DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Blackwill, R. D., & Campbell, K. M. (2016). Xi Jinping on the Global Stage. *Council on Foreign Relations*, 74, 1–67. https://cdn.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2016/02/CSR74_Blackwill_Campbe ll_Xi_Jinping.pdf
- Doshi, R., Dale-Huang, A., & Zhang, G. (2021). Northern expedition: China's Arctic activities and ambitions. April. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/FP_20210412_china_arctic.pdf
- Halašková, B. (2012). Russian approach towards the Arctic region. In *Panorama of Global Security Environment 2012*. Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs.
- Hermann, Rosenau, B. (1973). *Hermann-The Adaptation of Foreign Policy Research (ISQ 1973).pdf.* 7(1).
- Hermann, C. F. (1971). Policy Classification-Analysis of International Politics.pdf. In *The Analysis of International Politics* (pp. 58–79).
- Jakobsen, L., & Peng, J. (2012). China's Arctic Aspirations. SIPRI Policy Paper No. 34, November, 1–36.
- Klimenko, E. (2019). The geopolitics of a changing Arctic. SIPRI Publications, December, 1–16.
- Rosenau, J. N. (1967). The premises and promises of decision-making analysis. In *Contemporary Political Analysis* (pp. 189–211).
- Rosenau, J. N. (1970). Foreign Policy Behavior Adaptive. *Comparative Politics*, 2(3), 365–387.
- Science, P., & York, N. (2013). Foreign Policy Behavior Adaptive. Comparative Politics, 2(3), 365–387.

Jurnal

Ali, M., & Adnan. (2021). Evolving Arctic Security Architecture Towards a Cooperative One Arktik. *International Journal of Politics and Security*, *3*(1), 1–24.

Allard. (2020). *Does China Pose A Credible Security Threat to Canada's Arctic?* Ottawa 1996 Declaration, (1996).

Arctic Council Rules of Procedure, 1 (1998).

- Arctic Council. (2013a). *Arctic Council Rules of Procedure*. 1–16. http://hdl.handle.net/11374/940
- Arctic Council. (2013b). OBSERVER MANUAL ARCTIC COUNCIL OBSERVER.

Bennett, M. M. (2015). How china sees the arctic: Reading between extraregional and intraregional narratives. *Geopolitics*, 20(3), 645–668. https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2015.1017757

Brady, A.-M. (2017). China as a Polar Great Power. Cambridge University

Press.

- Brooke, P. (2019). Walking on thin ice. *EPSC Strategic Notes*, *44*, 14. https://doi.org/10.1097/00152193-200404000-00014
- Canadian Security Intelligence Service. (2018). Who Said That? The Security Challenges of Modern Disinformation. *Canadian Security Intelligence Service*. https://csis.gc.ca/pblctns/wrldwtch/2018/2018-02-22/20180222en.php
- Chater, A. (2021). *China as Arctic Council Observer : Compliance and Compatibility.*
- Cohen, J. M., & Uphoff, N. (1980). *Participation's place in rural development: seeking clarity through specificity*. World Development.
- Conley, H. A. (2018). The Organizing Principles of China 's Emerging Arctic Policy. *Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)*, 2018–2021.
- Davis, K., & Werther, W. (1989). *Human Resources and Personnel Management*. McGraw- Hill New York.
- Doshi, R., Dale-Huang, A., & Zhang, G. (2021). Northern expedition: China's Arctic activities and ambitions. April. https://www.brookings.edu/wpcontent/uploads/2021/04/FP_20210412_china_arctic.pdf
- Fedorovsky, Filippova, L. V., Makhmutov, T. A., Nadarajah, H., Petrovsky, V. E., Popadiuk, O. A., & Streltsov, D. V. (2016). Asian Players in the Arctic: Interests, Opportunities, Prospects (Issue August).
- Havnes, H. (2020). The Polar Silk Road and China's role in Arctic governance. Journal of Infrastructure, Policy and Development, 4(1), 121. https://doi.org/10.24294/jipd.v4i1.1166
- Hermann, Rosenau, B. (1973). *Hermann-The Adaptation of Foreign Policy Research (ISQ 1973).pdf.* 7(1).
- Hermann, C. F. (1971). Policy Classification-Analysis of International Politics.pdf. In *The Analysis of International Politics* (pp. 58–79).
- Hong, N. (2018). China's Interests in the Arctic: Opportunities and Challenges Examining the implications of China's Arctic policy white paper. *Institute for China-America Studies, March.* www.chinaus-icas.org
- Hsiung, C. W., & Røseth, T. (2018). The arctic dimension in Sino-Russian relations. *Sino-Russian Relations in the 21st Century*, 167–187. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92516-5_8
- Ibold, S. (2018). *China's Polar Silk Road*. Belt Road Initiatives. https://www.beltroad-initiative.com/arctic-policy/
- Ikeshima, T. (2013). China's Interests in the Arctic: Threat or Opportunity? *Transcommunication*, *1*, 73–83.
- Jakobsen, L., & Peng, J. (2012). China's Arctic Aspirations. SIPRI Policy Paper No. 34, November, 1–36.
- Jiang, Y. (2014). China's Role in Arctic Affairs in the Context of Global Governance. *Strategic Analysis*, *38*(6), 913–916. https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2014.952938
- Jin, L. (2018). *The Arctic White Paper and the Development of China's Position towards the Arctic.* China Institute of International Studies.
- Joelsen, N. (2016). China 's Engagement with the Arctic Council Seeking

Natural Resources and International Status. *Master Thesis in Development* and International Relations Aalborg University, Denmark.

- Kauppila, L., & Kopra, S. (2022). China's rise and the Arctic region up to 2049 three scenarios for regional futures in an era of climate change and power transition. *The Polar Journal*, 00(00), 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/2154896x.2022.2058216
- Klimenko, E. (2019). The geopolitics of a changing Arctic. *SIPRI Publications*, *December*, 1–16.
- Kobzeva, M. (2019). China's Arctic policy: present and future. *Polar Journal*, 9(1), 94–112. https://doi.org/10.1080/2154896X.2019.1618558
- Lackenbauer, & Dean. (2020). Arctic Exceptionalisms. *The Arctic and World* Order: The Question of Future Regimes to Manage Change, 1992, 327–356.
- Lackenbauer, W. (2014). Canada and the Asian Observers to the Arctic Council: Anxiety and Opportunity. *National Bureau of Asian Research*, *18*(18), 22–29.
- Lanteigne, M. (2015). The Role of China in Emerging Arctic Security Discourses. *Sicherheit & Frieden*, *33*(3), 30–35. https://doi.org/10.5771/0175-274x-2015-3-30
- Lanteigne, M. (2017). "Have you entered the storehouses of the snow?" China as a norm entrepreneur in the Arctic. *Polar Record*, *53*(2), 117–130. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247416000759
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs The People's Republic of China. (2015). Keynote Speech by Vice Foreign Minister Zhang Ming at the China Country Session of the Third Arctic Circle Assembly. https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wib_663304/zzig_663340/xos_664404/g
 - https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zzjg_663340/xos_664404/g jlb_664408/3306_664580/3309_664586/201510/t20151017_576914.html
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs The People's Republic of China. (2017a). Work Together to Build a Community of Shared Future for Mankind.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs The People's Republic of China. (2017b). Work Together to Build the Silk Road Economic Belt and The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road.
- O'Brian, G. E. (2013). *How to Read the Arctic? Structural Theory and the Balance of Arctic Powers*. 46, 90.
- O'Rourke, R., Comay, L. B., Folger, P., Frittelli, J., Humphries, M., Leggett, J. A., Ramseur, J. L., Sheikh, P. A., & Upton, H. F. (2021). Changes in the Arctic: Background and issues for congress. *Key Congressional Reports for September 2019: Part I*, 89–243.
- Pelaudeix, C. (2018). Along the Road China in the Arctic. European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), December.
- Reuters. (2016). Chinese firm unlikely to develop \$2 billion Greenland iron ore mine soon: minister. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-greenland-miningchina-idUSKCN0V425D
- Richards, & Morse. (2012). *Readme first for a user's guide to qualitative methods*. Sage.
- Rosenau, J. N. (1967). The premises and promises of decision-making analysis. In *Contemporary Political Analysis* (pp. 189–211).

- Rosenau, J. N. (1970). Foreign Policy Behavior Adaptive. Comparative Politics, 2(3), 365–387.
- Sarwono, J. (2006). Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif dan Kualitatif. Graha Ilmu.
- Science, P., & York, N. (2013). Foreign Policy Behavior Adaptive. Comparative Politics, 2(3), 365–387.
- Singh, T. (2016). China and the Arctic : Evolving Geopolitics China and the Arctic: Evolving Geopolitics. NIAS Strategic Forecast, March.
- Solingen. (1998). Regional Order at Century's Dawn. Global and Domestic Influences and Grand Strategy. Princeton University Press.
- Solli, P. E., Wilson Rowe, E., & Yennie Lindgren, W. (2013). Coming into the cold: Asia's Arctic interests. Polar Geography, 36(4), 253-270. https://doi.org/10.1080/1088937X.2013.825345
- Sørensen, C. T., & Klimenko, E. (2017). Emerging Chinese-Russian Cooperation in the Arctic. Possibilities and Constraints. SIPRI Policy Paper, No 46 (June 2017), June, 33-35. https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2017-06/emerging-chinese-russian-cooperation-arctic.pdf
- Sørensen, C. T. N., & Klimenko, E. (2017). The evolution of China 's Arctic policy since 2010.
- Stuecker, M. F., Bitz, C. M., Armour, K. C., Proistosescu, C., Kang, S. M., Xie, S. P., Kim, D., McGregor, S., Zhang, W., Zhao, S., Cai, W., Dong, Y., & Jin, F. F. (2018). Polar amplification dominated by local forcing and feedbacks. Nature Climate Change, 8(12), 1076-1081. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-018-0339-y
- Sun, Y. (2018). The Intricacy of China's Arctic Policy. Stimson Center, January. https://www.stimson.org/2018/intricacy-chinas-arctic-policy/

Tillman, H., Jian, Y., & Nielsson, E. T. (2018). The polar silk road: China's new frontier of international cooperation. China Quarterly of International *Strategic Studies*, *4*(3), 345–362.

https://doi.org/10.1142/S2377740018500215

- UK Government. (2017). Northern Powerhouse investments showcased to Chinese investors. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/northernpowerhouse-investments-showcased-to-chinese-investors
- UNCLOS, (1970). https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.p df
- US Department of Defense. (2019). 2019 Department of Defense Arctic Strategy. In National Strategies for the Arctic and a Review of Arctic Changes and Congressional Issues (Vol. 2019, Issue June).
- Wang, H. J., & Chen, H. P. (2016). Understanding the recent trend of haze pollution in eastern China: Roles of climate change. Atmospheric Chemistry and Physics, 16(6), 4205-4211. https://doi.org/10.5194/acp-16-4205-2016
- Whitney, P., Manicom, J., Lasserre, F., & Lackenbauer, W. (2018). China's Arctic Ambitions and What They Mean for Canada. University of Calgary Press.
- Wishnick, E. (2017). China's Interests and Goals in the Arctic Implications for

China's Arctic Policy, 1 (2018).

the United States.

Wright, D. (2018). China in the Arctic: Polarized Visions of Polar Concerns. 19(2).

- Zandee, D., & Kruijver, K. (2020). The future of Arctic security: The geopolitical pressure cooker and the consequences for the Netherlands. *Clingendael Report*. www.clingendael.org
- Zenfu, L. (2019). "Obstacles to China's participation in the international Arctic route mechanism and countermeasures. *Zhongguo Hanghai*.
- Zheng, X. (2019). Reassessing China's growing presence in the arctic: A worldsystem perspective. *Journal of China and International Relations*, 7(1), 87– 107. https://doi.org/10.5278/jcir.v7i1.3544

Webiste

ml

- Al Jazeera. (2015, Oktober 19). *China's economic slowdown: What you need to know.* Dalam https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2015/10/19/chinas-economic-slowdown-what-you-need-to-know
- BBC. (2018, Januari 26). *China to develop Arctic shipping routes opened by global warming*. Dalam https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-42833178
- CBC News. (2019, Mei 6). Pompeo calls out Canada, China, Russia over Arctic policy Social Sharing. Dalam https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/pompeo-canada-russia-china-arctic-1.5125293
- CGTN. (2017, Maret 29). Chinese Vice Premier: China is willing to play a bigger role in Arctic development. Dalam https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d4d544f30497a4d/share_p.html
- CGTN. (2018, Oktober 1). Xi stresses on revitalization of northeast China. Dalam CGTN https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d414e7a45544e7a457a6333566d54/index.ht
- China Daily. (2017, November 2). Xi backs building of polar Silk Road. Dalam China Daily :https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/xismoments/2017-11/02/content_34012484.htm
- China Daily HK. (2018, September 29). Xi stresses revitalization of northeast China. Dalam China Daily Hong Kong: https://www.chinadailyhk.com/articles/95/191/164/1538215422430.html
- Denton, J. (2021, Juli 12). '*Red-carded' Australian miner signals intention to play* on in Greenland. Dalam Mongabay Series: https://news.mongabay.com/2021/07/red-carded-australian-miner-signalsintention-to-play-on-in-greenland/
- Financial Times. (2013, Mei 15). *China wins observer status in Arctic Council*. Dalam *Financial Times*: https://www.ft.com/content/b665723c-bd3e-11e2-890a-00144feab7de
- New York Times. (2019, Mei 6). United States Rattles Arctic Talks With a Sharp Warning to China and Russia. Dalam The New York Times: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/06/climate/pompeo-arctic-china-

russia.html

- High North News (2019, April 29). China Acquires 20 Percent Stake in Novatek's Latest Arctic LNG Project. Dalam High Norh News: https://www.highnorthnews.com/en/china-acquires-20-percent-stakenovateks-latest-arctic-lng-project
- Nunatsiaq News. (2013, April 29). *Researcher: observers nervous about Canada's Arctic Council chairmanship*. Dalam *Nunatsiaq News*: https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/65674researcher_observers_nervous_ab out_canadas_arctic_council_chairmanship/
- Reuters. (2016, Januari 26). Chinese firm unlikely to develop \$2 billion Greenland iron ore mine soon: minister. Dalam Reuters: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-greenland-mining-chinaidUSKCN0V425D
- Reuters. (2016, Februari 10). UPDATE 1-China's Kaidi to build \$1.1 bln biodiesel plant in Finland. Dalam Reuters: <u>https://www.reuters.com/article/kaidi-biodiesel-finland-idAFL8N15P10K</u>
- The Globe and Mail. (2017, September 10). *China used research mission to test trade route through Canada's Northwest Passage*. Dalam *The Globe and Mail News*: https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/china-used-research-mission-to-test-trade-route-through-canadas-northwest-passage/article36223673/
- The Guardian. (2019, Agustus 18). Trump confirms he is considering attempt to
buyGreenland.DalamTheGuardian:
Guardian:
theguardian.com/world/2019/aug/18/trump-considering-buying-greenland
- Washington Post. (2017, September 13). *China sent a ship to the Arctic for science. Then state media announced a new trade route*. Dalam *The Washington Post*: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/09/13/chinasent-a-ship-to-the-arctic-for-science-then-state-media-announced-a-newtrade-route/
- World Economic Forum. (2018, Juli 27). *China aims to play a major role in Arctic affairs. Here are its 5 key policy goals*. Dalam World Economic Forum: https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/07/china-aims-to-play-a-major-role-in-arctic-affairs-here-are-its-5-key-policy
 - goals/#:~:text=Accordingly%2C%20the%20white%20paper%20sets,%2Dwi n%20result%20and%20sustainability%E2%80%9D.
- Yle News. (2021, April 3). *Defence Ministry blocked Chinese plans for research airbase in Lapland*. Dalam Yle News: https://yle.fi/news/3-11820411

Laporan/Situs Resmi

Ottawa 1996 Declaration, (1996).

Arctic Council Rules of Procedure, 1 (1998).

Arctic Council. (2013a). Arctic Council Rules of Procedure. 1–16. http://hdl.handle.net/11374/940

Arctic Council. (2013b). OBSERVER MANUAL ARCTIC COUNCIL OBSERVER. Canadian Security Intelligence Service. (2018). Who Said That? The Security *Challenges of Modern Disinformation*. Dalam *Canadian Security Intelligence Service*. https://csis.gc.ca/pblctns/wrldwtch/2018/2018-02-22/20180222en.php

China's Arctic Policy (2018).

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs The People's Republic of China. (2015). Keynote Speech by Vice Foreign Minister Zhang Ming at the China Country Session of the Third Arctic Circle Assembly. https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zzjg_663340/xos_664404/g jlb_664408/3306_664580/3309_664586/201510/t20151017_576914.html
- UNCLOS,(1970).https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf
- US Department of Defense. (2019). 2019 Department of Defense Arctic Strategy. In National Strategies for the Arctic and a Review of Arctic Changes and Congressional Issues (Vol. 2019, Issue June).