

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- Burchill, S. (2005). *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Buzan, B. (1991). *People, States, and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- Cherrington, D. (1989). *Organizational Behavior: The Management of Individual and Organizational Performance*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Fred, S., & Marina, C. (2005). *Privatising Security: Law, Practice and Governance of Private Military and Security Companies*. Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF).
- Gibson, J. L., Ivancevich, J. M., & Donnelly, J. H. (2000). *Organizations*. Irwin/McGraw-Hill.
- Hasibuan, M. S. (2006). *Pengantar Studi Ilmu Manajemen*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung.
- Holsti, K. J. (1987). *Politik Internasional: Kerangka Analisis*. Bandung: Bina Cipta.
- Lovewine, G. C. (2014). *Outsourcing the Global War on Terrorism: PMC and American Intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Morgenthau, H. (1997). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (6th ed.). Beijing: Peking University Press.
- Padelford, N. J., & Lincoln, G. A. (1960). *International Politics*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Papp, D. S. (1997). *Contemporary International Relations: Framework for Understanding*. United States of America: Allyn and Bacon.
- Plano, J. C., & Olton, R. (1999). *Kamus Hubungan Internasional dan Globalisasi Ekonomi*. Jakarta: Ghalia.

Poerwadarminta, W. J. (1996). Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia. Jakarta: Gramedia.

Robbins, S. (1996). Organizational. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Sobirin, A. (2014). Organisasi dan Perilaku Organisasi.

### **Dokumen Resmi**

Bilmes, L. J. (2021, September 11). Where did the \$5tn Spent on Afghanistan and Iraq go? Here's Where. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/sep/11/us-afghanistan-iraq-defense-spending>

Diálogo. (2021, September 24). United States Launches Task Force to Combat Corruption in Northern Triangle. Diambil kembali dari Diálogo: <https://dialogo-americas.com/articles/united-states-launches-task-force-to-combat-corruption-in-northern-triangle/>

Elsea, J. K. (2010, Januari 22). Private Security Contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan: Legal Issues. Congressional Research Service. <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/R40764.html>

General Accounting Office. (2021). Report on the Use of Private Security Contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan. General Accounting Office, 1-45.

International Crisis Group. (2020). The Future of Afghanistan's Security Forces. Crisis Group Asia Report, 1-32.

Trump, D. (2020). National Strategy for Counterterrorism. The White House.

United Nations. (2019). The Montreux Document on Private Military and Security Companies: International Legal Obligations and Good Practices. United Nations Office at Geneva. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3827689>

### **Jurnal**

Abulhajat, M. J. (2017). Penggunaan Jasa Perusahaan Militer Dan Keamanan Swasta (Private Military and Security Company) Dalam Konflik Bersenjata Menurut Hukum Internasional. Lex Crimen, 6(2).

- Ahmedi, B., & Ahmeti, B. (2018). Private Armies in Contemporary International Politics. *European Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, 45-55. <https://doi.org/10.26417/ejms.v3i3.p45-55>
- Ayusi, R. (2018). The Efficiency of the Use of Private Military Security Companies by The United States in Iraq. *International Journal Economic Management and Social Science*, 51-59. <https://dx.doi.org/10.32484/ijemss.v1i2.11>
- Baum, J. A., & McGahan, A. M. (2009). Outsourcing War: The Evolution of the Private Military Industry after the Cold War. Rotman School of Management. DOI:10.2139/ssrn.1496498
- Efendi, M. H. (2019). Latar Belakang Penggunaan Private Military and Security Companies oleh Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa dalam United Nations Mission Assistance in Afghanistan tahun 2007 - 2015. *Repository Unair*, 1-11.
- Fearon, J. D. (1995). Rationalist explanations for war. *International Organization*, 49(3), 379-414.
- Gasser, M., & Malzacher, M. (2020). Beyond banning mercenaries: The use of private military and security companies under IHL. In *International Humanitarian Law and Non-State Actors: Debates, Law and Practice* (pp. 47-77). [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6265-339-9\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6265-339-9_3)
- Hall, R. H. (1980). Effectiveness Theory and Organizational Effectiveness. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 536-545.
- Indrawan, J. (2018). Private Military and Security Companies (PMSC) Status in International Humanitarian Law. *Jurnal Pertahanan dan Bela Negara*, 115-136. DOI:10.33172/jpbh.v4i1.325
- Johnston, K. (2009). *Private Military Contractors: Lessons Learned in Iraq and Increased Accountability in Afghanistan*. Georgetown University Press, 93-99.

- Krasner, S. D. (1982). Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables. *International Organization*, 36(2), 185–205.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2706520>
- Leander, A. (2005). The Market for Force and Public Security: The Destabilizing Consequences of PMC. *Journal of Peace Research*, 605-622.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/30042371>
- Leander, A. (2005). The Power to Construct International Security: On the Significance of PMC. *Journal of International Studies*, 803-825.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298050330030601>
- Mark, D. R., & Reed, M. W. (2018). Public Attitudes toward PMC: Insights from Principal-agent Theory. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1-27.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002718797166>
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (1995). A realist reply. *International Security*, 20(1), 82-93.
- Petracca, M. P. (1991). The Rational Choice Approach to Politics: A Challenge to Democratic Theory. *The Review of Politics*, 53(2), 289–319.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1407756>
- Singer, P. W. (2003). *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*. Cornell University Press.
- Sullivan, P. L., & Danzell, O. E. (2012). Armed Conflict Escalation and the Onset of War: A Reevaluation. *International Studies Quarterly*, 56(4), 557–569.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2012.00747.x>

### **Website**

- ABC News. (2016, January 16). The Real-Life Heroes Behind '13 Hours: The Secret Soldiers of Benghazi'. Retrieved from ABC News:  
<https://abcnews.go.com/Entertainment/real-life-heroes-13-hours-secret-soldiers-benghazi/story?id=36325764>

- ALJAZEERA. (2016, Oktober 8). Taliban Oil. Diambil kembali dari ALJAZEERA: <https://www.aljazeera.com/program/featured-documentaries/2016/10/8/taliban-oil>
- Amentum. (2021, Februari 18). Dyncorp International Awarded UH-60 Contractor Logistics Support Services Task Order. Diambil kembali dari Amentum: <https://www.amentum.com/2021/02/16/dyncorp-international-awarded-uh-60-contractor-logistics-support-services-task-order/>
- Amini, M. (2018, Oktober 2). Privatizing War in Afghanistan Endangers Civilians. Diambil kembali dari Human Rights Watch: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/10/02/privatizing-war-afghanistan-endangers-civilians>
- Ayusi, R. (2018). The Efficiency of the Use of Private Military Security Companies by The United States in Iraq. *International Journal Economic Management and Social Science*, 51-59.
- Bezhan, F. (2020, Maret 23). How the Taliban Went from International Pariah to U.S. Peace Partner in Afghanistan. Diambil kembali dari RadioFreeEuropeRadioLiberty: <https://www.rferl.org/a/how-the-taliban-went-from-international-pariah-to-u-s-peace-partner-in-afghanistan/30502909.html>
- Brown, V. F. (2017). *President Trump's Afghanistan Policy: Hopes and Pitfalls*. Brookings.
- Cancian, M. (2021, Agustus 30). In Afghanistan, Contractors were Unsung Heroes of US Efforts. Diambil kembali dari Breaking Defense: <https://breakingdefense.com/2021/08/in-afghanistan-contractors-were-unsung-heroes-of-us-efforts/>
- Carlson, S. (2017, Agustus 25). Leidos Receives \$727M Contract for Afghan Air Force Support. Diambil kembali dari Government Executive: <https://www.govexec.com/defense/2017/08/leidos-receives-727m-contract-afghan-air-force-support/140319/>

- Gannon, K. (2021, September 8). The Taliban and the Lost Treasure of Afghanistan. Diambil kembali dari The Washington Post: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/09/08/taliban-afghanistan-treasures/>
- Holbrooke, R. (2017, Januari 7). Blackwater's Role in the War on Terror. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/07/opinion/sunday/blackwaters-role-in-the-war-on-terror.html>
- Metrick, A., & Neubauer, S. (2021, September 7). Understanding the Taliban's Governance Strategies. Diambil kembali dari War on the Rocks: <https://warontherocks.com/2021/09/understanding-the-talibans-governance-strategies/>
- Prince, E. (2013, April 4). The Truth About Blackwater. Wall Street Journal. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324532004578360490718236184>
- Private Military Contractors. (2019, Juni 11). Role of Private Military Contractors in the Middle East. Diambil kembali dari Private Military Contractors: <https://www.privatemilitarycontractors.org/middle-east-operations>
- Selber, J. A. (2018, Mei 23). Private Military Contractors and Their Role in the Conflict in Yemen. The Independent. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/private-military-contractors-yemen-conflict-a8362621.html>
- Wolf, M. (2019). Privatization of the Military: Advantages and Disadvantages. *Foreign Policy Journal*, 25-32.
- Wolfendale, J. (2007). The Ethics of Commercial Military: Private Military Companies and International Law. *International Affairs*, 839-852. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2007.00654.x>

Wood, D. (2016, September 7). The Perils of Private Military Contractors. The Huffington Post. [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/the-perils-of-private-mil\\_b\\_11870278](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/the-perils-of-private-mil_b_11870278)

### Website

ABC News. (2016, January 16). The Real-Life Heroes Behind '13 Hours: The Secret Soldiers of Benghazi'. Retrieved from ABC News: <https://abcnews.go.com/Entertainment/real-life-heroes-13-hours-secret-soldiers-benghazi/story?id=36325764>

Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). The U.S. War in Afghanistan. Retrieved from Council on Foreign Relations: <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-war-afghanistan>

Knickmeyer, E. (2021, September 13). Study says nearly half of defense spending for 9/11 wars went to private contractors. PBS News Hour. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/study-says-nearly-half-of-defense-spending-for-9-11-wars-went-to-private-contractors>

Mark, L., Eric, S., & Michael R., G. (2017, July 10). Trump Aides Recruited Businessmen to Devise Options for Afghanistan. Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/10/world/asia/trump-afghanistan-policy-erik-prince-stephen-feinberg.html>

Michaels, J. (2017, August 8). Trump White House weighs unprecedented plan to privatize much of the war in Afghanistan. Retrieved from USA TODAY: *War in Afghanistan: Trump White House weighs bold plan to privatize it (usatoday.com)*

Scahill, J. (2007, January 25). Bush's rent-an-army. Retrieved from Los Angeles Times: <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2007-jan-25-oe-scahill25-story.html>

Shinkman, P. D. (2021, July 21). Number of Private Contractors in Afghanistan Drops Precipitously as Biden Pushes Withdrawal Plan. Retrieved from US News: <https://www.usnews.com/news/world-report/articles/2021-jul-21/number-of-private-military-contractors-in-afghanistan-drops-precipitously-as-biden-pushes-withdrawal-plan>