (1993). *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

### C. Karya-karya Ilmiah

Fadhilah, Nurul. (2012). *Peran Soedjono Hoemardani dalam Hubungan Ekonomi Indonesia-Jepang 1967-1978* (Bachelor's thesis, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Jawa Barat, Indonesia).

Kristianto, Hari. (2009). *Pembuktian Perbuatan Melawan Hukum Pada Kasus Gugatan Negara Terhadap Soeharto dan Yayasan Supersemar* (Bachelor's thesis, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Jawa Barat, Indonesia).

Mack, Andrew. (2001). *Rethinking the Dynamics of Capital Accumulation in Colonial and Post-Colonial Indonesia: Production Regulation* (Doctoral thesis, University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia).

Redfern, William A. (2010). *Sukarno's Guided Democracy and the Takeovers of Foreign Companies in Indonesia in the 1960s* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, United States of America). Retrieved from <https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/handle/2027.42/77846>

Widihandojo, David. (1997). *The Making of a Precarious Bourgeoisie: State and the Transformation of Domestic Bourgeoisie in Indonesia* (Doctoral thesis, Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia, Australia).

D. Jurnal-jurnal

Ascher, William. (1998). From Oil to Timber: The Political Economy of Off Budget Development Financing in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, (65): 37-61.

Barr, Christopher M. (1998). Bob Hasan, the Rise of Apkindo, and the Shifting Dynamics of Control in Indonesia's Timber Sector. *Indonesia*, (65): 1-36.

Booth, Anne. (2000). Poverty and Inequality in The Soeharto Era: An Assessment. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 36(1): 73-104.

Budd, Eric N. (2000). Political Economy of Developmental and Patrimonial States: A Case Study of the Philippines and Indonesia. *Philippine Political Science Journal*, 21(44): 1-26.

Cameron, Lisa. (2003). Growth with or without Equity? The distributional impact of Indonesian development. *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature*, 16(2): 1-17.

Cole, David C., & Slade, Betty F. (1998). Why Has Indonesia's Financial Crisis Been so Bad?. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 34(2): 61-66.

Crouch, Harold. (1979). Patrimonialism and Military Rule in Indonesia. *World Politics*, 31(4): 571-587.

Emmerson, Donald K. (1983). Understanding the New Order: Bureaucratic Pluralism in Indonesia. *Asian Survei*, 23(11): 1220-1241.

Fisman, Raymond. (2001). Estimating the Value of Political Connections. *The American Economic Review*, 91(4): 1099-1102.

Frankema, Ewout, & Marks, Daan. (2007). Was It Really "Growth with Equity" under Suharto? A Theil Analysis of Indonesian Income Inequality, 1961-2002. *Ekonomi dan Keuangan Indonesia*.

- Frankema, Ewout, & Marks, Daan. (2010). Growth, Stability, But What About Equity? Reassessing Indonesian Inequality from a Comparative Perspective. *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 25(1): 75-104.
- Hale, Christopher D. (2002). Indonesia's National Car Project Revisited. *Asian Survey*, 41(4): 629-645.
- Kang, David C. (2003). Transaction Costs and Crony Capitalism in East Asia. *Comparative Politics*, 35(4): 439-458.
- King, Dwight Y. (2000). Corruption in Indonesia: A Curable Cancer?. *Journal of International Affairs*, 53(2): 603-624.
- Korte, Nina. (2011). It's Not Only Rents: Explaining the Persistence and Change of Neopatrimonialism in Indonesia. *GIGA Working Papers*, (167): 4-32.
- Leith, Denise. (2002). Freeport and the Suharto Regime, 1965-1998. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 14(1): 69-100.
- Liddle, R. William. (1985). Soeharto's Indonesia: Personal Rule and Political Institutions. *Pacific Affairs*, 58(1): 68-90.
- Lindblad, J. Thomas. (2002). The Importance of *Indonesianisasi* during the Transition from the 1930s to the 1960s. *Itinerario*, 26: 51-71.
- Lindblad, J. Thomas. (2011). The Economic Decolonisation of Indonesia: a Bird's Eye View. *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities*, 4: 1-20.
- Malley, Michael. (1989). Soedjono Hoemardani and Indonesian-Japanese Relations 1966-1974. *Indonesia*, (48): 47-64.
- McLeod, Ross H. (2000). Soeharto's Indonesia: A Better Class of Corruption. *Agenda*, 7(2): 99-112.

Resosudarmo, Budy P. & Kuncoro, Ari. (2006). The Political Economy of Indonesian Economic Reforms: 1983-2000. *Oxford Development Studies*, 34(3): 341-355.

Robison, Richard, & Hadiz, Vedi. (1993). Privatization or the Reorganization of Dirigism? Indonesian Economic Policy in the 1990s. *Canadian Journal of Developmental Studies*, 14(1): 13-32.

Robertson-Snape, Fiona. (1999). Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism in Indonesia. *Third World Quarterly*, 20(3): 589-602.

Rock, Michael T. (2003). The Politics of Development Policy and Development Policy Reform in New Order Indonesia. *William Davidson Institute Working Paper*, 632: 1-46.

van Kerkhof, Jasper. (2005). Indonesianisasi of Dutch economic interests, 1930-1960: The case of Internatio. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, 161(2-3): 181-209.

van Free, Frank. (2019). If the Walls Could Speak: The Unlikely History of Herengracht 380-382. *NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies*.