

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### BUKU

- Baylis, J. (2002). *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Cipto, B. (2010). *Hubungan Internasional di Asia Tenggara*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar).
- Dennis, P., Grey, J., Morris, E., & Prior, R. (2008). *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*. (Melbourne: Oxford University Press).
- Holsti, K. J. (1992). *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall International).
- Jackson, R., & Sorensen, G. (2013). *Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional: Teori dan Pendekatan Edisi Kelima*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1951). *In Defense of the National Interest: A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy*. (New York: Universiti Press of America).
- Nye, J. S. (2005). *Understanding International Conflict: An Introduction to Theory and History*. (New York: Pearson Longman).
- Mas'oeed Mochtar. (1990). *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi*, (Jakarta: LP3ES)
- Perwita, A. A., & Yani, Y. M. (2006). *Pengantar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*. (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya)

Prasojo. (2013). *Pengantar Kajian Strategis*. (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu).

## **JURNAL**

Abinales, P. *American Military Presence in the Southern Philippines: A Comparative Historical Overview*. East-West Center Working Papers, No. 7, hlm 1-20.

Atallah, S. (2017). *United States Foreign Policy and the Middle East*. Scientific Research an Academic Publisher, hlm 454-472. Diakses melalui Scirp: <https://www.scirp.org/Journal/PaperInformation.aspx?PaperID=78991>

Ayoob, M., *From Regional System to Regional Society: Exploring Key Variables in the Construction of Regional Order*. Australian Journal of International Affairs, hlm 247-260.

Bayoneto, M.V., *The Former U.S. Bases in the Philippines: An Argument for the Application of U.S. Environmental Standards to Overseas Military Bases*. Fordham Environmental Law Review, hlm 111-155.

Dufour, J. (2018). *The Global Network of US Military Bases*. Diakses melalui Global Research: <https://www.globalresearch.ca/the-worldwide-network-of-us-military-bases/5564>

Haass, R. (2010). *Foreign Policy in the Age of Primacy: An Overview*. Diakses melalui The Brookings Institution: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2000/09/fall-diplomacy-haass>

- Kuok, L. (2016). *The U.S.-Singapore Partnership: A Critical Element of U.S. Engagement and Stability in the Asia-Pacific*, hlm 5-6.
- Maulana, I. (t.thn.). *Penggunaan Use of Force*. Diakses melalui Academia:  
[https://www.academia.edu/12723117/Penggunaan\\_use\\_of\\_force\\_penerapan\\_konsep\\_deterrence\\_oleh\\_suatu\\_aktor\\_hubungan\\_internasional\\_dilihat\\_dari\\_jenisnya\\_primary\\_deterrence\\_dan\\_extended\\_deterrence](https://www.academia.edu/12723117/Penggunaan_use_of_force_penerapan_konsep_deterrence_oleh_suatu_aktor_hubungan_internasional_dilihat_dari_jenisnya_primary_deterrence_dan_extended_deterrence).
- Mills, C. (2015). *The United States' Asia-Pacific Policy and the Rise of the Dragon*. (Winston: Australian Defence College).
- MINDEF SINGAPORE. (2015). Factsheet - The Strategic Framework Agreement. *New Release*, hlm 1-2.
- MOFA. (2012). *Joint Statement of the Security Consultative Committee*. Diakses melalui MOFA:  
[https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/scc/pdfs/joint\\_120427\\_en.pdf](https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/scc/pdfs/joint_120427_en.pdf)
- Nuechterlein, Donald. (1976). *National Interests and Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis and Decision-Making*. British Journal of International Studies. Vol. II. hlm 14.
- R. Weitz, *Chinese-Russian Sea Interaction 2012 Breaks New Ground: China US Focus*, diakses melalui  
<https://www.chinausfocus.com/foreign-policy/chinese-russian-sea-interaction-2012-breaks-new-ground>
- Tessman, B. (2012). *System Structure and State Strategy: Adding Hedging to The Menu*. (Oxford: Routledge), hlm 192-231.

## LAPORAN RESMI

APEC. (2015). *Member Economies*. Diakses melalui APEC: <https://www.apec.org/about-us/about-apec/member-economies.aspx>

Global Security. (2012). *Kadena Air Base*. Diakses melalui Global Security: <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/kadena.htm>

Global Security. (2015). *China's Defense Budget*. Diakses melalui Global Security: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/budget.htm>

IMF. (2016). *Report for Selected Countries and Subjects*. Diakses melalui IMF: <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2016/01/weodata/weorept>

Information Office of the State Council of The People's Republic of China. (2011). *China Peaceful Development*. Diakses melalui Information Office of the State Council of The People's Republic of China: ([http://www.china.org.cn/government/whitepaper/node\\_7126562.html](http://www.china.org.cn/government/whitepaper/node_7126562.html))

## ARTIKEL WEBSITE

Agni, V. (2018, September 22). *Ini Deretan Peralatan Militer yang Dibeli China dari Rusia*. Diakses melalui Kompas:

<https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2018/09/22/09090021/ini-deretan-peralatan-militer-yang-dibeli-china-dari-rusia?page=all>

Al Jazeera. (2017, Agustus 22). *Timeline: US intervention in Afghanistan 2001 to 2017*. Diakses melalui Al-Jazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/08/2001-2017-intervention-afghanistan-170822035036797.html>

Amadeo, K. (2018, November 7). *2008 Financial Crisis: The Causes and Costs of the Worst Crisis Since the Great Depression*. Diakses melalui The Balance: <https://www.thebalance.com/2008-financial-crisis-3305679>

Amies, N. (2011, November 17). *Asia Pacific Region becomes Main Focus of US Foreign Policy*. Diakses melalui DW: <https://www.dw.com/en/asia-pacific-region-becomes-main-focus-of-us-foreign-policy/a-15522953>

Ankit, P. (2014, April 29). *US-Philippines Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement Bolsters 'Pivot to Asia'*. Diakses melalui The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2014/04/us-philippines-enhanced-defense-cooperation-agreement-bolsters-pivot-to-asia/>

Aulia, A. (2012, Januari 17). *China Siap Amankan Sungai Mekong*. Diakses melalui Okezone: <https://news.okezone.com/read/2012/01/17/413/558397/china-siap-amankan-sungai-mekong>

Bama, M. (2011, November 10). *U.S. Military In Australia - China As Subterfuge*. Diakses melalui Moon of Alabama: <https://www.moonofalabama.org/2011/11/us-military-in-australia-china-as-subterfuge.html>

- BBC Indonesia. (2012, Maret 29). *Indonesia protes pangkalan AS di Pulau Cocos, Australia*. Diakses melalui BBC Indonesia:  
[https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita\\_indonesia/2012/03/120329\\_indonesiaaussie](https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2012/03/120329_indonesiaaussie)
- BBC Indonesia. (2016, April 8). *SBY minta Australia transparan soal kebijakan pertahanan*. Diakses melalui BBC Indonesia:  
[https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita\\_indonesia/2016/04/160408\\_indonesia\\_sby\\_australia\\_transparan](https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2016/04/160408_indonesia_sby_australia_transparan)
- Berlianto. (2018, Juli 26). *AS Bakal Tempatkan 2.500 Marinir di Darwin*. Diakses melalui Sindo News:  
<https://international.sindonews.com/read/1325280/42/as-bakal-tempatkan-2500-marinir-di-darwin-1532595870>
- Bijan, Z. (2005, September 11). *China's "Peaceful Rise" to Great-Power Status*. Diakses melalui Foreign Affairs:  
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/61015/zheng-bijan/chinas-peaceful-rise-to-great-power-status>
- China Today. (2014). *China Military and Armed Forces*. Diakses melalui China Today:  
<http://www.chinatoday.com/arm/china-military.html>
- Cordesman, A. (2014). *Chinese Military Modernization and Force Development: Chinese and Outside Perspectives*. Diakses melalui CSIS: [https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fspublic/legacy\\_files/files/publication/140702\\_Chinese\\_MilBal\\_0.pdf](https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fspublic/legacy_files/files/publication/140702_Chinese_MilBal_0.pdf)
- CNN Indonesia. (2016, November 17). *AS-Australia Bangun Pangkalan Militer di Papua Nugini*. Diakses melalui CNN Indonesia:  
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/2018111>

7193816-134-347379/as-australia-bangun-pangkalan-militer-di-papua-nugini

Coorey, P. (2011, November 17). *Obama to send marines to Darwin*. Diakses melalui The Sydney Morning Herald: <https://www.smh.com.au/national/obama-to-send-marines-to-darwin-20111116-1njd7.html>

CRF. (2012, November 14). *The Bush Doctrine*. Diakses melalui Constitutional Right Foundation: <http://www.crf-usa.org/war-in-iraq/bush-doctrine.html>

Clinton, H., *America's Pacific Century. Foreign Policy*. Diakses melalui Foreign Policy: [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/10/11/americas\\_pacific\\_century?page=full](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/10/11/americas_pacific_century?page=full)

Davies, J. (2017, Juni 23). *Global Financial Crisis - What caused it and how the world responded*. Diakses melalui Canstar: <https://www.canstar.com.au/home-loans/global-financial-crisis/>

Detik, *Amerika Serikat Pangkas 100.000 Prajurit*, diakses melalui Detik News: <https://news.detik.com/bbc-world/1826600/amerika-serikat-pangkas-100000-prajurit>

D. Vine, *How the Pentagon Is Quietly Transforming Its Overseas Base Empire*, Huffpost, diakses melalui Huffington Post: [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-vine/us-military-bases\\_b\\_1676006.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-vine/us-military-bases_b_1676006.html)

Dizon, N. (2015, Desember 13). *Filipinos asked: Who do you want on your side?* Diakses melalui Global Nation: <https://globalnation.inquirer.net/133741/filipinos-asked-who-do-you-want-on-your-side>

- Dwi, N. (2018, Maret 15). *Ekonomi Asia Timur dan Pasifik Terus Melaju Kuat, Ini Salah Satu Penopangnya*. diakses melalui Kabar 24: <https://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20180315/19/750463/ekonomi-asia-timur-dan-pasifik-terus-melaju-kuat-ini-salah-satu-penopangnya>
- Dyan, Kostermans (2011, April 27). *Timbunan Hutang AS Sejarah Beberapa Dekade*. Diakses melalui DW Research: <https://www.dw.com/id/timbunan-hutang-as-sejarah-beberapa-dekade/a-15033599>. Pada tanggal 23 Februari 2019.
- Elliot, L. (2011, Agustus 7). *Global financial crisis: five key stages 2007-2011*. diakses melalui The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2011/aug/07/global-financial-crisis-key-stages>
- Fauzia, M. (2018, 10 23). *Akibat Perang Dagang, Kawasan Asia Tenggara Dibanjiri Investasi*. diakses melalui Kompas: <https://ekonomi.kompas.com/read/2018/10/23/120700626/akibat-perang-dagang-kawasan-asia-tenggara-dibanjiri-investasi>
- Gary, L., & Greg, I. (2014, Juni 2). *George W. Bush: Foreign Affairs*. Diakses melalui Miller Center: <https://millercenter.org/president/gwbush/foreign-affairs>
- Ghelan, R. (2015, September 12). *Business*. diakses melalui BBC News: <http://www.bbc.co%2C/news/business-32387376>
- Global FirePower. (2017). *Di Asia Pasifik, Militer Indonesia Lebih Perkasa Dibanding Australia*. diakses melalui Global FirePower:



<https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2017/01/05/di-asia-pasifik-militer-indonesia-lebih-perkasa-dari-australia>

Guinto, J., Talev, M., & Mattingly, P. (2014, April 28). *U.S., Philippines Sign Defense Pact Amid China Tensions*. Diakses melalui Bloomberg: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-04-27/philippines-to-sign-defense-deal-with-u-s-amid-china-tensions>

Haass, R. N., *Foreign Policy in the Age of Primacy: An Overview*. The Brookings Institution. Diakses melalui Brookings: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2000/09/fall-diplomacy-haass>

Hardoko, E. (2016, Juli 13). *Laut China Selatan, Perairan Menggiurkan Sumber Sengketa 6 Negara*. Diakses melalui Kompas: <https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2016/07/13/17401251/laut.china.selatan.perairan.menggiurkan.sumber.sengketa.6.negara>

Hong, Z. (2018, September 15). *Japan and China crossing tracks in Southeast Asia*. Diakses melalui East Asia Forum: <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2018/09/15/japan-and-china-crossing-tracks-in-southeast-asia/>

Inilah. (2012, April 14). *Mencermati Rivalitas AS-China di Asia*. Retrieved from Inilah: <http://dunia.inilah.com/read/detail/1850816/URLIKLANBARIS>

J. Dufour, *The Global Network of US Military Bases*, diakses melalui Global Research :

<https://www.globalresearch.ca/the-worldwide-network-of-us-military-bases/5564>

JP Morgan. (2014, September 11). *ASEAN's Bright Future: Growth Opportunities for Corporates in the ASEAN Region*. Diakses melalui JP Morgan: <https://www.jpmorgan.co.id/country/ID/en/cib/investment-banking/trade-asean-future>

Kompas, *AS mengubah Strategi Militer*, diakses melalui Internasional Kompas: <http://internasional.kompas.com/amp/read/2012/01/07/02140067/AS.Mengubah.Strategi.Militer>

Kadena Military. (2003, Agustus 12). *About Kadena*. Diakses melalui Kadena Military: <http://www.kadena.af.mil/>

Katigbak, J. (2016, Maret 19). *US, Philippines agree on 5 base locations under EDCA*. Diakses melalui Philstar Global: <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2016/03/19/1564662/us-philippines-agree-5-base-locations-under-edca>

Kedutaan Besar Australia Indonesia. (2014, Februari 11). *Ekonomi Global*. Diakses melalui Kedutaan Besar Australia Indonesia: [https://indonesia.embassy.gov.au/jaktindonesian/ekonomi\\_global.html](https://indonesia.embassy.gov.au/jaktindonesian/ekonomi_global.html)

Kimberly, A. (2018, November 12). *U.S. Military Budget: Components, Challenges, Growth*. Diakses melalui The Balance: <https://www.thebalance.com/u-smilitary-budget-components-challenges-growth-3306320>

Kompas. (2012, Februari 15). *Pertahanan China Diperkuat*. Diakses melalui Kompas:

<https://lifestyle.kompas.com/read/2012/02/15/07385684/pertahanan.china.diperkuat>

Kyung, L. (2011, Februari 14). *Japan: Economy slips to third in world*. Diakses melalui CNN: <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/BUSINESS/02/13/japan.economy.third/index.html>

Mahadzir, D. (2014, September 19). *No, Malaysia Would Never Host a US Spy Base*. Diakses melalui The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2014/09/no-malaysia-would-never-host-a-us-spy-base/>

Marniati. (2018, November 19). *Kamboja Tolak Pembangunan Pangkalan Militer Asing*. Diakses melalui Republika: <https://internasional.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/asia/18/11/19/pifp52377-kamboja-tolak-pembangunan-pangkalan-militer-asing>

Mearsheimer, J., & Walt, S. (2014, Juli 11). *The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy*. Diakses melalui Foreign Affairs: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ united-states/2016-06-13/case-offshore-balancing>

Meruenas, M. (2016, Juli 26). *It's final: SC affirms legality of EDCA*. Diakses melalui GMA News: <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/nation/575113/it-s-final-sc-affirms-legality-of-edca/story/>

Milbank, D. (2004, Juni 18). *Bush Defends Assertions of Iraq-Al Qaeda Relationship*. Diakses melalui Washington Post: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A50679-2004Jun17.html?noredirect=on>

Military Education. (2015). *The Growth of The Chinese Military*. Diakses melalui Military Education:

<http://www.militaryeducation.org/chinese-military-growth/>

Morrison, W. (2015). *China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States*. Diakses melalui FAS: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33534.pdf>

Nahi Munkar. (2014, November 11). *Inilah Bahaya Pangkalan Militer AS di Darwin Bagi Indonesia*. Diakses melalui Nahi Munkar: <https://www.nahimunkar.org/inilah-bahaya-pangkalan-militer-amerika-di-darwin-bagi-indonesia/>

Nawali, F. (2011, Oktober 19). *Mengapa Rusia dan AS lirik kawasan Asia Tenggara*. Diakses melalui Rakyat Merdeka: <http://ww1.rakyatmerdekaonline.com/?subid1=ea6cdd04-3218-11e9-9b7a-e5b6b1d68483>

Nehru, V. (2011, Juli 7). *Southeast Asia: Crouching Tiger or Hidden Dragon*. Diakses melalui Carnegie Dowment: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2011/07/07/southeast-asia-crouching-tiger-or-hidden-dragon-pub->

Nelson, M. (2013, Desember 29). *Barack Obama: Foreign Affairs*. Diakses melalui Miller Center: <https://millercenter.org/president/obama/foreign-affairs>

Pamungkas, D. (2013, Oktober 11). *Kepentingan ekonomi Jepang dalam penguatan kerjasama keuangan regional Asia Timur*. Diakses melalui Perpustakaan Universitas Indonesia: <http://lib.ui.ac.id/file?file=pdf/abstrak-131912.pdf>

- Prashanth, P. (2015, Desember 8). *US, Singapore Ink New Defense Pact*. Diakses melalui The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2015/12/us-singapore-ink-new-defense-pact/>
- P. Matanasi, *Militer Amerika Mencengkrum Dunia*, diakses melalui Tirto: <https://tirto.id/militer-amerika-mencengkeram-dunia-bsTe>
- Rahimin, *Lihatlah Kekuatan Militer Tiongkok, AS Bisa Saja Bertekuk Lutut*. Diakses melalui Tribun Jambi: [www.jambi.tribunnews.com/amp/2015/09/23/lihatlah-kekuatan-militer-tiongkok-as-bisa-saja-bertekuk-lutut](http://www.jambi.tribunnews.com/amp/2015/09/23/lihatlah-kekuatan-militer-tiongkok-as-bisa-saja-bertekuk-lutut)
- Reed, C. (2011, Maret 25). *Military wraps up first round of departures from Japan*. Diakses melalui Stripes: <https://www.stripes.com/news/pacific/japan/military-wraps-up-first-round-of-departures-from-japan-1.138869>
- Sebayang, R. (2018, September 21). *Beli Alutsista dari Rusia, China Dijatuhi Sanksi oleh AS*. Diakses melalui CNBC Indonesia: <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20180921144612-4-34219/beli-alutsista-dari-rusia-china-dijatuhi-sanksi-oleh-as>
- Shintaloka, P. (2017, Desember 4). *Transformasi Ekonomi Negara-Negara Kawasan Asia Timur dan Pasifik*. Diakses melalui Tirto: <https://tirto.id/transformasi-ekonomi-negara-negara-kawasan-asia-timur-dan-pasifik-cBaM>
- Tempo. (2011, November 18). *Obama - SBY Bahas 2500 Marinir di Darwin*. Diakses melalui Tempo: <https://dunia.tempo.co/read/367345/obama-sby-bahas-2500-marinir-di-darwin>

Tempo. (2012, April 27). *Amerika Serikat Tarik Marinirnya dari Okinawa*. Diakses melalui Tempo: <https://dunia.tempo.co/read/400174/amerika-serikat-tarik-marinirnya-dari-okinawa/full&view=ok>

The New York Times. *Text: Obama's Remarks on Military Spending*. Diakses melalui New York Times: [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/06/us/text-obamas-remarks-on-military-spending.html?ref=us&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/06/us/text-obamas-remarks-on-military-spending.html?ref=us&_r=0)

VOA Indonesia. (2011, Februari 14). *Obama Kirim Rancangan Anggaran ke Kongres, Potong Anggaran Pertahanan*. Diakses melalui VOA Indonesia: <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/obama-kirim-rancangan-anggaran-ke-kongres-potong-anggaran-pertahanan-116201844/89838.html>