DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Adams, W. C. (2015). Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews. In K. E. Newcomer, H. Hatry, & J. Wholey, *Handbook of Practical Program Evaluation* (pp. 492-504). Jossey-Bass.
- Blacksell, M. (2006). Political Geography. New York: Routledge.
- Breuning, M. (2007). Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Carter, R. G. (2020). Making US Foreign Policy. In R. G. Carter, *Making US Foreign Policy: The Essentials* (pp. 1-10). Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Swedberg, R. (2020). Exploratory Research. In C. Elman, *The Production of Knowledge: Enhancing Progress in Social Sciences* (pp. 17-40). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weber, J. (2020). Handbook on Geopolitics and Security in the Arctic: The High North Between Cooperation and Confrontation. Bonn: Springer.

Jurnal

- Abdiel, K. S. (2020). Individual Foreign Policy Analysis of Donald Trump: A Case Study of the US Embassy Relocation to Jerusalem. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 15-27.
- Baker, J. S., & Byers, M. (2012). Crossed Lines: The Curious Case of the Beaufort Sea Maritime Boundary Dispute. *Ocean Development & International Law*, 70-95.
- Branda, O.-E. (2018). Changes in the American Foreign Policy: From Obama to Trump. *International Conference: Knowledge Based Organization*, 160-165.
- Carlson, J. D., Long, J., Minteer, K., Young, S., & Hubach, C. (2013). Scramble for Arctic: Layered Sovereignty, UNCLOS 1982, and Competing Maritime Territorial Claims. *SAIS Review*, 22-43.
- Gunnarsson, B. (2021). Recent Ship Traffic and Developing Shipping Trends on the Northern Sea Route: Policy Implications for Future Arctic Shipping. *Marine Policy*.

- Huebert, R. (2009). The Reluctant Arctic Power. SPP Briefing Papers: Focus on the United States, 1-27.
- Ingimundarson, V. (2014). Managing A Contested Region: The Arctic Council and the Politics of Arctic Governance . *The Polar Journal*, 183-198.
- Jacobsen, M. (2019). Greenland's Arctic Advantage: Articulations, Acts, and Appearances of Sovereignty Games. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 1-23.
- Jayanti, B. S., & Utomo, T. (2019). The Military Escalation by The Arctic Five Members in the Arctic over the Period of 2007-2019. *Journal of International Relations*, 368-377.
- Lajeunesse, A., & Huebert, R. (2019). Preparing for the next Arctic Sovereignty Crisis: The Northwest Passage in the Age of Donald Trump. *International Journal*, 225-239.
- Lavrenteva, N. (2020). Energy Policy in the Arctic: Yamal LNG in Russian International and Domestic Political Agenda. *The Journal of Cross-Regional Dialogues*, 83-104.
- Macneill, C. M. (2020). A Trip to Lomonosov Ridge: The Arctic, UNCLOS, and 'Off the Shelf' Sovereignty Claims. *Journal of Environmental Law & Litigation*, 227-260.
- Moe, A. (2019). Asian Countries and Arctic Shipping Policies, Interests and Footprints on Governance. *Arctic Review on Law and Politics*, 24-52.
- Østhagen, A. (2017). Geopolitics and Security in the Arctic: What Role for the EU? *European View*, 239-249.
- Østerud, Ø., & Hønneland, G. (2013, April). Geopolitics and International Governance in the Arctic. In *Arctic Governance* (Vol. 1, pp. 156-176). Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Petersen, N. (1977). Adaptation as a Framework for the Analysis of Foreign Policy Behavior. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 221-250.
- Pedersen, T. (2012). Debates Over The Role of The Arctic Council. *Ocean Development & International Law*, 146-156.

- Pilyasov, A., Kuleshov, V., & Seliverstov, V. (2015). Arctic Policy in an Era of Global Instability: Experience and Lessons for Russia. *Regional Research of Russia*, 10-22.
- Pincus, R. (2013). "The US is an Arctic Nation": Policy, Implementation, and US Icebreaking Capabilities in a Changing Arctic. *The Polar Journal*, 149-162.
- Rosenau, J. N. (1970). Foreign Policy as Adaptive Behavior: Some Preliminary Notes for a Theoritical Model . *Comparative Politics*, 365-387.
- Russell, G. (2006). Alfred Thayer Mahan and American Geopolitics: The Conservatism and Realism of an Imperialist. *Geopolitics*, 119-140.
- Schultz, D. (2019). American Foreign Policy in the Age of Donald Trump. *Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review*, 11-34.
- Sholehudin, M. (2020). *Concept, Meaning, and Object of Research Methodology*. Retrieved from Repository UIN Malang: http://repository.uin-malang.ac.id/6832/1/6832.pdf
- Todorov, A. A. (2017). The Russia-USA Legal Dispute Over The Straits of The Northern Sea Route and Similar Case of The Northwest Passage. *Arctic and North*, 62-75.
- Weingartner, K. A., & Orttung, R. (2019). US Arctic Policymaking under Trump and Obama. *Polar Record*, 1-9.

Dokumen dan Laporan

- Aliyev, N. (2019, June 25). Russia's Military Capabilities in the Arctic. *International Centre for Defense and Security*. Retrieved from icds.ee.
- Conley, H. A. (2013). *The New Foreign Policy Frontier*. Washington: Center for Strategic & International Studies.
- Conley, H. A., & Melino, M. (2019). *U.S. Policy Stagnation Toward the Arctic Region*. Central for Strategic & International Studies: Mei.
- Defense, D. o. (2016, Desember). *Arctic Strategy Departement of Defense*.

 Retrieved from DOD Defense:

 https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2016-Arctic-Strategy-UNCLAS-cleared-for-release.pdf

- Defense, D. o. (2019, June 6). Report to Congress Departement of Defense Arctic Strategy. Retrieved from Media Defense: https://media.defense.gov/2019/Jun/06/2002141657/-1/-1/1/2019-DOD-ARCTIC-STRATEGY.PDF
- Emmerson, C. (2012). *Arctic Opening: Opportunity and Risks in the High North.* Llyods.
- House, W. (2010, Mei 1). *National Security Strategy 2010*. Retrieved from Obama White House: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_s ecurity_strategy.pdf
- House, W. (2013, Mei). *National Strategy for the Arctic Region*. Retrieved from Obama White House Archive: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/nat_arctic_strate gy.pdf
- Iliopoulos, I. (2009). *Strategy and Geopolitics of Sea Power throughout History*. Retrieved from baltdefcol.org:

 https://www.baltdefcol.org/files/files/BSDR/BSDR_11_2.pdf
- Ragner, C. L. (2000). Northern Sea Route Cargo Flows and Infrastructure -- Present State and Future Potential. Lysaker: The Fridtjof Nansen Institute.
- Rogers, J. (2010). To Rule The Waves: Why Maritime Geostrategy is Needed to Sustain European Union. Egmont Institute.
- Paul, M. (2019, November). *Polar Power USA: Full Steam Ahead into the Arctic*. Retrieved from SWP-Berlin: https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/comments/2019C42_pau.pdf
- USGS. (2008). Circum-Arctic Resources Appraisal: Estimates of Undiscovered Oil and Gas North of the Arctic Circle. Retrieved from PUBS USGS: https://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/2008/3049/fs2008-3049.pdf
- Wezeman, S. T. (2016, October). *Military Capabilities in The Arctic: A New Cold War in The High North?* Retrieved from SIPRI: https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/Military-capabilities-in-the-Arctic.pdf

Wawancara

- Ayuba, I. N. (2021, Oktober 26). Wawancara dengan Irdyansyah N. Yunior Ayuba (Atase Laut di KBRI Washington). (L. Lasminingrat, Interviewer)
- Saputra, S. (2021, November 17). Wawancara dengan Sandi Saputra (Polar Institute of Indonesia). (L. Lasminingrat, Interviewer)

Internet

- Amadeo, K. (2021, September 29). *Trump vs. Obama on Their Economic Policies:* Who Is Best for the Economy? Retrieved from The Balance: https://www.thebalance.com/trump-vs-obama-economic-policies-4142333
- Asia, N. (2021, Agustus 5). *How the Northern Sea Route will Change the World's Major Traffic Flow?* . Retrieved from Nikkei Asia : https://asia.nikkei.com/Business/Transportation/Arctic-opening-How-the-Northern-Sea-Route-will-reshape-the-world
- Almond, R. G. (2017, Mei 24). *U.S. Ratification of the Law of the Sea Convention*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: https://thediplomat.com/2017/05/u-s-ratification-of-the-law-of-the-sea-convention/
- BBC. (2018, November 28). *US Mid-Term Elections Results 2018: Maps, Charts and Analysis*. Retrieved from BBC: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-46076389
- BBC. (2021, Juni 2). *Alaska: Biden to suspend Trump Arctic Drilling Leases*.

 Retrieved from BBC: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-57322511
- Bryce, E. (2019, October 13). *Who Owns the Arctic?* Retrieved from Live Science: https://www.livescience.com/who-owns-the-arctic.html
- Clifford, R. (2016, Agustus 25). *What is Obama's Arctic Legacy?* Retrieved from Polar Connection: https://polarconnection.org/obama-arctic-legacy/
- Cole, D. (2018, Juli 6). *The Latest US Defense Budget Finally Pays More Attention to the Arctic-- But At The Cost of Deficit Spending*. Retrieved from Arctic Today: https://www.arctictoday.com/latest-us-defense-budget-finally-pays-attention-arctic-cost-deficit-spending/
- Dahlburg, J.-T. (1987, Oktober 2). *Gorbachev Calls for Peace, Cooperation in Arctic*. Retrieved from John-Thor Dahlburg: https://apnews.com/article/ed8452a6d9b7a62f5138a73a9de89432

- Dao, T. (2016, Juni 3). *Obama Calls On U.S. Senate to approve UNCLOS to support Asia Pivot*. Retrieved from VN Express International:

 https://e.vnexpress.net/news/news/obama-calls-on-u-s-senate-to-approve-unclos-to-support-asia-pivot-3414001.html
- Dimock, M., & Gramlich, J. (2021, Januari 29). *Pew Research*. Retrieved from How America Changed During Donald Trump's Presidency:

 https://www.pewresearch.org/2021/01/29/how-america-changed-during-donald-trumps-presidency/
- Giles, C. (2020, Oktober 16). *US Election 2020: Has Trump Kept His Promises on the Military?* Retrieved from BBC: https://www.bbc.com/news/election-us-2020-54060026
- Gramer, R. (2017, Januari 25). *Here's What Russia's Military Build-Up in the Arctic Looks Like*. Retrieved from foreignpolicy.com:

 https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/25/heres-what-russias-military-build-up-in-the-arctic-looks-like-trump-oil-military-high-north-infographic-map/
- Hanlon, T. (2020, Desember 3). *Trump Rushes To Lock In Oil Drilling In Arctic Wildlife Refuge Before Biden's Term*. Retrieved from NPR:

 https://www.npr.org/2020/12/03/942052004/trump-administration-sets-last-minute-oil-lease-sale-for-arctic-wildlife-refuge
- Initiatives, P. R. (2016, Mei 9). *National Security Decision Memorandum 144* (*December 1971*). Retrieved from Polar Connection: https://polarconnection.org/national-security-decision-memorandum-144-december-1971/
- Johnson, S. (2019, Mei 6). *Pompeo: Russia is "aggressive" in Arctic, China's work there also needs watching*. Retrieved from Reuters:

 https://www.reuters.com/article/us-finland-arctic-council-idUSKCN1SC1AY
- Judis, J. B. (2014, November 5). *Here's Why The Democrats Got Crushed and Why 2016 Won't Be a Cakewalk*. Retrieved from New Republic: https://newrepublic.com/article/120138/2014-election-results-heres-whydemocrats-lost-senate-gop

- Keating, J. (2015, September 1). *Obama's Alaska Trip Isn't Just About Climate Change. It's Also About Russia*. Retrieved from Slate: https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2015/09/obamas-alaska-trip-isnt-just-about-climate-change-its-also-about-russia.html
- Kennedy, B., & Johnson, C. (2020, Februari 28). *More Americans See Climate Change as a Priority, but Democrats Are Much More Concerned than Republicans*. Retrieved from Pew Research: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/28/more-americans-see-climate-change-as-a-priority-but-democrats-are-much-more-concerned-than-republicans/
- Killaby, L.-C. G. (2005). *Great Game in a Cold Climate: Canada's Arctic Sovereignty in Question*. Retrieved from Canadian Military Journal: http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo6/no4/north-nord-01-eng.asp
- Latham, A. (2020, Agustus 24). *Mahan, Corbett, and China's Maritime Grand Strategy*. Retrieved from The Diplomat:

 https://thediplomat.com/2020/08/mahan-corbett-and-chinas-maritime-grand-strategy/
- Liasson, M. (2016, Maret 4). *The Democratic Party Got Crushed During The Obama's Presidency Here's Why*. Retrieved from NPR: https://www.npr.org/2016/03/04/469052020/the-democratic-party-got-crushed-during-the-obama-presidency-heres-why
- NSIDC. (2020, Mei 4). *What is the Arctic?* Retrieved from National Snow & Ice Data Center: https://nsidc.org/cryosphere/arctic-meteorology/arctic.html
- Pengelly, M. (2019, Agustus 18). *Trump confirms he is considering attempt to buy Greenland*. Retrieved from The Guardian:

 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/aug/18/trump-considering-buying-greenland
- Rowe, D. (2018). *The Meaning of 'America First'*. Retrieved from Bulletin Kenyon: https://bulletin.kenyon.edu/article/the-meaning-of-america-first/
- Schreiber, M. (2019, Oktober 12). *U.S. Energy Secretary Perry praises Arctic oil and gas potential, while emphasizing energy geopolitics*. Retrieved from Arctictoday: https://www.arctictoday.com/u-s-energy-secretary-perry-calls-for-more-arctic-oil-and-gas-development-while-emphasizing-energy-geopolitics/

- Solsvik, T., & Adomaitis, N. (2021, April 16). *Norway to Allow U.S. Military to Build Its Soil in New Accord*. Retrieved from Reuters:

 https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/norway-may-allow-us-military-build-its-soil-revised-cooperation-deal-2021-04-16/
- Tierney, D. (2019, Desember 13). *Obama and Trump: Foreign Policy Opposites or Twins?* Retrieved from Foreign Policy Research Institute: https://www.fpri.org/article/2019/12/obama-and-trump-foreign-policy-opposites-or-twins/
- TotalEnergies. (2021, September 19). *Arctic LNG 2: An Ambitious Gas Project in Russia*. Retrieved from TotalEnergies: https://totalenergies.com/news/arctic-lng-2-ambitious-gas-project-russia
- Turunen, E. (2019). *Resources in the Arctic 2019*. Retrieved from Nordregio: https://nordregio.org/maps/resources-in-the-arctic-2019/
- Tyson, A. (2021, Juli 23). *Pew Research*. Retrieved from On Climate Change, Republican Are Open To Some Policy Approaches, Even As They Assign The Issue Low Priority: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/07/23/on-climate-change-republicans-are-open-to-some-policy-approaches-even-as-they-assign-the-issue-low-priority/
- Walsh, J. E. (2015, October 5). *Melting Ice: What is Happening to Arctic Sea Ice,* and What Does It Mean for Us? Retrieved from Oceanography:

 https://tos.org/oceanography/article/melting-ice-what-is-happening-to-arctic-sea-ice-and-what-does-it-meanforus
- Weitz, R. (2021, April 19). Competition heats up in the Melting Arctic, and US isn't prepared to counter Russia. Retrieved from The Conversation:

 https://theconversation.com/competition-heats-up-in-the-melting-arctic-and-the-us-isnt-prepared-to-counter-russia-149341
- Wong, A. (2018, Februari 14). *China: We Are A 'Near-Arctic State' and We Want A 'Polar Silk Road'*. Retrieved from CNBC: https://www.cnbc.com/2018/02/14/china-we-are-a-near-arctic-state-and-we-want-a-polar-silk-road.html