

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Hansen, J. (2019). The US Pivot to Asia-A Carte Blanche for Saudi Arabia?
- Davidson, P. (2019). Introduction to the Indo-Pasific Security Challenges. *Journal of Indo-Pasific Affairs*.
- Alby, S., Retnaningsih, U. O., & Nizmi, Y. E. (2021, Februari-April). STRATEGI ASEAN MENGHADAPI PERSAINGAN KEKUATAN AMERIKA SERIKAT DAN CHINA DI KAWASAN INDO-PASIFIK. *Jurnal Publicuho*, 4(1), 27-38.
- Khurana, G. S. (2017). 'Indo-Pasific' was Always about China? Yes, but Lets not Cross the 'Red Line'.
- Scott, D. (2017). Indo-Pasific Orientation. *Strategic Vision*, 6(35), 24-27.
- Bhatt, P. (2018). Evolving Dynamic in the Indo-Pasific . *Journal of Indo-Pasific Affairs*.
- Yahya, T. (2019). *Arti Penting ASEAN Outlook on Indo Pasific Bagi Indonesia*. Kumparan.
- Behr, T., & Jokela, J. (2011). Regionalism & Global Governance: The Emerging Agenda.
- Mansfield, E. D., & Solingen, E. (2010). Regionalism. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13(1), 145-163.
- Hikmawan, R. (2021). *Tinjauan Multiperspektif Kawasan Indo-Pasifik: Peluang dan Tantangan*. Indonesia: Graha Ilmu.
- Chong, W. (2019). The Return of Indo-Pasific Strategy: An Assessment. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 73(5), 1-17.
- ASEAN. (2019). ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pasific.
- He, K., & Feng, H. (2020). The Institutionalization of the Indo-Pasific: Problems and prospects. *International Affairs*, 96(1).

- Beeson, M., & Wilson, J. (2018). The Indo-Pacific Reconceptualizing the Asian Regional Space. 1-6.
- Kartini, I. (2016). Kebijakan Jalur Sutra Baru Cina dan Implikasinya Bagi Amerika Serikat. *Jurnal Kajian Wilayah*, 131-147.
- Blackwill, R. D., & Harris, J. M. (2016). *War by other means*. Harvard University Press.
- Michel, D., & Passarelli, R. (2014). Sea Change: Evolving Maritime Geopolitics in the Indo-Pacific Region. *Stimson Center*.
- Yarger, H. R. (2006, February). Strategic Theory of 21st Century: The Little Book on Big Strategy.
- de Swielande, T. (2014). The Indo-Pacific: The New Great Game Between China and the United States. *Interpreting China as Regional and Global Power Nationalism and Historical Consciousness in World Politics*, 169-190.
- Iriawan, S. (2018). Diskursus Indo-Pasifik: Hegemoni Amerika, Persaingan Strategis, Hingga Transformasi Geopolitik Kawasan. *Mandala*, 1(2), 282-310.
- Medcalf, R. (2018). Reimagining Asia: From Asia-Pacific to Indo-Pacific. In G. Rozman, & L. C., *International Relations and Asia's Southern Tier: ASEAN, Australia, and India*. Springer, Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore.
- Miracola, S. (2018, June 4). The Indo-Pacific "Encirclement": How Is China Reacting? *. Isi Online*.
- Huasheng, Z. (2018, November 27). The Indo-Pacific Strategy: China's Perspective. *. Valdai Club*.
- Nurhasya, M. J. (2018, March). Konsepsi Indo-Pasifik sebagai Sebuah Strategi Ketahanan Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia. *Jurnal Kajian Lemhannas RI*, 67.
- Medcalf, R. (2014). In defence of Indo-Pacific: Australia's New Strategic map. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 68(4), 470-483.
- Mohan, C. R. (2017). Donald Trump's 'Indo-Pacific' and America's India Conundrum. *ISAS Insights*.

- Commonwealth of Australia. (2013). *Defence White Paper*. Retrieved from http://www.defence.gov.au/whitepaper2013/docs/WP_2013_web.pdf.
- Laksmiana, E. A. (2018, November 20). *ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pasific, message to major powers*. Retrieved from Antara News: <https://en.antaranews.com/news/2173934/indonesians-indo-pasific-vision-call-asean-stick-together>
- ASEAN Secretariat. (2019b). *Chair's Statement of the 34th ASEAN Summit Bangkok, 23 June 2019 Advancing Partnership For Sustainability*. Retrieved from https://asean.org/storage/2019/06/Final_ChairsStatement-of-the-34th-ASEAN-Summit_as-of-23-June-2019-12....pdf
- ASEAN Secretariat. (2019a). *ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific*. Retrieved from https://asean.org/storage/2019/06/ASEAN-Outlook-on-the-Indo-Pacific_FINAL_22062019.pdf
- Pratomo, R. R., & Afrimadona. (2021). Perkembangan Politik Internasional di Kawasan Indo-Pasifik. In *Tinjauan Multiperspektif Kawasan Indo-Pasifik: Peluang dan Tantangan* (pp. 37-59). Graha Ilmu.
- Ram, V. (2015). The Proposal for an Indo-Pacific Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation: A Critical Reassessment. *Journal of ASEAN Studie*, 3, 22-31.
- Natalegawa, M. M. (2013, May 16). *An Indonesian Perspective on the Indo-Pacific*. Retrieved from [Retrievedfromhttp://csis.org/files/attachments/130516_MartyNatalegawa_Speech.pdf](http://csis.org/files/attachments/130516_MartyNatalegawa_Speech.pdf)
- Widiatmaja, A., & Albab, U. (2019). Indonesia di Era Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) dan Joko Widodo: Kebijakan Luar Negeri di Tengah Dinamika Lingkungan Strategis Regional.
- Sukmadewi, P. (n.d.). INDO-PACIFIC TREATY SEBAGAI PERLUASAN KERJA SAMA INDONESIA DI BIDANG MARITIM.
- Wirasenjaya, A. M. (2018). From State-Led Regionalism to Multi-track Regionalism. *The 6th Asian Academic Society International Conference (AASIC)*.

- Yani, Y. M., & Montratama, I. (2015). *Indonesia Sebagai Poros Maritim Dunia: Suatu Tinjauan Geopolitik*.
- Laksmiana, E. A. (2014). Rebalancing Indonesia's Naval Force: Trends, Nature, and Drivers. In G. T. Chan, *Naval Modernisation in South-East Asia: Nature, Causes, and Consequences* (pp. 175-203). Routledge, London.
- Kurniawan, M. A. (2018). Beyond Paradigms: Understanding the South China Sea Dispute Using Analytic Eclecticism. *International Studies*, 55(3), 1-25.
- Rapp-Hopper, K. (2018). The Indo-Pacific Vision in Strategic Limbo: a Foreign Policy Case Study for the Trump Era. 7-8.
- Marsudi, R. (n.d.). "Crafting a Strategic Vision: A New Era of US–Indonesia Relations,"., (p. 41). Denmark, Sukma, and Parthermore. "Joint Statement by the United States of America and the Republic of Indonesia". (2015, October 26). Retrieved from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/10/26/joint-statement-united-states-america-and-republic-indonesia>.
- Clinton, H. (2011, October 11). *America's Pacific Century*,. Retrieved from Foreign Policy: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/11/americas-pacific-century/>.
- US Department of State. (2013, December 17). "The East Asia–Pacific Rebalance: Expanding US Engagement.". Retrieved from <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/pl/2013/218776.htm>.
- Jakarta Post. (2013, June 5). Retrieved from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/06/05/ri-us-hold-joint-exercises-involving-1800-personnel.html>.
- Indonesian Embassy in Washington. (n.d.). *Bilateral Relations*. Retrieved from www.embassyofindonesia.org.
- US Peace Corps. (2011). *Peace Corps Expands Program in Indonesia*.
- US Embassy. (2011). *US-Indonesian Trade & Investment Relationship*. Jakarta.

- Montratama, I. (2016, November). The Reconstruction of Indonesia Foreign Policy amidst the 21st Century Strategic Circumstances Dynamics in Indo-Pacific. *Journal of International Studies*, 1(1), 36-61. Retrieved from Journal of International Studies: DOI: 10.24198/intermestic.v1n1.4
- Committee of Foreign Relations. (n.d.). Re-balancing the Rebalance. 8.
- Fadillah, R. (2015). *Mengenang Poros Jakarta-Peking-Moscow yang buat gemetar AS & Barat*. Retrieved from Merdeka.com: <http://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/mengenang-poros-jakarta-peking-moscow-yang-buat-gemetar-as-barat.html>
- National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC). (2015). *Visions and Actions on jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road*. Retrieved from https://en.ndrc.gov.cn/newsrelease_8232/201503/t20150330_1193900.html
- Menuju Poros Maritim Dunia*. (2016). Retrieved from KEMKOMINFO.
- Chatzky, A., & McBride, J. (2020, January 28). *China's Massive Belt and Road Initiative*. Retrieved from Council on Foreign Relations: <https://www.cfr.org/background/chinas-massive-belt-and-road-initiative>
- C., S., & S, M. (2017). *Indo-Pasific? Not from where China is sitting*. The Reuters.
- Chin, G., & Stubbs, R. (2011). China, regional institution-building and the China–ASEAN Free Trade Area. *Review of International Political Economy* 18, 277–298.
- Hamilton-Hart, N. (2002). *Asian States, Asian Banker: Central Banking in Southeast Asia*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Gammeltoft, P., & Tarmidi, L. T. (2013). Chinese foreign direct investment in Indonesia: trends, drivers and impacts. *International Journal of Technological Learning, Innovation, and Development* 6, 151.
- US Department of Defense. (2008). *Pa-Com Chief Lauds US–Indonesia Ties, Urges Closer Cooperation*. DoD News.

- Indonesian Embassy in Washington. (n.d.). *Bilateral Relations*. Retrieved from http://www.embassyofindonesia.org/wordpress/?page_id=516
- US Department of State. (n.d.). *Country Report: Indonesia 2014*. Retrieved from Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs: www.state.gov
- US Embassy. (2012). *US–Indonesia Relations*. Jakarta.
- Sukma. (n.d.). Indonesia and the Emerging Sino–US Rivalry in Southeast Asia.
- Anwar. (n.d.). An Indonesian Perspective on the US Rebalancing Effort toward Asia.
- Denmark, A., Sukma, R., & Parthemore, C. (2010). Crafting a Strategic Vision: A New Era of US-Indonesia Relations. *Center for a New American Security*.
- Hikam, M. A. (2014). *Menyongsong 2014-2019: Memperkuat Indonesia Dalam Dunia yang Berubah*. Jakarta: Badan Intelijen Negara.
- Farish, N. (2012). Indonesia's Trajectory 2014-2019: An insider's forecast. *RSIS Commentary*.
- Gunawan, M. V. (2020). Peran Amerika Serikat dalam Memperkuat Keamanan Maritim Indonesia Tahun 2009-2019. *UPH Journal of International Relations*.
- Chan, F. (2018). US to work with Indonesia on maritime security, counter-terrorism. *Straits Times*.
- Pratama, O. (2020, July 1). *Konservasi Perairan Sebagai Upaya menjaga Potensi Kelautan dan Perikanan Indonesia*. Retrieved from DIREKTORAT JENDERAL PENGELOLAAN RUANG LAUT: <https://kkp.go.id/djprl/artikel/21045-konservasi-perairan-sebagai-upaya-menjaga-potensi-kelautan-dan-perikanan-indonesia>
- Pusat Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Kebijakan pada Organisasi Internasional. (2016). *Diplomasi Poros Maritim; Keamanan Maritim dalam Perspektif Politik Luar Negeri*. Jakarta Pusat: Badan Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Kebijakan Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia.

- Pusat Penelitian Badan Keahlian DPR RI. (2018, August). Info Singkat Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training (CARAT) dan Kemitraan Maritim Amerika Serikat- Indonesia.
- Quirk, S., & Bradford, J. (2015). Maritime Fulcrum: A New U.S. Opportunity to Engage Indonesia. *Pacific Forum CSIS*.
- Scott, D. (2019). Indonesia grapples with the Indo-Pacific: outreach, strategic discourse, and diplomacy. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2(38), 194-217.
- Iswardhana, M. R. (2021, January 1). Kerjasama Maritim Indonesia-Amerika Serikat sebagai Implementasi Politik Poros Maritim Indonesia: BAKAMLA-US Coast Guard. *Jurnal Dinamika Pemerintahan*, 4(1), 1-15.
- Presiden RI. (2015). *Indonesia Sebagai Poros Maritim Dunia*. Retrieved January 2022, from <http://presidenri.go.id/berita-aktual/indonesia-sebagai-poros-maritim-dunia.html>
- Kurniaty, R., Suryokumoro, H., & Widagdo, S. (2021). The Role of Marine Security Agency (BAKAMLA) As Sea and Coast Guards in Indonesian Water Jurisdiction. *FIAT JUSTISIA*, 221-232.
- Nusantara Maritime News. (2015). *Indonesia dan AS Tandatangani MoU Kerjasama Sektor Maritim*. Retrieved January 2022, from <https://maritimnews.id/10/kzxkijnvLx/>
- Hasan, S. (2020). *Penguatan Kelembagaan Sistem Keamanan Laut Indonesia*. Retrieved from https://kkp.go.id/an-component/media/upload-gambar-pendukung/DitJaskel/publikasi-materi-2/sistem_kelautan/PPT%20Penguatan%20Kelembagaan%20Sistem%20Keamanan%20Laut%20Indonesia.pdf
- Petro Energy. (2016). *Indonesia – AS Gelar 1st Indonesia-United States Maritime Law and Ocean Policy Dialogue*. Retrieved January 2022, from

- <https://petroenergy.id/article/indonesia--as-gelar-1st-indonesia-united-states-maritime-law-and-ocean-policy-dialogue?c=maritime>
- Maritim. (2019). *Indonesia dan Amerika Serikat Pererat Kerja Sama Kemaritiman*. Retrieved January 2022, from <https://maritim.go.id/indonesia-dan-amerika-serikat-pererat-kerja-sama-kemaritiman/>
- Liputan 6. (2019). *Perdana, Bakamla RI dan US Coast Guard Gelar Latihan Bersama*. Retrieved January 2022, from <https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/4037542/perdana-bakamla-ri-dan-us-coast-guard-gelar-latihan-bersama>
- Ayo Jakarta. (2020). *Bakamla dan US Coast Guard Kembangkan Kerjasama Keamanan Maritim Lebih Luas*. Retrieved from <https://www.ayojakarta.com/read/2020/02/03/11516/bakamla-dan-us-coast-guard-kembangkan-kerjasama-keamanan-maritim-lebih-luas>
- CNN Indonesia. (2020). *Bakamla-AS Bangun Pusat Pelatihan Keamanan Maritim di Batam*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200203210559-20-471323/bakamla-as-bangun-pusat-pelatihan-keamanan-maritim-di-batam>
- Radar Indonesia. (2021). *Kepala Bakamla RI Terima Kunjungan Kedubes Amerika Serikat*. Retrieved from http://www.radarindonesia.com/2021/01/kepala-bakamla-ri-terima-kunjungan_15.html
- Pu, X. (2016). *One Belt, One Road: Visions and Challenges of China's Geoeconomic Strategy*. 115.
- Hamilton-Hart, N., & McRae, D. (2015). *Indonesia: Balancing the United States and China, Aiming for Independence*. UNITED STATES STUDIES CENTRE.
- Heydarian, R. J. (n.d.). *The Indo-Pacific: Trump, China, and the New Struggle for Global Mastery*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Korwa, J. V. (2019). Kebangkitan China Melalui Belt and Road Initiative dan (Re) konstruksi Hubungan Internasional dalam Sistem Westphalia. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 1-11.
- Hikmawan, R., Pedrason, R., K., Y., Pratomo, R. R., Afrimadona, R. H., Sukadis, B., . . . Isnarti, R. (2021). *Tinjauan Multiperspektif Kawasan Indo-Pasifik: Peluang dan Tantangan*. Jakarta: Graha Ilmu.
- Hudson, V. M. (2005). Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of IR. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 1(1), 1-30.
- Mintz, A., & Derouen, K. (2010). Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making.
- Neack, L. (2018). Studying Foreign Policy Comparatively: Cases and Analysis.
- Zartman, I. W., & Touval, S. (2010). International Cooperation: the Extents and Limits of Multilateralism. *Cambridge University Press*, 1.
- Keohane, R. O. (2005). *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in The World Political Economy*. Princeton university press.
- Milner, H. (1992). "International Theories of Cooperation Among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses. *Cambridge Journal of World Politics*, 466-496.
- Luo, Y., Shenkar, O., & Gurnani, H. (2008). "Control-Cooperation Interfaces in Global Strategic Alliances: A Situational Typology and Strategic Responseshal. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 39, 432-434.
- Blanchard, J.-M. F. (2018). China's Maritime Silk Road Initiative (MSRI) and Southeast Asia: A Chinese 'pond' not 'lake' in the Works. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 27(111).
- International Monetary Fund. (2017, February 3). *Indonesia: resilient economy can benefit from stronger reforms*. Retrieved from <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2017/02/03/NA020317-Indonesia-Resilient-Economy-Can-Benefit-from-Stronger-Reforms>

- Liangyu. (2017, September 11). *Keywords of China's major-country diplomacy: Belt and Road Initiative*. Retrieved from http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-09/11/c_136601511.htm
- Koboević, Z., Kurtela, Ž., & Vujicic, S. (2018). The Maritime Silk Road and China's Belt and Road Initiative. *Naše more*, 117.
- Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. (2015, March 26). *Presiden Jokowi dan Presiden Xi Jinping, RI – RRT Tandatangani 8 Kerjasama*. Retrieved January 22, from <https://setkab.go.id/presiden-rrt-xi-jinping-sambut-presiden-jokowi-dengan-upacara-kenegaraan/>
- Amalia, R. (2018). Kerja Sama Maritim Indonesia-Tiongkok Menuju Visi Indonesia Sebagai Poros Maritim Dunia. *Journal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, 1275-1276.
- Jani, S. (2019, January 31). *Imlek, Tilik Potensi Wisatawan Tiongkok di Indonesia*. Retrieved from Tempo: <https://travel.tempo.co/read/1224478/magelang-dikepung-3-kota-wisata-titip-wisatawan-ke-4-bandara>
- Berita Kompas. (2021, January 13). *Mengupas Kerja Sama Investasi China di Indonesia Artikel ini telah tayang di Kompas.com dengan judul "Mengupas Kerja Sama Investasi China di Indonesia", Klik untuk baca: <https://money.kompas.com/read/2021/01/13/195028326/mengupas-kerja-sama-investasi-chi>*. Retrieved from Kompas.com: <https://money.kompas.com/read/2021/01/13/195028326/mengupas-kerja-sama-investasi-china-di-indonesia>
- Santoso, Y. I. (2021). *Kepala BKPM: 16 perusahaan China merelokaasi investasi ke Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kontan .
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage publications.
- Anggito, A., & Setiawan, J. (2018). *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif*. Jejak Publisher.

- Sugiarto, E. (2017). *Menyusun Proposal Penelitian Kualitatif: Skripsi dan Tesis: Suaka Media*. Diandra Kreatif.
- Sarwono, J. (2006). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif dan Kualitatif*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis; Second Edition*. United States: SAGE Publications.