

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Abhiram Singh Yadav. 2022. *Indo-Pasifik : Sebuah Konstruksi Geopolitik*. Jakarta: Pt Elex Media Komputindo.
- Bob Matthews and Liz Ross, *Research Methods: A Practical Guide for the Social Sciences* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2010), 145.
- Berg, Bruce L, and Howard Lune. 2017. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. 9th ed. Boston: Pearson.
- Chen Yulu. 2019. *Reformasi Ekonomi Tiongkok & Kebangkitan Renminbi*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Graeme Smith, Terence Wesley-Smith, and Australian National University Press. 2021. *The China Alternative : Changing Regional Order in the Pacific Islands*. 1st ed. Vol. 1. Canberra, Act, Australia: Australian National University Press.
- Kauppi, Mark V, and Paul R Viotti. 2020. *International Relations Theory*. Lanham ; Boulder ; New York ; London Rowman Et Littlefield.
- Kelly, Andrew. 2018. *ANZUS and the Early Cold War : Strategy and Diplomacy between Australia, New Zealand and the United States, 1945-1956*. Cambridge, Uk: Open Book Publishers
- Mearsheimer, John J. 2001. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Medcalf, Rory. 2021. *INDO-PACIFIC EMPIRE : China, America and the Contest for the World's Pivotal Region*. S.L.: Manchester Univ Press.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- White, Hugh. 2013. *The China Choice*. OUP Oxford.

Government Documents

Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2020. “Joint Statement on a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between Republic of India and Australia.” Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. June 4, 2020. <https://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/india/joint-statement-comprehensive-strategic-partnership-between-republic-india-and-australia>.

Government, Australian. 2016. “2016 Defence White Paper.” Australian Government Department of Defence. Department Of Defence. 2016. <https://www.defence.gov.au/sites/default/files/2021-08/2016-Defence-White-Paper.pdf>.

Government, Australian. 2020. “Department of Defence.” Defence.gov.au. 2020. <https://www.defence.gov.au/about/strategic-planning/2020-defence-strategic-update>.

House, The White. 2007. “The National Security Strategy 2002.” Archives.gov. November 4, 2007. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2002/>.

House, The White. 2007. “The National Security Strategy 2002.” Archives.gov. November 4, 2007. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2002/>.

House, White. 2017. “National Security Strategy of the United States of America.” Trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov. The White House. December 2017. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>.

Industry and Commerce, India’s Ministry of. 2022. “India Australia Economic and Cooperation Trade Agreement Comes into Force.” Wwww.pib.gov.in. December 29, 2022. <https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1887259>.

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2007. “MOFA: Speech by H.E. Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan, at the Parliament of the Republic of India ‘Confluence of the Two Seas’ (August 22, 2007).” Wwww.mofa.go.jp. 2007. <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/pmv0708/speech-2.html>.

The White House. 2022a. "INDO- PACIFIC STRATEGY of the UNITED STATES." *Whitehouse.gov*. Washington: The White House. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/U.S.-Indo-Pacific-Strategy.pdf>.

The White House. 2022a. "INDO- PACIFIC STRATEGY of the UNITED STATES." *Whitehouse.gov*. Washington: The White House. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/U.S.-Indo-Pacific-Strategy.pdf>.

The People's Republic of China to Indonesia, Embassy of. 2022. "Ambassador Lu Kang Attends 2022 Conference on Indonesian Foreign Policy." *Id.china-Embassy.gov.cn*. November 28, 2022. http://id.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/sgdt/202211/t20221128_10981675.htm.

Journal Articles

Allison, Graham T. 1969. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63, no. 3 (November): 689–718. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s000305540025853x>.

Akimoto, Daisuke. 2022. "An Emerging Australia-Japan Hydrogen Supply Chain." *The Diplomat.com*. June 2, 2022. <https://thediplomat.com/2022/06/an-emerging-australia-japan-hydrogen-supply-chain/>.

Ambrose, Stephen E., and James A. Nathan. 1993. "The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited." *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3: 201. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20045653>.

Amer, Ramses. 2015. "Vietnam in 2014: Crisis with China Makes Headlines." *Southeast Asian Affairs* SEAA15, no. 1: 387–401. <https://doi.org/10.1355/aa15-1v>.

Bagshaw, Eryk, and Rachel Clun. 2023. "China's COVID-Plagued Slowdown Threatens Australia's Economic Recovery." *The Sydney Morning Herald*. January 17, 2023. <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/china-s-covid-plagued-slowdown-threatens-australia-s-economic-recovery-20230117-p5cd9n.html>.

Bhattacharjee, Anol. 2012. *Social Science Research: Principles, Methods, and Practices*. 1st ed. Florida: USF Tampa Library Open Access Collections. <http://www.uilis.unsyiah.ac.id/oer/files/original/12ffa9b24c0e15fd64288cc2261ee0ca.pdf>.

- Bondy, Matthew. 2021. "AUKUS Is Not Just about Subs: It's about Advanced Technology." Centre for International Governance Innovation. 2021. <https://www.cigionline.org/articles/aucus-is-not-just-about-subs-its-about-advanced-technology/>.
- Catalinac, Amy L. 2010. "Why New Zealand Took Itself out of ANZUS: Observing 'Opposition for Autonomy' in Asymmetric Alliances 1." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 6, no. 4 (September): 317–38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2010.00115.x>.
- "China–Australia Free Trade Agreement | DFAT." 2018. Dfat.gov.au. 2018. <https://www.dfat.gov.au/trade/agreements/chafta/Pages/australia-china-fta>.
- Ghazala Yasmin Jalil. 2019. "China's Rise: Offensive or Defensive Realism." *Strategic Studies* 39, no. 1 (April): 41–58. <https://doi.org/10.53532/ss.039.01.00118>.
- Hartcher, Peter. 2021. "The National Security Concerns behind Australia's Ban of Chinese Telecoms Giant Huawei." *The Sydney Morning Herald*. May 21, 2021. <https://www.smh.com.au/national/huawei-no-way-why-australia-banned-the-world-s-biggest-telecoms-firm-20210503-p57oc9.html>.
- Hoang, Phuong. 2019. "Domestic Protests and Foreign Policy: An Examination of Anti-China Protests in Vietnam and Vietnamese Policy towards China Regarding the South China Sea." *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 6, no. 1 (March): 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2347797019826747>.
- Hurst, Daniel. 2023. "Penny Wong and Richard Marles to Head to France in Effort to Heal Aucus Rift." *The Guardian*. January 24, 2023. <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2023/jan/24/penny-wong-and-richard-marles-to-head-to-france-in-effort-to-heal-aucus-rift>.
- Hussain, Touqir. 2005. "US-Pakistan Engagement the War on Terrorism and Beyond." *Www.usip.org*. United States Institute of Peace. August 2005. <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/sr145.pdf>.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1997. "The Erosion of American National Interests." *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 5: 28. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20048198>.

- Jennings, Peter. 2021. "AUKUS Sets a Better Direction for Australia's Defence." *The Strategist*. September 16, 2021. <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/aucus-sets-a-better-direction-for-australias-defence/>.
- Kanasugi, Kenji, and Masahiko Kiya. 2023. "Advancing the Fukuda Doctrine Afresh." *The Jakarta Post*. January 21, 2023. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/opinion/2023/01/20/advancing-the-fukuda-doctrine-afresh.html>.
- Korwa, Johni Robert Verianto. 2019. "The China-Australia Free Trade Agreement (ChAFTA): Its Implications for Australia-United States Relations." *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* 15, no. 1 (July): 41–53. <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v15i1.2981.41-53>.
- Kurlantzick, Joshua. 2015. Review of *A China-Vietnam Military Clash*. *Council on Foreign Relations* 1, no. 1 (September). <https://www.cfr.org/report/china-vietnam-military-clash>.
- Lake, Anthony. 1981. "Defining National Interest." *Academy of Political Science* 34, no. 2: 202–13. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1173801>.
- Layne, Christopher. 2002. "Offshore Balancing Revisited." *The Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (June): 233–48. <https://doi.org/10.1162/01636600252820252>.
- Lubis, Khairunnisa Jani. 2015. Review of *MOTIVASI TIONGKOK MENDIRIKAN AIR DEFENSE IDENTIFICATION ZONE DI WILAYAH LAUT CHINA TIMUR*. Edited by Afrizal. *JOM FISIP* 2, no. 1 (February). <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/31902-ID-motivasi-tiongkok-mendirikan-air-defense-identification-zone-adiz-di-wilayah-lau.pdf>.
- Marten, Kimberly. 2017. "The Growth of NATO-Russia Tensions." *Council on Foreign Relations* 1, no. 1: 9–12. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05770.9>.
- Mearsheimer, John, and Stephen Walt. n.d. "The Case for Offshore Balancing." Accessed November 29, 2020. <https://www.mearsheimer.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Offshore-Balancing.pdf>.
- Mediansky, F. A. 1985. "ANZUS in Crisis." *The Australian Quarterly* 57, no. 1/2: 7. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20635308>.

- Ochmanek, David A. 2018. "Restoring U.S. Power Projection Capabilities: Responding to the 2018 National Defense Strategy." *Www.rand.org*. August 16, 2018. <https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PE260.html>.
- The White House. 2022. "National Security Strategy." <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf>.
- Panda, Jagannath, and Choong Yong Ahn. 2023. "South Korea's Indo-Pacific Strategy: Quest for Clarity and Global Leadership." *TheDiplomat.com*. January 16, 2023. <https://thediplomat.com/2023/01/south-koreas-indo-pacific-strategy-quest-for-clarity-and-global-leadership/>.
- Phan, Xuan Dung. 2019. "Australia's Middle Power Role in Combating Illegal Fishing." *East Asia Forum*. December 5, 2019. <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2019/12/05/australias-middle-power-role-in-combating-illegal-fishing/>.
- Research Connections. 2022. "Descriptive Research Studies | Research Connections." *Www.researchconnections.org*. 2022. <https://www.researchconnections.org/research-tools/study-design-and-analysis/descriptive-research-studies>.
- Robb, Thomas K., and David James Gill. 2015. "The ANZUS Treaty during the Cold War: A Reinterpretation of U.S. Diplomacy in the Southwest Pacific." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 17, no. 4 (October): 109–57. https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws_a_00599.
- Scott, David. 2019. "China's Indo-Pacific Strategy: The Problem of Success." *McFarland & Company* 6, no. 2: 94–113. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26912752>.
- Smith, Sheila. 2022. "The Quad Is Getting More Ambitious in the Indo-Pacific." *Council on Foreign Relations*. May 27, 2022. <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/quad-getting-more-ambitious-indo-pacific>.
- Soreide, Ine Eriksen. 2016. "NATO and the North Atlantic Revitalizing Collective Defense and the Maritime Domain." *PRISM* 6, no. 2: 48–57. <https://cco.ndu.edu/PRISM/PRISM-Volume-6-no-2/Article/835074/nato-and-the-north-atlantic-revitalizing-collective-defense-and-the-maritime-do/>.
- Sutiono, Jonni Mahroza, and Purnomo Yusgiantoro. 2019. "Strategi Diplomasi Pertahanan Indonesia Dalam Menjaga Stabilitas Kalasan ASEAN Melalui

Konser Dynamic Equilibrium.” *Program Studi Diplomasi Pertahanan, Universitas Pertahanan* 1, no. August (August): 107–24.

- Sun, Meicen. 2014. “Balance of Power Theory in Today’s International System Written by Meicen Sun Balance of Power Theory in Today’s International System-of-Power-Theory-In-Todays-International-System.” *E-International Relations*. E-International Relations. <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/46688>.
- Terrill, Daniel. 2017. “Impact of the China-Australia Free Trade Agreement on Australian Agribusiness | Deloitte Australia | Consumer Business, Agribusiness.” Deloitte Australia. September 26, 2017. <https://www2.deloitte.com/au/en/pages/consumer-business/articles/impact-china-australia-free-trade-agreement.html>.
- Today, India. 2018. “PM Modi’s Keynote Address on Shangri-La Dialogue: Top Takeaways.” India Today. June 2018. <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/pm-modi-s-keynote-address-on-shangri-la-dialogue-top-takeaways-1248227-2018-06-01>.
- University of York. 2022. “What Is Foreign Policy?” University of York. September 1, 2022. <https://online.york.ac.uk/what-is-foreign-policy/>.
- Wen, Wang. 2022. “Why China’s Rise Will Continue.” *Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development* 1, no. 1: 84–97. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48686698>.
- Ye, Xiaodi. 2020. “Explaining China’s Hedging Strategy to United States’ Indo-Pacific Strategy.” *China Review* 1, no. 1 (August). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26928117>.
- Zainal, Zaidah. 2007. “Case Study as a Research Method.” *Jurnal Kemanusiaan Bil* 9, no. 9. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/11784113.pdf>.
- Zhou, Weifeng. 2015. “China’s Growing Assertiveness in the South China Sea.” Real Instituto Elcano. Real Institute Elcano royal Institute. November 2015. <https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/analyses/chinas-growing-assertiveness-in-the-south-china-sea/>.

Online Sources

- Gibson, Giles. 2021. "AUKUS Partnership Shows 'Cold War Mentality,' Says China's Wang Yi." *Newseu.cgtn.com*. September 29, 2021.
<https://newseu.cgtn.com/news/2021-09-29/AUKUS-partnership-shows-Cold-War-mentality-says-China-s-Wang-Yi--13VYjF8GLjq/index.html>.
- Indonesia, BBC News. 2021. "Mengapa Kapal Selam Tenaga Nuklir Jadi Prioritas Untuk Tangkal China Di Indo-Pasifik?" *BBC News Indonesia*. September 17, 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-58592794>.
- Institute, Lowy. 2021. "In Conversation: Kurt Campbell, White House Indo-Pacific Coordinator." *Www.lowyinstitute.org*. 2021.
<https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/conversation-kurt-campbell-white-house-indo-pacific-coordinator>.
- Post, The Jakarta. 2021. "Indonesia, Malaysia Concerned over AUKUS Nuclear Submarines Plan." *The Jakarta Post*. October 2021.
<https://www.thejakartapost.com/world/2021/10/18/indonesia-malaysia-concerned-over-aucus-nuclear-submarines-plan.html>.
- Remeikis, Amy. 2020. "China Accuses Australia of Discriminating against Huawei." *The Guardian*, February 17, 2020, sec. Australia news.
<https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2020/feb/17/china-accuses-australia-of-discriminating-against-huawei>.
- Reuters*. 2020. "Australian PM Says No Evidence Coronavirus Originated in China Laboratory, Urges Inquiry," May 1, 2020, sec. Healthcare & Pharma.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-australia-curbs-idUSKBN22D41F>.
- Tan, Su-Lin. 2021. "China-Australia Trade Appetite Still Strong despite Political Posturing." *South China Morning Post*. June 9, 2021.
<https://www.scmp.com/economy/china-economy/article/3136519/china-australia-relations-trading-relationship-still-strong>.
- Tommy Kurnia. 2022. "Vladimir Putin Dan Xi Jinping Sorot NATO Hingga AUKUS." *Liputan6.com*. February 5, 2022.
<https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/4878387/vladimir-putin-dan-xi-jinping-sorot-nato-hingga-aucus>.

McGuirk, Rod. 2022. "Australian PM Takes 'Goodwill' into Meeting with China's Xi." AP NEWS. November 14, 2022. <https://apnews.com/article/china-asia-australia-indonesia-xi-jinping-0d138b9dd8fc7333ac89792c57385042>.

Widakuswara, Patsy. 2022. "Biden Launches Indo-Pacific Economic Framework." VOA. May 23, 2022. <https://www.voanews.com/a/biden-launches-indo-pacific-economic-framework-/6585160.html>.

Wroe, David. 2018. "China Eyes Vanuatu Military Base in Plan with Global Ramifications." The Sydney Morning Herald. April 9, 2018. <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/china-eyes-vanuatu-military-base-in-plan-with-global-ramifications-20180409-p4z8j9.ht>