## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Adamson, P. T., Rutherfurd, I. D., Peel, M. C., & Conlan, I. A. (2009). The Hydrology of the Mekong River. In I. C. Campbell, *The Mekong Biophysical Environment of an International River Basin*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Inc.
- Andersson, M. (2009). Motives Behind the Aid Allocation of Aid: A Case Study Regarding Swedish Motives for Aid Allocation. *Master Essay in Political Science*, 1-38.
- Apodaca, C. (2017). Foreign Aid as Foreign Policy Tool. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics.
- Ashish, D. (2024). US Beats China As ASEAN's Top Export Market; Southeast Asia Gains Big From US, China Rivalry. Retrieved from The Eurasian: https://www.eurasiantimes.com/us-surpasses-china-as-aseans-primary/
- Braaten, D., Orozco, M., & Strand, J. R. (2018). Voting for Green? U.S. Support for Environmental Projects in the Multilateral Development Banks. *The Journal of Environment & Development*.
- Buddhasri, P. (2023). *Mae Fah Luang University Hosts Mekong Academic Consortium Supported by U.S. Embassy.* Retrieved from Mae Fah Luang University: https://en.mfu.ac.th/en-news/en-news-detail/detail/News/21316.html
- Bureau of Economic Analysis. (2023). *Vietnam International Trade and Investment Country Facts*. Retrieved from Bureau of Economic Analysis: https://apps.bea.gov/international/factsheet/factsheet.html#653
- Caballero-Anthony, M. (2016). Non-traditional security concept, issues, and implications on security governance. *Georgetown Journal of Asian Affairs*, 5-13.
- Chang, F. K. (2013). The Lower Mekong Initiative & U.S. Foreign Policy in Southeast Asia: Energy, Environmental, & Power. *Orbis*, 282-299.
- Chantha, O., & Ty, S. (2020). Assessing changes in flow and water quality emerging from hydropower development and operation in the Sesan River Basin of the Lower Mekong Region. *Sustain. Water Resour. Manag.*, 1-12.
- CICP. (2022). Readout from the "Mekong US Partnership Track 1.5 Policy Dialogue on Human Resources and Capacity Building" on 13 September 2022, at AmCam Exchange. Retrieved from Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace: https://cicp.org.kh/2022/09/13/amb-pou-sothirak-

- attended-the-readout-from-the-mekong-us-partnership-track-1-5-policy-dialogue-on-human-resources-and-capacity-building-on-13-september-2022-at-amcam-exch/
- Clymer, K. (2018). The United States and Southeast Asia. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History.
- Cosslett, T. L., & Cosslett, P. D. (2018). Sustainable Development of Rice and Water Resources in Mainland Southeast Asia and Mekong River Basin. Singapore: Springer.
- Daoroung, P. (2022). "Energy Trade or Our Life": The Struggle Against the Dams in the Mekong River Mainstream. Retrieved from World Rainforest Movement: https://www.wrm.org.uy/bulletin-articles/the-struggle-against-the-dams-in-the-mekong-river-mainstream
- East West Center. (2023). Asia Matters for America. ASEAN Matters for America/America Matters for ASEAN.
- East-West Center. (2020). The Mekong Matters For America/America Matters For The Mekong. East-West Center.
- Eckersley, R. (2020). Great Expectations: The United States and. In R. Falkner, & B. Buzan, *Great Powers, Climate Change, and Global Environmental Responsibilities* (p. 51). United Kingdom: Oxford Universities Press.
- Eyler, B., & Weatherby, C. (2020). *Mekong Mainstream Dams*. Retrieved from STIMSON: https://www.stimson.org/2020/mekong-mainstream-dams/#:~:text=
- Feis, H. (1964). Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Fullbrook, D. (2017). Food Security in the Wider Mekong Region. In J. W. A. Smajgl, *The Water-Food-Energy Nexus in the Mekong Region: Assessing Development Strategies Considering Cross-Sectoral and Transboundary Impacts* (pp. 61-104). New York: Springer Science+Business Media.
- Garamone, J. (2023). *US Department of Defense*. Retrieved from Tailoring U.S. Outreach to Indo-Pacific Allies, Partners: https://www.defense.gov/News/News-Stories/Article/Article/3430129/tailoring-us-outreach-to-indo-pacificallies-partners/#:~:text=The%20United%20States%20works%20with,to%20those%20mutual%20defense%20treaties.
- Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime. (2023). *Global Organized Crime Index 2023: A Fractured World*. Retrieved from https://ocindex.net/report/2023/04-continental-overview.html

- Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime. (2023). Organized Crime in the Mekong. Geneva: The Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime. Retrieved from https://globalinitiative.net/analysis/organized-crime-mekong/
- Green, M. J. (2017). By More Than Providence: Grand Strategy and American Power in the Asia Pacific since 1783. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ha, H. T. (2023, May). Is the US a Serious Competitor to China in the Lower Mekong? . *Perspective*, pp. 1-16.
- Hirose, K., Montinola, G. R., Winters, M. S., & Kohno, M. (2024). A matter of trust: Public support for country ownership over aid. *The Review of International Organizations*.
- Holsti, K. J. (1988). *International Politics: Framework of Analysis*. New Jersey: Pretince Hall.
- International Trade Administration. (2024). *Cambodia Country Commercial Guide*. Retrieved from International Trade Administration: https://www.trade.gov/country-commercial-guides/cambodia-investment-climate-statement-ics
- John Hopkins University. (2023). Why Washington's Eyes Are Focusing on Southeast Asia. Retrieved from John Hopkins University in Washington DC: https://washingtondc.jhu.edu/news/why-washingtons-eyes-are-focusing-on-southeast-asia/
- Koemsoeun, S. (2024). *Khmer Times*. Retrieved from US-Cambodia discuss upgrading military cooperation: https://www.khmertimeskh.com/501447250/us-cambodia-discuss-upgrading-military-cooperation/#google vignette
- Li, X., Liu, J. P., Saito, Y., & Nguyen, V. L. (2017). Recent evolution of the Mekong Delta and the impacts of dams. *Earth-Science Reviews*, 1-17.
- McGuirk, R. (2022). Blinken says century will be shaped by Indo-Pacfic region. Retrieved from AP News: https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-antony-blinken-melbourne-australia-europe-ac0b038e5f3670c39bcdd5b75de25c10
- McKinley, A., Wintle, E., Moore, M., Storm, C., Baker, S., & Rennie, J. (2021). Pandemic Impact on Human Trafficking in the Greater Mekong Subregion. Australia: DT Institute.

- Medina, A. F. (2023). *An Overview of US Trade and Investment in ASEAN*. Retrieved from ASEAN Briefing: https://www.aseanbriefing.com/news/anoverview-of-us-trade-and-investment-in-asean/
- Mekong River Comission. (n.d.). *Geographic Regions*. Retrieved from mrcmekong: https://www.mrcmekong.org/about/mekong-basin/geography/geographic-regions/#:~:text=The%20Lower%20Mekong%20River%20Basin%20is%20functionally%20subdivided%20into%20four,southern%20tip%20of%20Viet%20Nam.
- Mekong River Commission. (2015). "Lower Mekong fisheries estimated to be worth around \$17 billion a year", Catch and culture December 2015, Volume 21, No.3. Retrieved from Mekong River Commission: http://www.mrcmekong.org/assets/Publications/Catch-and-Culture/CatchCultureVol-21.3.pdf
- Mekong-US Partnership. (2021). *Mekong-U.S. Partnership Plan of Action 2021-2023*. Retrieved from Mekong-US Partnership: https://mekonguspartnership.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/MUSP-Plan-of-Action-Public-Use.pdf
- Mekong-US Partnership. (2021). NexGen Program Announcement. Retrieved from Mekong-US Partnership: https://mekonguspartnership.org/2021/05/03/nexgen-program-announcement/
- Mekong-US Partnership. (2022). Semiannual Mekong-U.S. Partnership. Retrieved from Mekong-US Partnership: https://mekonguspartnership.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/Fall-2022-MUSP-Newsletter-Final.pdf
- Mekong-US Partnership. (2024). *Mekong-U.S. Partnership Plan of Action 2024-2026*. Retrieved from Mekong-US Partnership: https://mekonguspartnership.org/about/plan-of-action/
- Mekong-US Partnership. (n.d.). *About*. Retrieved from Mekong US Partnership: https://mekonguspartnership.org/about/
- Meur, M. L., Phu, L. V., & Gratiot, N. (2022). What Is the Future of the Lower Mekong Basin Struggling against Human Activities? A Review. In A. J. Manning, *River Delta Research Recent Advances*. IntechOpen.
- Morton, L. W., & Olson, K. R. (2018). The Pulses of the Mekong River Basin: Rivers and the Livelihoods of Farmers and Fishers. *Journal of Environmental Protection*, 431-459.

- OECD. (2023). United States. In *Development Co-operation Profiles*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Organization of Economic Development. (2022). *OECD Library*. Retrieved from Development Co-operation Profiles: United States: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/45472e20-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/45472e20-en
- Pal, I., Dhungana, G., Baskota, A., Parmeshwar, U., Gadhawe, M. A., Doydee, P., .
  . . Sophat, S. (2023). Multi-Hazard Livelihood Security and Resilience of Lower Mekong Basin Communities. *Sustainability*.
- Quirk, P., & Scott, C. D. (2023). Maximizing US foreign aid for strategic competition. Atlantic Council.
- Regilme, Jr, S. S., & Hodzi, O. (2021). Comparing US and Chinese Foreign Aid in the Era of Rising Powers. *The International Spectator*, 114-131.
- Restivo, M., Shandra, J. M., & Sommer, J. M. (2018). The United States Agency for International Development and forest loss: A cross-national analysis of environmental aid. *The Social Science Journal*, 171-181.
- Riddell, R. C. (2007). Does Aid Really Work? New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sacharn, B. S. (2003). Cooperation in Military Training as a Tool of Peacetime Military Diplomacy. *Strategic Analysis: A Monthly Journal of the IDSA*.
- Shrestha, O. L., & Chongvilaivan, A. (2013). *Greater Mekong Subregion: From Geographical to Socio-Economic Integration*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Silalahi, U. (2009). Metode Penelitian Sosial. Bandung.
- Sor, R., Ngor, P. B., Soum, S., Chandra, S., Hogan, Z. S., & Null, S. E. (2021). Water Quality Degradation in the Lower Mekong Basin. *Water*.
- Sugiyono. (2013). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D*. Bandung: Penerbit Alfabeta.
- Trager, R. F. (2016). The Diplomacy of War and Peace. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 205-228.
- UN ESCAP. (2024). Review on the impacts of climate change on rice production and cross-sectoral transboundary water issues in the Lower Mekong Basin. UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.
- US Department of State. (2021). *Mekong-U.S. Partnership Senior Official Meeting*. Retrieved from US Department of State.

- US Department of State. (2021). Secretary Blinken's Participation in the Mekong-U.S. Partnership Ministers' Meeting. Retrieved from US Department of State: https://www.state.gov/secretary-blinkens-participation-in-themekong-u-s-partnership-ministers-meeting/
- US Department of State. (2021). *The Mekong-U.S. Partnership and the Friends of the Mekong: Proven Partners for the Mekong Region*. Retrieved from US Department of State: https://www.state.gov/the-mekong-u-s-partnership-and-the-friends-of-the-mekong-proven-partners-for-the-mekong-region/
- US Department of State. (2023). *U.S. Security Cooperation With Vietnam*. Retrieved from US Department of State: https://www.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-vietnam/
- US Department of State. (2024). *Joint Statement Marking Three Years Since the Military Coup in Myanmar*. Retrieved from US Department of State: https://www.state.gov/joint-statement-marking-three-years-since-the-military-coup-in-myanmar/
- US Embassy & Consulate In Thailand. (n.d.). *History of the US and Thailand*. Retrieved from US Embassy & Consulate: https://th.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history-2/io/#:~:text=The%20United%20States%20and%20Thailand,oldest%20friend%20in%20the%20region.
- US Embassy & Consulate in Vietnam. (n.d.). *CHRONOLOGY OF U.S. VIETNAM RELATIONS*. Retrieved from US Embassy & Consulate in Vietnam: https://vn.usembassy.gov/chronology-of-u-s-vietnam-relations/#:~:text=July%2011%2C%201995%20%E2%80%93%20Preside nt%20William,officially%20opens%20the%20U.S.%20Embassy.
- US Embassy and Consulate in Thailand. (n.d.). *U.S. Embassy Bangkok*. Retrieved from US Embassy and Consulate in Thailand: https://th.usembassy.gov/embassy-consulate/bangkok/
- US Mission to ASEAN. (2020). *Mekong-US Partnership Joint Ministerial Statement*. Retrieved from US Mission to ASEAN: https://asean.usmission.gov/mekong-u-s-partnership-joint-ministerial-statement/#:~:text=The%20Mekong%2DU.S.%20Partnership%20(hereaft er.countries%20and%20
- US Mission to ASEAN. (2020). *Mekong-US Partnership Joint Ministerial Statement*. Retrieved from US Mission to ASEAN: https://asean.usmission.gov/mekong-u-s-partnership-joint-ministerial-statement/

- US Mission to ASEAN. (2020). *The Mekong US Partnership: The Mekong Region Deserves Good Partners*. Retrieved from US Mission to ASEAN: https://asean.usmission.gov/the-mekong-u-s-partnership-the-mekong-region-deserves-good-partners/
- USAID. (2019). Environmental and Natural Resource Management Framework. Retrieved from https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/2022-12/2019-USAID-ENRM-Framework.pdf
- USAID. (2020). *Mekong-US Partnership*. Retrieved from United States Agency for International Development: https://www.usaid.gov/asia-regional/lower-mekong-initiative-lmi
- USAID. (2024). *Mekong for the Future Fact Sheet*. Retrieved from USAID: https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/2024-05/FS\_MFF\_May\_2024.docx\_0.pdf
- USAID. (n.d.). *Lower Mekong Initiative (LMI)*. Retrieved from US Agency for International Development: https://2017-2020.usaid.gov/vietnam/lower-mekong-initiative-lmi
- USTR . (2021). *USTR Suspends Trade Engagement with Burma following Military Coup and Violence against Civilians*. Retrieved from Office of the United States Trade Representative: https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/press-releases/2021/march/ustr-suspends-trade-engagement-burma-following-military-coup-and-violence-against-civilians
- Vathana, S. (2021). *Thai, Cambodia, Vietnam Ambassadors Urge ASEAN, US support for Mekong Management*. Retrieved from VOA Cambodia: https://www.voacambodia.com/a/thai-cambodia-vietnam-ambassadors-urge-asean-us-support-for-mekong-management-/5828248.html
- Walsh, B. (2020). First-Ever Foreign Military Financing Program for Lao PDR Realized with Delivery of Ambulances. Retrieved from US Department of State: https://2017-2021.state.gov/dipnote-u-s-department-of-state-official-blog/first-ever-foreign-military-financing-program-for-lao-pdr-realized-with-delivery-of-ambulances/
- Williams, V. (2023). Foreign Aid. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/money/topic/foreign-aid
- Yoshimatsu, H. (2015). The United States, China, and Geopolitics in the Mekong Region. *Asian Affairs*, 173-94.
- Zhukova, E. (2020). Foreign Aid. In *Humanitarianism*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.