

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Akhmad. (2021, Agustus 4). *Latma Garuda Shield 15/2021 Dimulai di Tiga Lokasi, Kaltim Dipusatkan di Amburawang*. Retrieved from Infosatu.co:
<https://www.infosatu.co/latma-garuda-shield-15-2021-dimulai-di-tiga-lokasi-kaltim-dipusatkan-di-amburawang/>
- Akira, Y. (2020). The "Belt and Road" Initiatives and Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. *Journal La Sociale*.
- Anwar, S., Lasmono, & Nuzulia, F. (2018). DIPLOMASI PERTAHANAN INDONESIA DALAM MENINGKATKAN KERJASAMA PERTAHANAN INDONESIA-AMERIKA SERIKAT (2012-2017). *Jurnal Strategi Perang Semesta*.
- Arry, B., & Junita, B. R. (2018). Kepentingan Nasional dalam Hubungan Internasional. *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies*.
- Australia to pursue nuclear-powered submarines through new trilateral enhanced security partnership*. (2021, September 16). Retrieved from Prime Minister of Australia: <https://www.pm.gov.au/media/australia-pursue-nuclear-powered-submarines-through-new-trilateral-enhanced-security>
- Bollerdo, J. (2021, Oktober 14). *PH-US Balikatan Exercise back in 'full scale' for 2022*. Retrieved from Rappler: <https://www.rappler.com/nation/philippines-agrees-hold-military-activities-with-united-states-2021/>
- Calmes, J. (2016, November 11). *What Is Lost by Burying the Trans-Pacific Partnership?* Retrieved from The New York Times:
<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/12/business/economy/donald-trump-trade-tpp-trans-pacific-partnership.html>
- Campbell, K. &. (2013). Explaining the US 'pivot' to Asia. *Americas*.

- Chen, C. (2018). 2018. *Political and Economic Research on "One Road, One Road" and Southeast Asian Chinese*.
- Citradi, T. (2019, November 13). *CNBC Indonesia*. Retrieved from Kisah China: Dulu Kumuh Kini Jadi Raksasa Ekonomi Baru:
<https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20191113145204-4-115001/kisah-china-dulu-kumuh-kini-jadi-raksasa-ekonomi-baru?page=all>
- Clinton, H. R. (2011). *America's Pacific Century. U.S. Department of State through Foreign Policy Magazine*.
- CNN Indonesia*. (2021, Agustus 5). Retrieved from Garuda Shield 2021: Latihan Tempur TNI AD-Militer AS Terbesar:
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20210805070517-20-676595/garuda-shield-2021-latihan-tempur-tni-ad-militer-as-terbesar>
- Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *China's Maritime Disputes*. Retrieved from
<https://www.cfr.org/timeline/chinas-maritime-disputes>
- CSIS China Power. (n.d.). *How much trade transits the South China Sea*. Retrieved from
<https://chinapower.csis.org/much-trade-transits-south-china-sea/#:~:text=The%20United%20Nations%20Conference%20on,one%2Dthird%20of%20global%20shipping>
- Darlis, A. M. (2021, Agustus 2018). *Catatan dari Garuda Shield 2021*. Retrieved from Media Indonesia: <https://mediaindonesia.com/opini/426285/catatan-dari-garuda-shield-2021>
- David, S. (2013). Assessing the US "Pivot" to Asia. *Strategic Studies Quarterly*.
- Davidson, J. (2014). The U.S. "Pivot to Asia. *American Journal of Chinese Studies*. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44289339>
- DE CASTRO, R. C. (2009). The US-Philippine Alliance: An Evolving Hedge against an Emerging China Challenge. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*.
- Dr. Farida Nugrahani, M. (2014). *METODE PENELITIAN KUALITATIF dalam Penelitian Pendidikan Bahasa*. Solo: Cakra Books.

- Drab, L. (2018). Defence Diplomacy - An important Tool For The Implementation of Foreign Policy And Security of The State. *Security and Defence Quarterly*.
- Emmers, R. (2015). The US Rebalancing Strategy: Impact on the South China Sea. *ANU National Security College*.
- Euan, G. (2013). Southeast Asia in the US Rebalance: Perceptions from a Divided Region. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*.
- Farley, R. (2020, Juli 23). *The Burned Bonhomme Richard: Lasting Damage for the US Navy*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2020/07/the-burned-bonhomme-richard-lasting-damage-for-the-us-navy/>
- Garuda Shield 2021: Latihan Tempur TNI AD-Militer AS Terbesar*. (2021, Agustus 5). Retrieved from CNN Indonesia: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20210805070517-20-676595/garuda-shield-2021-latihan-tempur-tni-ad-militer-as-terbesar>
- Ghiasy, R., & Zhou, J. (2017). The Silk Road Economic Belt: Considering security implications and EU-China cooperation prospects. *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*.
- Grossman, D. (2018, Oktober 22). *The Quad Needs Broadening to Balance China—and Now's the Time to Do It*. Retrieved from Rand Corporation: <https://www.rand.org/blog/2018/10/the-quad-needs-broadening-to-balance-china-and-nows.html>
- Gurung, A. S. (2018). China, Vietnam, and The South China Sea. *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs, Vol 31*.
- Hakim, I. A. (2021, Desember 6). *Daftar Negara Terkuat Versi Asia Power Index, Indonesia Nomor 9, Secara Diplomatis Terkuat di ASEAN*. Retrieved from KOMPAS.TV: <https://www.kompas.tv/article/239278/daftar-negara-terkuat-versi-asia-power-index-indonesia-nomor-9-secara-diplomatis-terkuat-di-asean>
- Han, Z., & T.V, P. (2020). China's Rise and Balance of Power Politics. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*.
- Hans, J. M. (1948). *Politics Among Nations : The Struggle of Power and Peace*. New York: McGraw Hill .

- Hazmi, A. (2020, Januari 21). *What is "ASEAN Way" ?* Retrieved from Seasia:
<https://seasia.co/2020/01/21/what-is-asean-way>
- Hutt, D. (2021, Oktober 7). *Sungai Mekong Jadi Sengketa Panas Baru di Indo-Pasifik*. Retrieved from DW.com: <https://www.dw.com/id/sungai-mekong-jadi-sengketa-panas-baru-di-indo-pasifik/a-58877358>
- Ian, M. Y. (2017). BARGAINING:REVISI TEORI PERIMBANGAN KEKUATAN DALAM HUBUNGAN DIPLOMASI INDONESIA, MALAYSIA, CINA DAN AMERIKA SERIKAT. *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies*.
- Indonesia-AS perkuat kemitraan melalui latihan militer Garuda Shield 2021*. (2021, Agustus 2). Retrieved from Antara Gorontalo:
<https://gorontalo.antaranews.com/berita/166314/indonesia-as-perkuat-kemitraan-melalui-latihan-militer-garuda-shield-2021>
- Inkiriwang, F. W. (2021). 'Garuda shield' vs 'sharp knife'. *The Pacific Review*.
International Military Education & Training. (n.d.). Retrieved from Defense Security Cooperation Agency: <https://www.dsca.mil/international-military-education-training-imet>
- Jafkhairi. (2011, Juni 17). *Latihan Bersama*. Retrieved from Antara Foto:
<https://www.antarafoto.com/mudik/v1308309613/latihan-bersama>
- Jiawen, C. (2018). Impact of China's "Belt and Road" Initiative on Singapore, Reform and Opening. *Shenzhen University*.
- Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2019, April 10). *Indonesia dan Amerika Serikat Sambut Perayaan 70 Tahun Hubungan Bilateral*. Retrieved from Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia:
<https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/173/berita/indonesia-dan-amerika-serikat-sambut-perayaan-70-tahun-hubungan-bilateral#:~:text=Hubungan%20diplomatik%20RI%2DAS%20dibuka,berada%20pada%20tahap%20Strategic%20Partnership>.
- Kliman, D., & Grace, A. (2018). The United States and China's Belt and Road. *Center for a New American Security*.

- Kompas. (2021, Mei 28). *5 Negara Pendiri ASEAN*. Retrieved from Kompas.com: <https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2021/05/28/185929679/5-negara-pendiri-asean?page=all>
- Kuik, C.-C. (2021). Elite Legitimation and the Agency of the Host Country: Evidence from Laos, Malaysia, and Thailand's BRI Engagement. In F. Schneider, *Global Perspectives on China's Belt and Road Initiative: Asserting Agency through Regional Connectivity*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Lamothe, D. (2016, Maret 21). *These are the bases the U.S. will use near the South China Sea. China isn't impressed*. Retrieved from The Washington Post: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/03/21/these-are-the-new-u-s-military-bases-near-the-south-china-sea-china-isnt-impressed/>
- Larter, D. B. (2020, Februari 6). "*In challenging China's claims in the South China Sea, the US Navy is getting more assertive*". Retrieved from Defense News: <https://www.defensenews.com/naval/2020/02/05/in-challenging-chinas-claims-in-the-south-china-sea-the-us-navy-is-getting-more-assertive/>
- Lobakeng, R. (2016). The South China Sea Dispute: Why the Philippines used the Permanent Court of Arbitration to gain international sympathy in their fight with China. *Institute for Global Dialogue*.
- Luft, G. (2017). The Anatomy of the BRI's Impact on US Interest . *Atlantic Council*.
- Macias, A. (2020, Juli 14). *U.S. could sanction Chinese officials for illegal claims in South China Sea, diplomat says*. Retrieved from CNBC: <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/07/14/us-could-sanction-chinese-officials-over-south-china-sea-claims.html>
- Mahayana, M. E. (2021, Agustus 2). *Perkuat Kemitraan, AS-Indonesia Latihan Militer Garuda Shield 2021*. Retrieved from rm.id: <https://rm.id/baca-berita/internasional/85553/perkuat-kemitraan-asindonesia-latihan-militer-garuda-shield-2021>
- Manurung, H. (2021). THE GARUDA SHIELD 15/2021. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.16624.38402
- McLaughlin, M. (2020). U.S Strategy in the South China Sea. *American Security Project*.

- Mearsheimer, J. (2001). *The tragedy of great power politics*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Medina, A. F. (2021, Januari 21). *ASEAN's Free Trade Agreements: An Overview*. Retrieved from ASEAN Briefing: <https://www.aseanbriefing.com/news/aseans-free-trade-agreements-an-overview/>
- Melita, A. B., Michael, M., & Trilke, T. (2018). Kepentingan Amerika Serikat dalam Konflik Laut China Selatan. *Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan*.
- Muhammad, S. A. (2020). Understanding US “Re-pivot” to Asia. *Indonesian Journal of Peace and Security Studies*.
- Online Event: Tenth Annual South China Sea Conference, Keynote and Session One*. (2020, Juli 14). Retrieved from CSIS: <https://www.csis.org/events/online-event-tenth-annual-south-china-sea-conference-keynote-and-session-one>
- Parameswaran, P. (2016). Malaysia's Approach to the South China Sea Dispute after the Arbitral Tribunal's Ruling. *Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol 38, No. 3*.
- Part XV Settlement of Disputes*. (n.d.). Retrieved from United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea Agreement: https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/part15.htm
- Permanent Court of Arbitration*. (2016, July 12). Retrieved from Press Release. The South China Sea Arbitration: <https://pca-cpa.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/175/2016/07/PH-CN-20160712-Press-Release-No-11-English.pdf>
- Purnama, Y. (202, November 27). *Indonesia makin bergantung pada Cina dan itu berbahaya: apa yang bisa dilakukan*. Retrieved from The Conversation: <https://theconversation.com/indonesia-makin-bergantung-pada-cina-dan-itu-berbahaya-apa-yang-bisa-dilakukan-150948>
- Puspitarini, R. C. (n.d.). *PENDAHULUAN. DEFINISI DAN SEJARAH BALANCE OF POWER ABSTRAK*. Retrieved from ADOC.PUB: <https://adoc.pub/pendahuluan-definisi-dan-sejarah-balance-of-power-abstrak.html>
- Quang, N. M. (2019, Juni 29). *Saving the China-ASEAN South China Sea Code of Conduct*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2019/06/saving-the-china-asean-south-china-sea-code-of-conduct/>

- Rej, A. (2020, 01 Desember). *The 'Durian Pact' Does It Again*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2020/12/the-durian-pact-does-it-again/>
- Remarks by Spokesperson of the Chinese Embassy on the Statement of the US Department of State on the South China Sea*. (2013, July 20). Retrieved from Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United States of America: [http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgxss/t1797515.htm#:~:text=On%20July%202013%2C%202020%2C%20the,\(UNCLOS\)%2C%20exaggerates%20the%20situation](http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgxss/t1797515.htm#:~:text=On%20July%202013%2C%202020%2C%20the,(UNCLOS)%2C%20exaggerates%20the%20situation)
- Roberts, C. B., & Malcolm, C. (2016). Brunei Darussalam: Challenging Stability. *Southeast Asian Affairs ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute*.
- Rudolf, M. (2016). China's shadow world order. *European Council on Foreign Relations*.
- Schatz, C. W. (2020). South China Sea "Lawfare": Fighting over the Freedom of Navigation. *German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA)*.
- Section 1263 Indo-Pacific Maritime Security Initiative (MSI)*. (n.d.). Retrieved from Defense Security Cooperation Agency: <https://www.dsca.mil/section-1263-indo-pacific-maritime-security-initiative-msi>
- See Snidal, D. (1985). *The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory*. International Organization.
- SERIOUS UNTUK TANGGULANGI TERORISME, PEMERINTAH AS LANJUTKAN KERJA SAMA BILATERAL DENGAN INDONESIA**. (2021, Juli 23). Retrieved from BNPT: <https://www.bnpt.go.id/serius-untuk-tanggulangi-terorisme-pemerintah-as-lanjutkan-kerja-sama-bilateral-dengan-indonesia>
- Shambaugh, D. (2013). Assessing the US "pivot" to Asia. *Strategic Studies Quarterly*.
- Soendari, T. (2016, Mei 10). Retrieved from Metode Penelitian Deskriptif: http://file.upi.edu/Direktori/FIP/JUR._PEND._LUAR_BIASA/195602141980032-TJUTJU_SOENDARI/Power_Point_Perkuliahan/Metode_PPKKh/Penelitian__Ddeskriptif.ppt_%5BCompatibility_Mode%5D.pdf
- South China Sea: What's China's Plan for its 'Great Wall of Sand'?* (2020, Juli 14). Retrieved from BBC News: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-53344449>

- Sriyanto, N. (2018). Global Maritime China Growing Relations and Indonesia Middlepowermentship in East Asia Region. *Jurnal Kajian Wilayah Vol.9 No.1*.
- Sudarsono, B. P., Mahroza, J., & D.W, S. (2018). DIPLOMASI PERTAHANAN INDONESIA DALAM MENCAPAI KEPENTINGAN NASIONAL. *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara*.
- Supriyanto, R. A. (2016). Out of Its Comfort Zone:Indonesia and the South China Sea. *Asia Policy, National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR)*.
- Svetlana, G. (2020). China-Kazakhstan Economic Cooperation and One Belt One Road Construction. *Science Review*.
- The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2020, Mei 22). *balance of power*. Retrieved from Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/balance-of-power>
- The United States and ASEAN: An Enduring Partnership*. (n.d.). Retrieved from U.S. Department of State: <https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-and-asean-an-enduring-partnership/>
- Tsinghua University Entrepreneur Research Center, China Overseas Chinese Studies Institute. (2019). History of Overseas Chinese in the "Belt and Road" Series . *Guangdong University Press*.
- U.S. and Philippine Forces Conclude 36th Balikatan Exercise*. (2021, April 23). Retrieved from U.S. Indo-Pacific Command: <https://www.pacom.mil/Media/News/News-Article-View/Article/2584210/us-and-philippine-forces-conclude-36th-balikatan-exercise/>
- Ujvari, B. (2019). The Belt and Road Initiative - The ASEAN Perspective. *Egmont Institute*.
- Ujvari, B. (2019). The Belt and Road Initiative-the Asean Perspective. *Egmont Institute*.
- United States and Indonesia Commit to Advance Democracy and Social Justice Globally Through Bali Democracy Forum and Summit for Democracy*. (2021, Desember 9). Retrieved from US Embassy Indonesia: <https://id.usembassy.gov/united-states-and-indonesia-commit-to-advance-democracy-and-social-justice-globally-through-bali-democracy-forum-and-summit-for-democracy/>

- Utomo, H. F. (2018, September 4). *Investasi China di Afrika Senilai Rp 859 Triliun Picu Kekhawatiran Kolonialisme Baru*. Retrieved from Liputan 6.com:
<https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/3636366/investasi-china-di-afrika-senilai-rp-859-triliun-picu-kekhawatiran-kolonialisme-baru>
- Vietnam accepts US\$348 mil loan to boost South China Sea defence*. (n.d.). Retrieved from FMT NEWS:
<https://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/world/2020/07/28/vietnam-accepts-us348-mil-loan-to-boost-south-china-sea-defence/>
- W.W. Rourke, J. T. (2008). *International Politics on the World Stage*. New York: McGraw Hill .
- Walker, A. (2021, Februari 10). *Indonesia: America's undervalued ally*. Retrieved from Baylorldariat: <https://baylorldariat.com/2021/02/10/indonesia-americas-undervalued-ally/>
- Walt, S. M. (1985). Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power. *The MIT Press*, 9-12.
- Xiaoqian, Z. (2016). Research on The "Re-Huahua" Phenomenon of Chinese Indonesians in the 21st Century. *World Nation 2016, Issue 1, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*.
- Xue, G. (2020). China's Economic Statecraft. *Institute for Regional Security*.
- Yanuar Pamungkas, H. e. (2013). Kehadiran Armada Militer Amerika Serikat Pada Sengketa Kepulauan Spratly Tahun 2011. *Artikel Ilmiah Hasil Penelitian Mahasiswa 2013*.
- Ying, F. (n.d.). "Why China Says No to the Arbitration of the South China Sea,". Retrieved from Foreign Policy: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/10/why-china-says-no-to-the-arbitration-on-the-south-china-sea/>
- Yingying, K. (2018). Chinese Immigration Under the Belt and Road Initiative: Taking Singapore and Malaysia as Examples. *Ningbo Library*.
- Yuanyuan, C., & Mengling, A. (2018). How Chinese and Overseas Chinese Participate in the One Belt One Road Series: Thailand . *Global Website*.

- Yudilla, A. (2019). KERJASAMA INDONESIA CINA DALAM BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE. *Journal of Diplomacy and International Studies*.
- Yun, F. (2018). Overseas Chinese in Laos and The "Belt and Road" Construction. *Center fo Foreign Studies of Yunnan University*.
- Zhang, Z., & Weiwei, J. (2018). "Belt and Road" Related Regions and National Overseas Chinese Situation Observation. *Jinan Univesity Press*.
- Ziezulwicz, G., & Snow, S. (2020, Januari 2020). "Navy conducts year's first FONOP in South China Sea,". Retrieved from Defense News:
<https://www.navytimes.com/news/your-navy/2020/01/28/navy-conducts-years-first-fonop-in-south-china-sea/>