

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- “China-Indonesia Joint Statement Controversy.” (2025). *Asian Affairs: An American Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2025.2504882>
- Agastia, I. G. B. D. (2021). Joko Widodo's fleeting maritime ambitions: An actor-specific analysis of Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum. *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 8(3), 230–250. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23477970211039306>
- Ahamat, H., Mat Basir, S., Abd Aziz, S. N., & Mohd Kamal, M. H. (2023). China's South China Sea Claims, the Historic Rights Debate and the Middle Approach of Islamic International Law. *Journal of International Studies*, 19(1), 265–300.
- Amri, U., & Zahidi, M. S. (2023). Indonesian maritime diplomacy: Realizing the Global Maritime Fulcrum through IORA. *Nation State: Journal of International Studies*, 6(1), 71–78. <https://doi.org/10.24076/nsjls.v6i1.949>
- Andriani, S. (2022). Poros Maritim Dunia dan Identitas Nasional Indonesia dalam Politik Luar Negeri Era Jokowi. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 10(2), 134–148.
- Annurullah, M. (2022). Kebijakan penenggelaman kapal ilegal sebagai simbol kedaulatan maritim Indonesia. *Jurnal Hukum Laut*, 9(2), 122–136.
- Antara. (2023, May 9). Indonesia dorong percepatan pembahasan CoC Laut China Selatan. *Antara News*. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3561770/indonesia-dorong-percepatan-pembahasan-coc-laut-china-selatan>
- Anton, M., Sukristyanto, A., & Achluddin, I. (2021). Indonesian defense diplomacy in the resolution of the South China Sea conflict. *Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 4(2), 33–40. <https://doi.org/10.11648/j.jpsir.20210402.12>
- Arif, M., Afriansyah, A., & Chairil, M. (2024). Discursive defiance in maritime disputes: Indonesia's renaming of the North Natuna Sea. *Indonesian Journal of International Law*, 21(1), 55–72. <https://doi.org/10.17304/ijil.vol21.1.2345>
- ASEAN Secretariat. (2023). *ASEAN Chairmanship 2023 Report*. ASEAN. <https://asean.org/book/asean-chairmanship-2023-report/>

- ASEAN Secretariat. (2023, Juli 14). *Chairman's Statement of the 30th ASEAN Regional Forum* (ARF/30/CS). <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Chairmans-Statement-of-30th-ARF-2023-FINAL-1.pdf>
- Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. (n.d.). *Island Tracker*. Center for Strategic and International Studies. <https://amti.csis.org/island-tracker/Air University>
- Astuti, Y. P. (2022). Strategi Diplomasi Indonesia dalam Menyikapi Klaim Nine-Dash Line China di Laut Natuna Utara. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional Global*, 5(1), 45–59.
- Ba, A. D. (2014). Institutional divergence and the limits of the “ASEAN Way”: The evolution of ASEAN’s approach to maritime security. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 27(3), 403–418.
- Bangun, H. B. (2021). Upaya dan Peran ASEAN dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa Laut China Selatan. *Jurnal Komunikasi Hukum (JKH)*, 7(1), 23.
- Baylon, P. B. A., Adi, O. B., Aiko, L., Silalahi, I. R., Sitanggang, S. H., Al Ghifari, D. N., ... & Saepudin, E. (2021). Kajian Validitas Klaim China Atas Wilayah Laut China Selatan Indonesia. *Jurnal Kewarganegaraan*, 5(2), 691-700.
- BBC Indonesia. (2019, December 31). Susi Pudjiastuti tenggelamkan lebih 500 kapal asing. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-50955536>
- Buszynski, L. (2018). ASEAN and China in the South China Sea disputes. *Asian Affairs*, 49(3), 475–493. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2018.1487691> Taylor & Francis Online
- Caballero-Anthony, M. (2022). *The ASEAN way and the changing security environment*. *International Politics*, 59, 879–900. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-022-00400-0>
- Cavila, M. V., Indira, N. S., & Putri, A. A. (2024). *Dampak kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia terhadap stabilitas maritim di Laut China Selatan (The impact of Indonesia's foreign policy on maritime stability in the South China Sea)*. ResearchGate. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/385350275>
- Chang, T. K. (1991). China's claim of sovereignty over Spratly and Paracel Islands: A historical and legal perspective. *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, 23(2), 399–420. <https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/jil/vol23/iss2/22>

- CNN Indonesia. (2020, January 6). Jokowi soal Natuna: Tak ada tawar-menawar kedaulatan RI. *CNN Indonesia*.
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200106142957-20-462802/jokowi-soal-natuna-tak-ada-tawar-menawar-kedaulatan-ri>
- CNN Indonesia. (2020, January 8). Jokowi: Tidak ada kompromi dalam kedaulatan RI. Retrieved from
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200106142957-20-462802/jokowi-soal-natuna-tak-ada-tawar-menawar-kedaulatan-ri>
- Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *Territorial disputes in the South China Sea*. Global Conflict Tracker.
- Dao, Y. (2024). *Maritime diplomacy in realizing the vision of Golden Indonesia 2045 through the concept of World Maritime Axis*. *Politeia: Journal of Public Administration and Political Science and International Relations*, 2(1), 48–61.
<https://doi.org/10.61978/politeia.v2i1>
- Dewi, K. (2020). *Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia: Antara Identitas dan Kepentingan*. Jakarta: Pustaka Nasional.
- Dutton, P. A. (2011). Three disputes and three objectives: China and the South China Sea. *Naval War College Review*, 64(4), 42–67.
- Erickson, A. S., & Wuthnow, J. (2016). *Barriers, Springboards and Benchmarks: China Conceptualizes the Pacific “Island Chains”*. *China Quarterly*, 225, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741016000011>
- Fauzi, I. (2018). Poros Maritim Dunia dan Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 6(2), 1-15.
- Febiana, R., & Burhanuddin, A. (2024). *Implementasi kebijakan sekuritisasi maritim Presiden Jokowi dalam menghadapi aktivitas ilegal di perairan Indonesia*. *Jurnal Kemaritiman: Indonesian Journal of Maritime*, 4(2), 85–98.
<https://doi.org/10.17509/ijom.v4i2.64135>
- Gao, Z., & Jia, B. (2013). *The Nine-Dash Line in the South China Sea: History, status, and implications*. *American Journal of International Law*, 107(1), 98–124. <https://doi.org/10.5305/amerjintlaw.107.1.0098>

- Gielis, F. (2020). *The South China Sea Arbitration: A Comprehensive Analysis of China's Response*. [ResearchGate Working Paper].
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344745828>
- Hakim, F. N., Mayasari, M., & Abidin, Z. (2025). Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum vision and regional security in the Indo-Pacific. *Papua Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, 5(1), 50–64.
<https://doi.org/10.31957/pjdir.v5i1.4309>
- Hakim, F. N., Mayasari, M., & Zainal Abidin. (2025). *Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum vision and regional security in the Indo-Pacific*. *Papua Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, 5(1), 50–64.
<https://doi.org/10.31957/pjdir.v5i1.4309>
- Haryono, E. (2019). Economic diplomacy as Indonesian foreign policy orientation in 2015–2018: Challenges and opportunities. *Jurnal Global & Strategis*, 13(2), 46–61. <https://e-journal.unair.ac.id/JGS/article/view/12067>
- Hayton, B. (2014). *The South China Sea: The struggle for power in Asia*. Yale University Press.
- Hayton, B. (2018). *The Modern Origins of China's South China Sea Claims: Maps, Misunderstandings, and the Maritime Geobody*. *Modern China*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0097700418771678>
- Hayton, B. (2023). Strategic forgetting: Britain, China, and the South China Sea, 1894–1938. *Modern Asian Studies*, 57(3), 966–985. <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/territorial-disputes-south-china-sea> Council on Foreign Relations+IAir University+I
- Holsti, K. J. (1970). National role conceptions in the study of foreign policy. *International Studies Quarterly*, 14(3), 233–309.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3013584>
- Hoogeland, M. (2019). Case note: The South China Sea dispute and the role of UNCLOS in the settlement of the dispute. *Revue Québécoise de Droit International*, 32(1), 155–166. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1068733ar>
- Huang, C.-H., & Ho, S. (2024). *Introduction: Domestic determinants of Southeast Asia's relations with the United States and China*. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 46(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs46-1a>

- Imaduddin, M. D. F., Hadisancoko, R. E., & Herman, E. (2024). *Indonesia's foreign policy on security, case study: South China Sea dispute*. *East Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 3(7), 3051–3064. <https://doi.org/10.55927/eajmr.v3i7.8637>
- Imaduddin, M., Hadisancoko, A., & Herman, R. (2024). Indonesia's ambiguity in South China Sea conflict. *Indonesian Foreign Policy Review*, 11(2), 88–101. <https://doi.org/10.24859/ifpr.v11i2.232>
- Johnston, A. I. (1995). Thinking about strategic culture. *International Security*, 19(4), 32–64. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539119>
- Karim, M. F., Mursitama, T. N., Arnakim, L. Y., & Tahalele, M. P. (2023). Assessing Indonesia's ASEAN Chairmanship in 2023. *Journal of ASEAN Studies*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.21512/jas.v11i2.11259>
- Kipgen, N. (2018). *ASEAN and China in the South China Sea disputes*. *Asian Affairs*, 49(3), 433–448. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2018.1487691>
- Klein, N. (2019). *Dispute resolution and the Law of the Sea following the South China Sea Arbitration*. Dalam Rothwell, D. & Letts, D. (Eds.), *Law of the Sea in South East Asia: Environmental, Navigational and Security Challenges* (hlm. 263–282). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429021053-14>
- Klein, N. (2024). *The South China Sea Code of Conduct and the freedom of navigation*. *Ocean Development & International Law*, 55(4), 331–344. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00908320.2024.2413607>
- Koh, C. (2024). Indonesia and Malaysia and the South China Sea. In *Security Dynamics in the South China Sea* (pp. 190–204). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781032657493-16>
- Kompas. (2017, July 14). Pemerintah resmi namai Laut Natuna Utara. Retrieved from <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/07/14/15380491/pemerintah-resmi-namai-laut-natuna-utara>
- Kompas. (2020, May 28). Indonesia kirim nota diplomatik ke PBB tolak klaim China di Laut Natuna Utara. *Kompas*. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/05/28/19200691/indonesia-kirim-nota-diplomatik-ke-pbb-tolak-klaim-china-di-laut-natuna-utara>
- Kraska, J. (2015). The legal basis for U.S. freedom of navigation operations in the South China Sea. *Journal of Political Risk*, 3(7).

- Kraska, J. (2015). The South China Sea dispute: A legal analysis. *Harvard International Law Journal*, 56(1), 1–68.
- Kusumawardana, H., & Djatmiko, A. (2023). Peran Indonesia dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa Hukum Internasional di Perbatasan Laut Natuna. *Jurnal Bedah Hukum*, 7(1), 30-48.
- Lee, S., & Hong, N. (2015). *Chinese Perspectives on the Philippines-China Arbitration Case in the South China Sea*. China-US Focus Institute. <https://chinaus-icas.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/LeeHong-Chinese-Perspectives-on-the-Philippines-China-Arbitration-Case-in-the-South-China-Sea.pdf>
- Lestari, H., & Tanjung, M. (2023). Identitas dan Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia dalam Menyikapi Konflik Laut China Selatan. *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional*, 4(1), 50–65.
- Li, D. (2003). *The Dotted Line on the Chinese Map of the South China Sea: A Note*. *Ocean Development & International Law*, 34(4), 287–295.
- Lutfi, K. R. (2023). Political and Cultural Boundaries in South China Sea Disputes between China and Indonesia. *Lampung Journal of International Law*, 5(2), 79–92. Permanent Court of Arbitration. (2016). *The South China Sea Arbitration (The Republic of the Philippines v. The People’s Republic of China)*. <https://pca-cpa.org/en/cases/7/>
- Maulana, A., Sukristyanto, A., & Achluddin, I. (2021). Indonesian defense diplomacy in the resolution of the South China Sea conflict. *Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 4(2), 41–46. <https://doi.org/10.11648/j.jpsir.20210402.13>
- Moore, E. (2023). Naval diplomacy and ASEAN: Indonesia’s multilateral approach. *Asia Pacific Defense Journal*, 7(1), 22–40.
- Moore, R. (2023). *Multilateral Naval Exercise Komodo returns*. Commander, Naval Surface Force, U.S. Pacific Fleet. <https://www.surfpac.navy.mil/Media/News/Article/3423203/multilateral-naval-exercise-komodo-returns/>
- Mukti, M., & Taufiqurrahman, M. (2022). Bebas Aktif Revisited: Rethinking Indonesia’s Foreign Policy Doctrines in the 21st Century. *Global: Jurnal Politik Internasional*, 24(1), 35–50.

- Palupi, D. A. (2022). *Buku Ajar Hukum Laut Internasional*. Padang: LPPM Universitas Bung Hatta.
- Pambudi, R., & Azhari, M. (2023). Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia di Laut China Selatan: Dinamika, Tantangan, dan Strategi. *Jurnal Keamanan dan Globalisasi*, 7(2), 88–102.
- Permanent Court of Arbitration. (2016). *The South China Sea arbitration (The Republic of the Philippines v. The People's Republic of China)*. [https://pca-cpa.org/en/cases/7/RAND Corporation](https://pca-cpa.org/en/cases/7/RAND_Corporation)
- Poling, G. B. (2013). *The South China Sea in focus: Clarifying the limits of maritime dispute*. Center for Strategic and International Studies. https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/130717_Poling_SouthChinaSea_Web.pdf
- Putra, R. A., & Safitri, L. (2023). Penegakan Kedaulatan Maritim Indonesia: Antara Diplomasi dan Pertahanan di Natuna. *Jurnal Pertahanan Negara*, 9(1), 110–125.
- Putra, R. A., & Safitri, L. (2023). Penegakan Kedaulatan Maritim Indonesia: Antara Diplomasi dan Pertahanan di Natuna. *Jurnal Pertahanan Negara*, 9(1), 110–125.
- Putri, F., & Wirawan, H. (2023). Indonesia's mediation role in ASEAN maritime disputes. *International Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 18(1), 67–81. <https://doi.org/10.22146/ijseas.81238>
- Raditio, K. H., & Yeremia, A. E. (2022). The limits of populism: Jokowi's South China Sea strategy. In *China and South China Sea Dispute* (pp. 115–138). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-1453-9_6
- Reuters. (2023, February 4). ASEAN chair Indonesia to intensify talks on code for South China Sea. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/asean-chair-indonesia-intensify-talks-code-south-china-sea-2023-02-04>
- Roach, J. A. (2014). *Malaysia and Brunei: An Analysis of their Claims in the South China Sea*. CNA Analysis and Solutions. <https://www.cna.org/reports/2014/iop-2014-u-008434.pdf>
- Rosenau, J. N. (1966). *Pre-theories and theories of foreign policy*. In R. B. Farrell (Ed.), *Approaches to comparative and international politics* (pp. 27–92). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

- Salleh, A., Razali, C. H. C. M., & Jusoff, K. (2009). *Malaysia's policy towards its 1963–2008 territorial disputes*. *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution*, 1(5), 115–123. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237373426>
- Sari, A. C. (2021). Continuity in Indonesia's strategy in the South China Sea under Joko Widodo. *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 8(3), 346–369. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23477970211039310>
- Sari, A. C. (2021). Continuity in Indonesia's strategy in the South China Sea under Joko Widodo. *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 8(3), 346–369. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23477970211039310>
- Sari, D., & Rakhmani, I. (2023). Multilateralism in Jokowi's Foreign Policy: A Shift Toward Middle Power Identity. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 45(2), 110–129.
- Sidjabat, C. A., Octavian, A., & Said, B. D. (2018). The Synergy of Indonesia's Maritime Power Instrument to Face China's Claim Over South China Sea. *Jurnal Pertahanan dan Bela Negara*, 8(2), 105-126.
- Sinaga, O. A., & Robertua, V. (2018). *Indonesia in the South China Sea Dispute: Humble-hard power*. *Jurnal Global & Strategis*, 12(2), 718–729. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324452524_Indonesia_in_the_South_China_Sea_Dispute_Humble-Hard_Power
- Southgate, L. (2019). *The South China Sea Dispute*. Dalam ASEAN Resistance to Sovereignty Violation: Interests, Balancing and the Role of the Vanguard State (Bab 5). Bristol University Press. <https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/display/book/9781529202212/ch005.xml>
- Storey, I. (1999). Creeping assertiveness: China, the Philippines and the South China Sea dispute. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 21(1), 95–118. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25798338>
- Storey, I. (2017). The South China Sea dispute: Increasing stakes and rising tensions. *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 44(3), 115–132. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00927678.2017.1362055>
- Subagyo, A., & Ginanjar, Y. (2020). Sinergi Kementerian Luar Negeri dan Kementerian Pertahanan dalam Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia. *Indonesian Perspective*, 5(1), 72–91.
- Sulistiyani, Y. A., Pertiwi, A. C., & Sari, M. I. (2021). *Indonesia's responses toward the South China Sea dispute during Joko Widodo's administration (Respons*

- Indonesia terhadap sengketa Laut China Selatan semasa pemerintahan Joko Widodo*). *Jurnal Pertahanan dan Bela Negara*, 12(1), 45–66.
<https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v12i1.2149>
- Thayer, C. A. (2011). China's new wave of aggressive assertiveness in the South China Sea. *International Journal of China Studies*, 2(3), 555–582.
- United Nations. (1982). *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea*. Retrieved from
https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf
- Vlekke, B. H. M. (2008). *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia*. Jakarta: KPG.
<https://archive.org/details/nusantara-sejarah-indonesia>
- Vu, H. D. (2022). Implications of the San Francisco Treaty on Paracel and Spratly Disputes: A Vietnamese Perspective. In *Rethinking the San Francisco System in Indo-Pacific Security* (pp. 133–153). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-1231-3_9
- Wang, Y. (2024). Map evidence for the Philippines' territorial claim in the South China Sea: A historical, cartographical and legal analysis. *The Pacific Review*, 37(6), 1177–1197. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2024.2317952>
- Wardhani, B. I. (2014). Indonesia's "Free and Active" Foreign Policy and the South China Sea Disputes. *The Pacific Review*, 27(2), 235-255.
- Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wicaksana, I. G. W. (2022). How does Indonesia exercise agency in the contested and complex regional environment? *The Pacific Review*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2021.1998202>
- Windiani, R. W. (2013). Politik luar negeri Indonesia dan globalisasi. *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 1(2), 88–98. <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/160956-ID-politik-luar-negeri-indonesia-dan-global.pdf>
- Yoshimatsu, H. (2023). *ASEAN and great power rivalry in regionalism: From East Asia to the Indo-Pacific*. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 42(1), 64–87. <https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034221139297>
- Yusran, L. F., & Novan, M. (2023). Indonesia's G20 Presidency and Jokowi's Foreign Policy Identity. *Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, 7(1), 60–78.

Zaman, A. N., Effendi, C., Ridwan, W., & Fahlevi, R. (2023). Diplomasi budaya Indonesia. *KAIS: Kajian Ilmu Sosial*, 4(1), 1–12.

Zhou, Y. (2023). China and Indonesia's responses to maritime disputes in the South China Sea: Forming a tacit understanding on security. ResearchGate.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/368888240_China_and_Indonesia's_responses_to_maritime_disputes_in_the_South_China_Sea_forming_a_tacit_understanding_on_security

Zhou, Y. (2023). China's maritime diplomacy with Indonesia: Cooperative or competitive? *Maritime Affairs*, 19(1), 1–18.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09733159.2023.2347281>