

## **BUKU**

- Affianty, D. (2015). Analisa Politik luar Negeri. Tangerang Selatan, Banten, Indonesia: UIN Press.
- Burchill, S., Linklater, A., Devetak, R., Donnelly, J., Paterson, M., Reus-Smit, C., & True, J. (2005). Theories of International Relations. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). Research Design . London: Sage Publications, Ltd.
- Creswell, ..j. (2007). QUALITATIVE INQUIRY& RESEARCH DESIGN Choosing Among Five Approaches. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Dougherty, J. E., & Pfaltzgraff Jr., R. L. (2001). Contending Theories if International Relations. Boston: Addison Wesley Longman, Inc.
- Jainshankar, D. (2019). Acting East: India in The Indo-Pacific. New Delhi: Brooking India.
- Kemenhan RI. (2015). Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia. Jakarta: Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia.
- Morin, J.-F., & Paquin, J. (2018). Foreign Policy Analysis: A Toolbox. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing AG.
- Neuman, w. L. (2014). Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.
- Ripsman, N. M., Taliaferro, J. W., & Lobell, S. E. (2016). Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics. New York: Oxford University Press
- Ripsman, N. M., Lobell, S. E., & Taliaferro, J. W. (2009). Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy. New York, United States of America: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, S. (1986). Theories of Foreign Policy: An Historical Overview. Review of International Studies , 13-29.
- Spalding, M. D., Fox, H. E., Allen, G. R., Davidson, N., Ferdana, Z. A., Finlayson, M., ... Robertson, J. (2007). Marine Ecoregions of the World: A Bioregionalization of Coastal and Shelf Areas. BioScience, 573–583.
- Viotti, P. R., & Kauppi, M. V. (2012). International Relations Theory. London: Pearson Educations, Inc.
- Yadav, A. S. (2022). Indo-Pasifik: Sebuah Konstruksi Geopolitik. Jakarta: PT Elex Media Komputindo.

## **JURNAL**

- Adams, G. (2018). U.S. global engagement and the military. New York: Foreign Policy Association.

- ADB. (2011). Asia 2050: Realizing the Asian Century. Manila: Asian Development Bank.
- Agastia, I. G., & Perwita, A. B. (2015). Jokowi's Maritime Axis: Change and Continuity of Indonesia's Role in Indo-Pacific. *Journal of ASEAN Studies*, 3(1), 33-37.
- Andrews, S., & Cooper, A. (2019). An Australian vision of the Indo-Pacific – Through a Strategic and Maritime Lens. Canberra: Royal Australian Navy.
- Anwar, D. F. (2020, January). Indonesia and the ASEAN outlook on the Indo-Pacific. *International Affairs*, 96(1), 111-129.
- Australian Government. (2017). 2017 Australian Foreign Policy White Paper. Canberra: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Australia.
- Berkofsky, A., & Miracola, S. (2019). Geopolitics by Other Means the indo-pacific reality. In A. Berkofsky, Japan and the Indo-Pacific: Alive and Kicking. Milano, Italy: LediPublishing.
- Campbell, A. M. (2023). Contending with a Rising China: A Comparative Study of Middle-Power Strategies in the Indo-Pacific. *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs*, 53-55.
- Chauhan, P., De, P., Parmar, S. S., & Kumarasamy, D. (2020, October). Indo-Pacific Cooperation: AOIP and IPOI. *AIC Working Paper*(3), 6-10.
- Cordesman, A. H., Burke, A. A., & Molot, M. (2019). China's Emergence as a Military Superpower China vs. US and Russia. Washington D.C: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).
- Damuri, Y. R., Intan, R., & Rafitrandy, D. (2021, November). Strategic interests, regional integration and international economic policy in Indonesia. *Asian Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper*, 1-3.
- Department of State. (2019). A FREE AND OPEN INDO-PACIFIC Advancing a Shared Vision. Department of State of United States of America, BUREAU OF EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS. Washington DC: US Department of State.
- Department of Defence. (2016). 2016 Defence White Paper. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Dewita, J. S. (2021). INDONESIA PARTICIPATION IN DEFENSE DIPLOMACY IN INDO-PACIFIC. *Verity - UPH Journal of International Relations*, 35-51.
- Haas, M. (1997). Asean's Pivotal Role in Asian-Pacific Regional Cooperation. *Global Governance*, 329-348.
- Hanada, R. (2019). ASEAN's Role in the Indo-Pacific: Rules Based Order and Regional Integrity. *MIND THE GAP: NATIONAL VIEWS OF THE FREE AND OPEN INDO-PACIFIC*, 9, 7-12.
- Haruko, W. (2020, March 16). THE "INDO-PACIFIC" CONCEPT GEOGRAPHICAL ADJUSTMENTS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS. *The RSIS Working Paper*, 16-17.

- Heiduk, F., & Wacker, G. (2020, July). From Asia-Pacific to Indo-Pacific: Significance, Implementation and Challenges. Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik Research Paper, 9, 11-16.
- Kristof, L. K. (1960). The Origins and Evolution of Geopolitics. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 15-51.
- Lin, B., Chase, M. S., Blank, J., & Grossman, D. (2020). Regional Responses to U.S.-China Competition in the Indo-Pacific: Study Overview and Conclusions. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.
- Mahbubani, K. (2022). ASEAN's Quiet Resilience. In K. Mahbubani, *The Asian 21st Century, China and Globalization*. Singapore, Singapore: Springer.
- Mansfield, E. D., & Solingen, E. (2010, June 15). Regionalism. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13, 145-163.
- Medcalf, R. (2012, November 1). PIVOTING THE MAP: AUSTRALIA'S INDO-PACIFIC SYSTEM. *The Centre of Gravity*, pp. 2-5.
- Nabbs-Keller, G. (2020). ASEAN Centrality and Indonesian Leadership in a Contested Indo-Pacific Order. *Security Challenges Special Issue: The Indo-Pacific From Concept to Contest*, 16(3), 21-26.
- Nurmawati, E., Purnama, C., & Darmawan, W. B. (2022, January). Peran ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific Sebagai Strategi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia Di Kawasan Indo-Pasifik. *Journal of Indonesian Public Administration and Governance Studies*, 6(1), 46-54.
- Pertiwi , S. B. (2020). Repositioning Indonesia in the Changing Maritime Landscape of the Indo-Pacific Region. *Global: Jurnal Politik Internasional*, 22, 1-25.
- Pramono, D. S. (2021, May 5). ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific and Indonesia's Indo-Pacific Strategy: What's Next? Policy to Watch, 7. (C. Khoe, Interviewer) Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia.
- Pulipaka, S., & Musaddi, M. (2021, September). In Defence of "Indo-Pacific" Concept. ORF Issue Brief(493), 3.
- Rahman, M. M., Kim, C., & De, P. (2020). Indo-Pacific cooperation: what do trade simulations indicate? *Journal of Economic Structures*, 2.
- Scott, D. (2019). Indonesia Grapples with the Indo-Pacific: Outreach, Strategic Discourse, and Diplomacy. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 38(2), 195-217.
- Setyorini, I. D. (2022). DIPLOMASI PERTAHANAN INDONESIA DALAM ASEAN OUTLOOK ON THE INDO-PACIFIC (AOIP). *Jurnal Transformasi Global*, 9(2), 113-125.
- Smith, N. R. (2018, February 27). Can Neoclassical Realism Become a Genuine Theory of International Relations? *The Journal of Politics*, 80(2), 1-6.
- Syahrin, M. N. (2018). Kebijakan Poros Maritim Jokowi dan Sinergitas Strategi Ekonomi dan Keamanan Laut Indonesia. *Indonesian Perspective*, 1-17.

- Thu, H. L. (2020). Southeast Asia and Indo-Pacific Concepts. Security Challenge, 16(The Indo-Pacific: From Concept to Contest), 53-57.
- Tim Kajian Mandiri Pusat Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Kebijakan Kawasan Asia Pasifik dan Afrika. (2019). Connecting the Connectivity in the Indo-Pacific: Indian Ocean and Rim Chapter. Jakarta: Badan Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Kebijakan Kementerian Luar Negeri RI.
- Upadhyay, S. (2014). The Indo-Pacific & the Indo-US Relations: Geopolitics of Cooperation. Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies , 1-2.
- Weatherbee, D. E. (2019, June 7). Indonesia, ASEAN, and the Indo-Pacific Cooperation Concept. Perspective(47), 1-2.
- Wei, Z. (2022). The evolution of the ‘QUAD’: driving forces, impacts, and prospects . China International Strategy Review , 288-304.
- Yani, Y. M. (2007). Politik Luar Negeri. Sistem Politik Luar Negeri bagi Perwira Siswa Sekolah Sekolah Staf dan Komando Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Udara (Sesko TNI AU) Angkatan ke-44 TP 2007 (pp. 1-12). Bandung: Universitas Padjajaran. Retrieved from Pustaka Ilmiah Universitas Padjajaran.

## MEDIA DIGITAL

- ASEAN. (2019, June 20-23). Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Retrieved from asean.org: [https://asean.org/asean2020/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/ASEAN-Outlook-on-the-Indo-Pacific\\_FINAL\\_22062019.pdf](https://asean.org/asean2020/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/ASEAN-Outlook-on-the-Indo-Pacific_FINAL_22062019.pdf)
- Baruah, D. M. (2022, March 23). What Island Nations Have to Say on Indo-Pacific Geopolitics. Retrieved from CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2022/03/23/what-island-nations-have-to-say-on->
- Driesmans, I. (2021, April 19). ASEAN at the Centre of EU's Indo-Pacific Strategy", opinion article by EU Ambassador Igor Driesmans. Retrieved from European Union External Auxtion: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/asean-centre-eus-indo-pacific-strategy-opinion-article-eu-ambassador-igor-driesmans\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/asean-centre-eus-indo-pacific-strategy-opinion-article-eu-ambassador-igor-driesmans_en)
- European Union. (2021, September 16). EU Strategy for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific. Retrieved from The Diplomatic Service of the European Union: [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/qanda\\_21\\_4709](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/qanda_21_4709)
- Heydarian, R. J. (2018, November 26). Indonesia’s Tough Balancing Act in the Indo-Pacific. Retrieved from ChIna US Focus: <https://www.chinausfocus.com/foreign-policy/indonesias-tough-balancing-act-in-the-indo-pacifi>
- Karim, M. F. (2020, June 20). Making Sense of Indonesia’s Economic Diplomacy. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2020/06/making-sense-of-indonesias-economic-diplomacy/>

- Ministry for the Armed Forces of France. (2019, May 1). Embassy of France in Washington DC. Retrieved from France and Security in the Indo-Pacific: [https://franceintheus.org/IMG/pdf/France\\_and\\_Security\\_in\\_the\\_Indo-Pacific - 2019.pdf](https://franceintheus.org/IMG/pdf/France_and_Security_in_the_Indo-Pacific - 2019.pdf)
- Modi, N. (2018, June 1). Prime Minister's Keynote Address at Shangri La Dialogue. Retrieved December 2023, from Minsitry of Externeal Affairs, Government of India: <https://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/29943/Prime+Ministers+Keynote+Address+at+Shangri+La+Dialogue+June+01+2018>
- RI, K. (2019, August 20). Peran Sentral Indonesia pada ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific. Retrieved from <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/539/view/peran->
- The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China. (2019, July 24). Full Text: China's National Defense in the New Era. Retrieved December 2023, from The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China: [https://english.www.gov.cn/archive/whitepaper/201907/24/content\\_WS5d3941ddc6d08408f502283d.html](https://english.www.gov.cn/archive/whitepaper/201907/24/content_WS5d3941ddc6d08408f502283d.html)