

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### **Buku:**

- Creswell, John W. "Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches," 3th Edition, (California, US: SAGE Publication, 2009), 30.  
[https://www.ucg.ac.me/skladiste/blog\\_609332/objava\\_105202/fajlovi/Creswell.pdf](https://www.ucg.ac.me/skladiste/blog_609332/objava_105202/fajlovi/Creswell.pdf)
- Kaarbo, Juliet., Lantis, Jeffrey S., dan Beasley, Ryan K. "*The Analysis of Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective.*" (2012).
- Neuman, William Lawrence. *Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2014), 20. Diakses dari [http://letrunghieutvu.yolasite.com/resources/w-lawrence-neuman-social-research-methods\\_-qualitative-and-quantitative-approaches-pearson-education-limited-2013.pdf](http://letrunghieutvu.yolasite.com/resources/w-lawrence-neuman-social-research-methods_-qualitative-and-quantitative-approaches-pearson-education-limited-2013.pdf)
- Rynning, Sten. "NATO: Ambiguity about Escalation in a Multinational Alliance." In *Alliances, Nuclear Weapons and Escalation: Managing Deterrence in the 21st Century*, edited by STEPHAN FRÜHLING and ANDREW O'NEIL, 1st ed., ANU Press, 2021.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv25m8dp0.10>.
- Waltz, Kenneth. *Theory of International Politics* (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1979), Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Addison- Wesley Publishing Company, 1979). Diakses dari  
[https://dl1.cuni.cz/pluginfile.php/486328/mod\\_resource/content/0/Kenneth N. Waltz Theory of International Politics Addison-Wesley series in political science 1979.pdf](https://dl1.cuni.cz/pluginfile.php/486328/mod_resource/content/0/Kenneth%20N.%20Waltz%20Theory%20of%20International%20Politics%20Addison-Wesley%20series%20in%20political%20science%201979.pdf)

### **Artikel Jurnal:**

- Aman, Syaiful, dan Ristiyani. "Kebijakan Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) Tiongkok pada Masa Pemerintahan Xi Jinping." *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* 14(2).  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v14i2.2842.217-236>
- Asfar, Taufan Irfan. M. A. Analisis Naratif, Analisis Konten, dan Analisis Semiotik (Penelitian Kualitatif). *Researchgate*.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.21963.41767>

- Benson, Brett V., and Joshua D. Clinton. "Assessing the Variation of Formal Military Alliances." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60, no. 5 (2016). DOI: 10.1177/0022002714560348.
- Cahnman, Werner J. "Concepts of Geopolitics." *American Sociological Review* 8, no. 1 (1943). <https://doi.org/10.2307/2085449>.
- Eliot, George Fielding. "Military Organization under the Atlantic Pact." *Foreign Affairs* 27, no. 4 (1949). <https://doi.org/10.2307/20030213>.
- Emmers, Ralf. "Unpacking ASEAN Neutrality: The Quest for Autonomy and Impartiality in Southeast Asia." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 40, no. 3 (2018). DOI: 10.1355/cs40-3a
- Fedder, Edwin H. "The Concept of Alliance." *International Studies Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (1968). <https://doi.org/10.2307/3013558>.
- Hagan, Charles B. "Geopolitics." *The Journal of Politics* 4, no. 4 (1942). <https://doi.org/10.2307/2125653>.
- Holsti, K. J. "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1970). <https://doi.org/10.2307/3013584>.
- Kim, Jihyun. "Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea: Implications for Security in Asia and Beyond." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 2 (2015). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26271078>.
- Liss, Carolin. "New Actors and the State: Addressing Maritime Security Threats in Southeast Asia." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 35, no. 2 (2013). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43281248>.
- Mahbubani, Kishore, and Amrita V. Nair. "ASEAN and Geopolitical Rivalries: Caught Between the U.S. and China." *Horizons: Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development*, no. 9 (2017). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48573718>.
- Mamadouh , Virginie dan Dijkink, Gertjan. "Geopolitics, International Relations and Political Geography: The Politics of Geopolitical Discourse." *ResearchGate*, Geopolitics 11(3): 349-359. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14650040600767859>
- Morrow, James D. "Alliances and Asymmetry: An Alternative to the Capability Aggregation Model of Alliances." *American Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 4 (1991). <https://doi.org/10.2307/2111499>.

Narine, Shaun. "ASEAN and the ARF: The Limits of the 'ASEAN Way.'" *Asian Survey* 37, no. 10 (1997). <https://doi.org/10.2307/2645616>.

Natalegawa, R. M. Marty M. "The Centrality of ASEAN: Further Entrenching What Works in the Decades Ahead." *Horizons: Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development*, no. 13 (2019). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48573774>.

Suradinata, Ermaya. "Geopolitik dan Geostrategi Dalam Mewujudkan Integritas Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia." *Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional* Vol 6, No. 2 <https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/jkn/article/view/22056/14716>

Yang, Alan H. "The South China Sea Arbitration and Its Implications for ASEAN Centrality." In *Asian Yearbook of International Law: Volume 21* (2015), edited by Seokwoo Lee, Hee Eun Lee, and Lowell Bautista, 21. Brill, 2015.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctvbqs7d3.8>.

### **Publikasi Online:**

Business Standard. What Is Quad. Diakses dari <https://www.business-standard.com/about/what-is-quad>

De Castro, C. Renato. Philippines Enhances Ties With AUKUS. 13 Desember 2021. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. Diakses dari <https://amti.csis.org/philippines-enhances-ties-with-aukus/>

Glaser, John. The Anarchy of International Relations. 18 September 2019. Diakses dari <https://www.cato-unbound.org/2019/09/18/john-glaser/anarchy-international-relations/>

Hope, Anthony. "Balance of Power Applied in International Relations." Diakases dari <https://study.com/learn/lesson/balance-of-power-theory-in-international-relations.html>

Pamulasari, Dhia Ravika. "Kebangkitan China dan Konfrensi ASEAN dalam Penyelesaian Laut China Selatan." *Indonesian International Relations Study Center*. 22 Desember 2020. Diakses dari <https://www.blog.iirs-center.com/2020/12/15/kebangkitan-china-dan-konferensi-asean-dalam-penyelesaian-laut-china-selatan/>

Watch in Full: Biden, Johnson and Morrison announce Aukus and Nuclear-powered Submarine deal – video. US News. 15 Sept 2021. Diakses dari <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2021/sep/16/watch-in-full-biden-johnson-and-morrison-announce-nuclear-powered-submarine-deal-video>

Yalinkilic, Tuba. Changes of The Border Notion from A Historical Perspective and China's Approach to the ENP. Geopolitics & International Security, Research. 4 Mei 2020. Diakses dari <https://behorizon.org/changes-of-the-border-notion-from-a-historical-perspective-and-chinas-approach-to-the-enp/>

**Publikasi Pemerintah:**

Associations of Southeast Asian Nations. *The Founding of ASEAN*.  
<https://asean.org/about-us/>

AUKUS Must Complement ASEAN-US Partnership – President Duterte. 27 Oktober 2021. Office Of The Press Secretary. Diakses dari [https://ops.gov.ph/news\\_releases/aukus-must-complement-asean-us-partnership-president-duterte/](https://ops.gov.ph/news_releases/aukus-must-complement-asean-us-partnership-president-duterte/)

Cooperation Under The AUKUS Partnership. 2022. Diakses dari [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/npt\\_conf.2020\\_wp.66\\_advance.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/npt_conf.2020_wp.66_advance.pdf)

Department of Foreign Affairs. *Statement of Foreign Affairs Teodoro L. Locsin, JR. On The Australia-United Kingdom-United States (AUKUS) Enhanced Trilateral Security Partnership*. 19 September 2021. Diakses dari <https://dfa.gov.ph/dfa-news/statements-and-advisoriesupdate/29484-statement-of-foreign-affairs-teodoro-l-locsin-jr-on-the-australia-united-kingdom-united-states-aukus-enhanced-trilateral-security-partnership>

Gita-Carlos, A Ruth. Duterte ‘concerned’ Over AUKUS Nuclear Submarine Deal. 28 September 2021. Philippine News Agency. Diakses dari <https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1154907>

International Atomic Energy Agency. *History*. Diakses dari <https://www.iaea.org/about/overview/history>

Minister For Foreign Affairs Dr Vivian Balakrishnan’s Written Reply To Parliamentary Question, 5 October 2021. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Diakses dari <https://www.mfa.gov.sg/Newsroom/Press-Statements-Transcripts-and-Photos/2021/10/20211005-written-reply-to-AUKUS-PQ>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs Malaysia. Announcement by Australia, United Kingdom, and The Uniter States on Enhanced Trilateral Security Partnership – AUKUS. Press Releases. 19 September 2021.

Diakses dari [https://www.kln.gov.my/web/guest/-/announcement-by-australia-united-kingdom-and-the-united-states-on-enhanced-trilateral-security-partnership-aukus?redirect=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.kln.gov.my%2Fweb%2Fguest%2Fhome%3Fp\\_id%3D3%26p\\_p\\_lifecycle%3D0%26p\\_p\\_state%3Dmaximized%26p\\_p\\_mode%3Dview%26\\_3\\_redirect%3D%252F%26\\_3\\_keywords%3Daukus%26\\_3\\_struts\\_action%3D%252Fsearch%252Fsearch&inheritRedirect=true](https://www.kln.gov.my/web/guest/-/announcement-by-australia-united-kingdom-and-the-united-states-on-enhanced-trilateral-security-partnership-aukus?redirect=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.kln.gov.my%2Fweb%2Fguest%2Fhome%3Fp_id%3D3%26p_p_lifecycle%3D0%26p_p_state%3Dmaximized%26p_p_mode%3Dview%26_3_redirect%3D%252F%26_3_keywords%3Daukus%26_3_struts_action%3D%252Fsearch%252Fsearch&inheritRedirect=true)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia. “Statement on Australia’s Nuclear-powered Submarines Program.” 17 September 2021. Diakses dari [https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/2937/siaran\\_pers/statement-on-australias-nuclear-powered-submarines-program](https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/2937/siaran_pers/statement-on-australias-nuclear-powered-submarines-program)

Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong’s Telephone Call with Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison, 16 September 2021. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Diakses dari <https://www.mfa.gov.sg/Newsroom/Press-Statements-Transcripts-and-Photos/2021/09/20210916-PM-Call-With-Scott-Morrison>

The White House. *AUKUS Leaders’ Level Statement*. Statement And Releases. 2 April 2022. Diakses dari <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/04/05/aukus-leaders-level-statement/>

The White House Washington. *Strategi Indo-Pasifik Amerika Serikat*. Februari 2022. (Washington, DC). Diakses dari [https://id.usembassy.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/72/U.S.-Indo-Pacific-Strategy\\_id.pdf](https://id.usembassy.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/72/U.S.-Indo-Pacific-Strategy_id.pdf)

The White House. Remarks by President Biden, Prime Minister Morrison of Australia, and Prime Minister Johnson of the United Kingdom Announcing the Creation of AUKUS. Speech and Remarks. 15 September 2021. (Washington, DC). Diakses dari <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/09/15/remarks-by-president-biden-prime-minister-morrison-of-australia-and-prime-minister-johnson-of-the-united-kingdom-announcing-the-creation-of-aokus/>

UK Government News. *UK, US AND Australia Launch New Security Partnership*. Published by Prime Minister’s Office, 10 Downing Street (September 2021) <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-us-and-australia-launch-new-security-partnership>

United Nations. *Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)*. Office for Disarmament Affairs. 28 September 2022. Diakses dari <https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/npt/>

### **Surat Kabar Daring:**

- Arbar, Thea Fathanah. "AS-China Ribut Laut China Selatan, PM Singapura Buka Suara." CNBC Indonesia. 6 Juni 2020. Diakses dari <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/market/20200606080346-17-163514/as-china-ribut-laut-china-selatan-pm-singapura-buka-suara>
- "China Gelar Latihan Militer di Laut China Selatan Dekat Vietnam." VOA News. Diakses dari <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/china-gelar-latihan-militer-di-laut-china-selatan/6471403.html>
- Cobus, Pete. "Konflik dan Diplomasi di Laut." VOA News. Diakses dari <https://projects.voanews.com/south-china-sea/indonesian/>
- Deret Negara ASEAN yang Dukung Vs Tolak AUKUS Seperti China. 23 November 2021. Diakses dari <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20211122150656-106-724474/deret-negara-asean-yang-dukung-vs-tolak-aukus-seperti-china/2>
- Gischa, Serafica. "Jalur Sutera: Sejarah dan Posisi Indonesia". 15 Januari 2020. Kompas. Diakses dari <https://www.kompas.com/skola/read/2020/01/15/140000869/jalur-sutera-sejarah-dan-posisi-indonesia?page=all>
- Has. "Mengenal AUKUS, Kesepakatan Kapal Selam Nuklir Bikin Gaduh." CNN Indonesia. 21 September 2021. Diakses dari <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20210921142233-113-697340/mengenal-aukus-kesepakatan-kapal-selam-nuklir-bikin-gaduh>
- Hikam, Hardi A. A. "5 Kesepakatan RI-China Hasil Lobi-lobi Luhut, Apa Saja?" Detik finance. 9 Juni 2021. Diakses dari <https://finance.detik.com/berita-ekonomi-bisnis/d-5598480/5-kesepakatan-ri-china-hasil-lobi-lobi-luhut-apa-saja>
- Hollar, Sherman. "Lee Hsien Loong". Britannica. 16 September 2022. Diakses dari <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Lee-Hsien-Loong>

- Idrus, G. Pizaro. Malaysia Harapkan Konsensus ASEAN soal AUKUS. 12 OKTOBER 2021. Anadolu Agency. Diakses dari <https://www.aa.com.tr/id/dunia/malaysia-harapkan-konsensus-asean-soal-aukus/2389534>
- Jaramaya, Rizky, dan Maharani, Eshi. "Angkatan Laut AS Gelar Operasi dan Latihan Militer di Laut China Selatan, Gertak China?" 24 Januari 2022. Republika. Diakses dari <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/r67p9x335/angkatan-laut-as-gelar-operasi-dan-latihan-militer-di-laut-china-selatan-gertak-china>
- Kaisheng, Li. "The Philippines Ignorant to Back AUKUS Deal, Harming ASEAN." Global Times. 22 September 2021. Diakses dari <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202109/1234825.shtml>
- Kristina. "Letak Geografis Wilayah Asia Tenggara, Diapit Dua Samudra." detikEdu. 7 July 2021 Diakses dari <https://www.detik.com/edu/detikpedia/d-5659191/letak-geografis-wilayah-asia-tenggara-diapit-dua-samudra>
- "Kronologi Perang Dagang AS-China Selama Kepemimpinan Trump" 4 November 2020. CNN Indonesia. Diakses dari <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20201103154223-92-565387/kronologi-perang-dagang-as-china-selama-kepemimpinan-trump>
- "Latar Belakang Lahirnya Politik Luar Negeri Bebas Aktif Indonesia." Kompas. 17 Januari 2022. Diakses dari <https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2022/01/17/120000679/latar-belakang-lahirnya-politik-luar-negeri-bebas-aktif-indonesia?page=all>
- Lema, Karen. "Philippines Supports Australia Nuclear Sub Pact to Counter China." Reuters. 21 September 2021. Diakses dari <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/philippines-supports-australia-nuclear-sub-pact-counter-china-2021-09-21/>
- Malaysia Will Not Take Sides On AUKUS. 12 Oktober 2021. The Malaysian Reserve. Diakses dari <https://themalaysianreserve.com/2021/10/12/malaysia-will-not-take-sides-on-aukus/>
- Manengal, Glendi. "Semakin Panas, Konflik China dan AS Bakal Menjadikan Asia Tenggara Sebagai Arena Pertempuran?". Diakses dari <https://manado.tribunnews.com/2020/06/25/semaikan-panas->

[konflik-china-dan-as-bakal-menjadikan-asia-tenggara-sebagai-arena-pertempuran](#)

Maulana, Riezky. "Wamenhan Tekankan Pentingnya ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pasific." Sindonews.com 24 Agustus 2021. Diakses dari <https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/520160/14/wamenhan-tekankan-pentingnya-asean-outlook-on-the-indo-pacific-1629778139>

Menlu Australia Kunjungi RI Redam Kecemasan ASEAN Soal AUKUS. 10 November 2021. CNN Indonesia. Diakses dari <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20211104173205-106-716724/menlu-australia-kunjungi-ri-redam-kecemasan-asean-soal-aukus>

Mohan, Matthew. Singapore Welcomes Australia's Assurance That AUKUS Will Promote 'stable and secure' Asia Pasific: PM Lee. 27 Oktober 2021. CNA. Diakses dari <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/singapore/singapore-welcomes-australias-assurance-aukus-will-promote-stable-and-secure-asia-pacific-pm-lee-2271826>

Murphy, Katharine. Malaysian Foreign Minister Says Concerns Remain About AUKUS Pact After Meeting With Penny Wong. 28 Juni 2022. The Guardian. Diakses dari <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/jun/28/malaysian-foreign-minister-says-concerns-remain-about-aukus-pact-after-meeting-with-penny-wong>

"Pidato Prabowo Subianto di IISS, Indonesia Mendukung China?." Kompasiana. 8 Agustus 2022. Diakses dari [https://www.kompasiana.com/mommyfox3309/62f0c1b63555e45aa82341d2/pidato-prabowo-subianto-di-iiiss-indonesia-mendukung-china?page=1&page\\_images=1](https://www.kompasiana.com/mommyfox3309/62f0c1b63555e45aa82341d2/pidato-prabowo-subianto-di-iiiss-indonesia-mendukung-china?page=1&page_images=1)

Povera, Adib. Malaysia Concerned With Trilateral AUKUS Security Pact. 18 September 2021. Straits Times. Diakses dari <https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2021/09/728403/malaysia-concerned-trilateral-aukus-security-pact>

Pramudyani, D. Yashinta. Indonesia Khawatir AUKUS Picu Tingginya Rivalitas di Indo-Pasifik. 27 Oktober 2021. Antara News. Diakses dari <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/2485441/indonesia-khawatir-aukus-picu-tingginya-rivalitas-di-indo-pasifik>

- Rakhmat, Z. Muhammad. "Membongkar alasan ASEAN bungkam dalam merespons perjanjian AUKUS." The Conversation. 13 Oktober 2021. Diakses dari <https://theconversation.com/membongkar-alasan-asean-bungkam-dalam-merespons-perjanjian-aokus-169640>
- Sasipornkarn, Emmy. "AS-ASEAN Gelar Latihan Gabungan di Laut China Selatan." DW 3 September 2019. Diakses dari <https://www.dw.com/id/as-asean-gelar-latihan-gabungan-maritim-di-laut-cina-selatan/a-50259742>
- Suryodarsono, Wahyu. "Beragam Perspektif Dunia Terhadap Indo-Pasifik." 4 Agustus 2022. Kompas. Diakses dari <https://www.kompas.com/global/read/2022/08/04/094141570/beragam-perspektif-dunia-terhadap-indo-pasifik?page=all>
- Tim. "Sejarah Konflik Laut China Selatan yang Jadi Rebutan." Diakses dari <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20220511135122-118-795477/sejarah-konflik-laut-china-selatan-yang-jadi-rebutan/2>
- Putri, Mulia V. K. "Keuntungan Letak Geografis ASEAN" Kompas.com 4 Mei 2022. Diakses dari <https://www.kompas.com/skola/read/2022/05/04/103000469/keuntungan-letak-geografis-asean?page=all>
- Widowati, Hari. "Belt Road Initiative, Menghidupkan Kembali Kejayaan Jalur Sutra." 29 April 2019. Katadata. Diakses dari <https://katadata.co.id/hariwidowati/berita/5e9a5194464ab/belt-and-road-initiative-menghidupkan-kembali-kejayaan-jalur-sutra>
- Wirawan, Unggul. PM Malaysia Khawatir AUKUS Akan Jadi Katalis Perlombaan Senjata Nuklir. 18 September 2021. Berita Satu. Diakses dari <https://www.beritasatu.com/news/829723/pm-malaysia-khawatir-aokus-akan-jadi-katalis-perlombaan-senjata-nuklir>
- Zainuddin, Alifah "What Happened To China's BRI Projects in Malaysia?" The Diplomat. 5 Oktober 2021. Diakses dari <https://thediplomat.com/2021/10/what-happened-to-chinas-bri-projects-in-malaysia/>