

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku:

- Bakry, U. S. (2016). *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Bakry, U. S. (2017). *Dasar-Dasar Hubungan Internasional*. Kencana.
- Boon, H. T., & Sworn, H. E. (2020). Strategic ambiguity and the Trumpian approach to China-Taiwan relations. In *International Affairs* (Vol. 96, Issue 6, pp. 1487–1508). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iaaa160>
- Booth, K., & Wheeler, N. (2008). *The Security Dilemma*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Burchill, S., Linklater, A., Devetak, R., Donnelly, J., Paterson, M., Reus-Smit, C., & True, J. (2005). *Theories of International Relations, Third edition*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Copper, J. F. (1998). *Taiwan's Mid-1990s Elections: Taking the Final Step to Democracy*. Praeger.
- Cresswell, J. W. (2019). *Research Design: Pendekatan Metode Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, dan Campuran*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Dunne, T., Kurki, M., & Smith, S. (2013). *International relations theories : discipline and diversity* (Third edition.). Oxford University Press.
- Elman, C., & Jensen, M. A. (1953). *Realism Reader*. Routledge.
- Hadiwinata, B. S. (2017). *Studi dan Teori Hubungan Internasional*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Harahap, N. (2016). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Wal Ashri Publishing.
- Jackson, R., & Sorensen, G. (2013). *Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional*. Pustaka Pelajar.

- Jervis, R. (1976). Deterrence, the Spiral Model, and Intentions of the Adversary. In *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (REV-Revised, pp. 58–114). Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvc77bx3.8>
- Kleden, I., & Abdullah. (2017). *Paradigma Ilmu Pengetahuan dan Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora di Indonesia*. LIPI Press.
- Murray, D. J., & Viotti, P. R. (1994). *The Defense Policies of Nations: A Comparative Study*. The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Rosyidin, M. (2020). *Teori Hubungan Internasional dari Perspektif Klasik sampai non-barat*. Rajawali Pers.
- Rudy, T. (2011). *Hubungan Internasional Kontemporer dan Masalah-masalah Global*. Revika Aditama.
- Santoso, P. (2015). *Metodologi Penelitian Sastra: Paradigma, Proposal, Pelaporan, dan Penerapan*. Azzagrafika.
- Sheehan, M. (1996). *The Balance of Power: History and Theory*. Routledge.
- Sugiyono. (2016). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif dan Kuantitatif dan R&D*. CV Alfabet.
- Waltz, K. (1979). *Kenneth Waltz - Theory of International Politics*. Waveland Press.

Artikel Jurnal:

- Anggraini, G., Arianto, A. R., & Saputro, P. B. (2023). China's Global Strategy for the 21st Century of Silk Road: China and the Asia Security Architecture in Xi Jinping Government. *BHUVANA: Journal of Global Studies*, 1(1), 82–131. <https://doi.org/10.59408/bjgs.v1i1.59>

- Azizah, M. (2016). Kepentingan Amerika Serikat dalam Kerjasama Militer dengan Taiwan Pasca Konflik China dan Taiwan. *Jurnal Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta*.
- Boon, H. T., & Sworn, H. E. (2020). Strategic ambiguity and the Trumpian approach to China-Taiwan relations. In *International Affairs* (Vol. 96, Issue 6, pp. 1487–1508). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iaa160>
- Copper, J. F. (2017). Understanding President Trump's Taiwan Policy. *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, 24(2), v–viii. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44759209>
- Ger, Y. (2015). Cross-Strait Relations and the Taiwan Relations Act. *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, 22, 235–252. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44289169>
- Hsieh, J. F. sheng. (2017). Cross-Strait Relations in the Aftermath of Taiwan's 2016 Elections. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 22(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-016-9454-7>
- Jervis, R. (1978a). Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma. *Journal of World Politics*, 30(2), 167–214. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2009958>
- Ma, Y. J. (2015). Cross-Strait Relations at a Crossroad: Impasse or Breakthrough? *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 37(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10803920.2015.1021639>
- Rijali, A. (2018). Analisis Data Kualitatif. *Jurnal UIN Antasari Banjarmasin*, 17(33). <https://jurnal.uin-antasari.ac.id/index.php/alhadharah/article/view/2374/0>
- Ross, R. S. (2006). Balance of power politics and the rise of China: Accommodation and balancing in East Asia. *Journal of Security Studies*, 15(3). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410601028206>

- Saputro, P. B. (2015). Strategi Counterbalance Jepang di Tengah Persaingan Kepemimpinan dengan China dalam Konteks Wacana Regionalisme Asia Timur. *Jurnal Polinter: Kajian Politik Dan Hubungan Internasional*, 1(2), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.52447/polinter.v1i2.102>
- Snyder, G. H. (1984). The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics. *Journal of World Politics*, 36(4), 461–495. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2010183>
- Sudjatmiko, T. (2007). Upaya China-Taiwan untuk Bergabung dalam International Space Station (ISS): Suatu Kajian Diplomasi. *Jurnal Analisis Dan Informasi Kedirgantaraan*, 4(2), 1–12.
- Syahbuddin. (2019). Eksistensi Kepentingan Global Amerika Serikat dalam Konflik Tiongkok-Taiwan. *Jurnal Pendidikan IPS*, 9(2). <https://doi.org/10.37630/jpi.v9i2.211>
- Tang, S. (2010). Social evolution of international politics: From mearsheimer to jervis. *European Journal of International Relations*, 16(1), 31–55. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066109344010>
- Tucker, N. B., & Glaser, B. (2011). Should the United States abandon Taiwan? *The Washington Quarterly*, 34(4), 23–37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2011.609128>
- Ulung, A. K. (2023). “Let’s Walk My Journey”: Securitization of Refugee Issues in Indonesia through Works of Art. *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional*, 9(1), 17–54.
- Ulung, A. K. (2023). Pengaruh Sanksi Amerika Serikat terhadap Kepatuhan Indonesia pada Rezim Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM) di Timor Timur. *Jurnal Ilmiah Multi Disiplin*, 2(2), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.56127/jukim.v2i02.504>
- Ulung, A. K. (2023). Turning UBUD into UNWTO’S Prototype for a World Gastronomic Destination through Gastrodiplomacy. *Global: Jurnal Politik Internasional*, 25(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.7454/global.v25i1.1261>

Wabiser, Y. M. A. (2015). The Sino-US Relationship: Studi Kasus Kebijakan Amerika Serikat terhadap One China Policy. *Jurnal Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Udayana*, 1(03), 1–13. <https://ojs.unud.ac.id/index.php/hi/article/view/16371>

Tesis:

Ulung, A. K. (2012). *Kompleksitas Keamanan Asia Pasifik dan Implikasinya terhadap Transformasi Komitmen Pertahanan Amerika Serikat Pasca Perang Dingin*. Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Skripsi:

Pasya, M. habib. (2022). *Analisis Perubahan Kebijakan Luar Negeri Taiwan Terhadap China*. Universitas Islam Indonesia.

Putri, A. (2019). *Kerjasama Pertahanan Amerika Serikat-Taiwan di Bawah Pemerintahan Barack Obama 2008-2012*. Universitas Paramadina.

Syafiqah, A. (2016). *Aliansi pertahanan Taiwan-Amerika Serikat dalam menghadapi One China Policy 2011-2014*. Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

Ulung, A. K. (2010). *Terbentuknya Pemahaman Intersubjektif Terhadap Kemajuan Cina di Kawasan Asia Pasifik*. Universitas Jember.

Website:

AIT. (1979). *Taiwan Relations Act*. https://www.ait.org.tw/policy-history/taiwan-relations-act/?_ga=2.152813117.585315572.1690150788-1132869063.1690150788

- Aljazeera. (2019). *Timeline: Taiwan-China relations since 1949.*
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/1/3/timeline-taiwan-china-relations-since-1949>
- Armandhanu. (2015). AS Resmi Jual Senjata ke Taiwan, China Perang.
Https://Www.Cnnindonesia.Com/Internasional/20151217125152-134-98834/as-Resmi-Jual-Senjata-Ke-Taiwan-China-Berang/.
- Barbier, C. (2016). Chapter Three on “Levels of Analysis and Foreign Policy.”
Norwich University.
https://www.academia.edu/28941706/Chapter_Three_on_Levels_of_Analys is_and_Foreign_Policy_
- BBC. (2015). Cina panggil utusan AS terkait penjualan senjata ke Taiwan.
Https://Www.Bbc.Com/Indonesia/Dunia/2015/12/151217_dunia_cina_amer ika_taiwan.
- BBC. (2016). *Tsai Ing-wen elected Taiwan's first female president - BBC News.*
- BBC. (2017). China aircraft carrier crosses Taiwan Strait amid tension.
Https://Www.Bbc.Com/News/World-Asia-China-38579559.
- BBC News: What's behind the China-Taiwan divide? (2015).
Www.Test.Bbc.Com. <https://www.test.bbc.com/news/world-asia-34729538>
- CFR. (2023). U.S.-China Relations. *Https://Www.Cfr.Org/Timeline/Us-China- Relations.*
- Chang, D. (2015). China warns against first major US-Taiwan arms sale in four years. *Https://Www.Theguardian.Com.* <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/16/china-warns-against-us-taiwan-arms-sale-defence>
- CNN. (2022). *Apa Pentingnya Taiwan bagi AS Sampai Berani Bikin China Murka?* <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20220803114944-134-829682/apa-pentingnya-taiwan-bagi-as-sampai-berani-bikin-china-murka>

- Copper, F. J. (2015). Historical Dictionary of Taiwan (Republic of China).
<Https://Www.Britannica.Com/Place/Taiwan/Government-and-Society>.
- Daeth, D. (2018). US approves sale of 36 amphibious assault vehicles to Taiwan.
<Https://Www.Taiwannews.Com.Tw/En/News/3468808>.
<https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3468808>
- Dharma, S. (2016). *Telefon Presiden Taiwan, Trump Ambil Risiko Diplomatik dengan China*. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-55097063>
- DSCA. (2017). *Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) In United States*.
- Duchâtel, M. (2017). *Taiwan between Xi and Trump China Analysis*. www.ecfr.eu
- Dugis, V. (2016). *Teori Hubungan Internasional; Perspektif-Perspektif Klasik*.
www.csgsunair.org
- Dumbaugh, K. (1998). *Taiwan: Texts of the Taiwan Relations Act and the U.S. - China Communiques, and the Six Assurances*.
- Embassy of PRC. (2022). *MFA Spokesperson: The US Remarks on the Taiwan Question Misrepresent History and Distort Facts*. Http://Tz.China-Embassy.Gov.Cn/Eng/Fyrth/202206/T20220606_10699278.Htm.
- Forum Arms Trade Taiwan. (2023). *U.S. Arms Sales to Taiwan*.
<Https://Www.Forumarmstrade.Org>.
<https://www.forumarmstrade.org/ustaiwan.html>
- FRO. (1976). *203. Joint Statement Following Discussions With Leaders of the People's Republic of China 1*.
<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v17/d203>
- Garcia, K. (2022). *Five things to know about the Taiwan-China conflict*.
<Https://Penntoday.Upenn.Edu/News/Five-Things-Know-about-Taiwan-China-Conflict>.

- Goldman, L. (2008). *Mutual Defense Treaty Between The united State and The Republic of Tiongkok.* https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/chin001.asp
- Graham, E. (2018). Cross-strait tensions rising, but Chinese aircraft carrier poses no threat. <Https://Www.Lowyinstitute.Org/the-Interpreter/Cross-Strait-Tensions-Rising-Chinese-Aircraft-Carrier-Poses-No-Threat>.
- Guardian News. (2016). China live-fires aircraft carrier group amid Taiwan tensions with US.
<Https://Www.Theguardian.Com/World/2016/Dec/16/China-Live-Fires-Aircraft-Carrier-Group-amid-Taiwan-Tensions-with-Us>.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/16/china-live-fires-aircraft-carrier-group-amid-taiwan-tensions-with-us>
- Huang, A. C.-C. (2010). The United States and Taiwan's Defense Transformation. <Https://Www.Brookings.Edu>. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-united-states-and-taiwans-defense-transformation/>
- Hudson, J. J. (2022). *Neorealism: Internal Debates and Relevance to Space Militarisation.* <https://www.e-ir.info/2022/02/10/neorealism-internal-debates-and-relevance-to-space-militarisation/>
- Kan, S. A. (2003). *CRS Report for Congress, Taiwan; Major U.S. Arms Sales since 1990.*
- Kan, S. A. (2014). *China/Taiwan: Evolution of the "One China" Policy-Key Statements from Washington, Beijing, and Taipei.* www.crs.gov
- Kompas. (2017). China Arahkan Rudal Balistik Jarak Menengah ke Taiwan Artikel ini telah tayang di Kompas.com dengan judul "China Arahkan Rudal Balistik Jarak Menengah ke Taiwan.
<Https://Internasional.Kompas.Com/Read/2017/03/20/18111321/China.Arahkan.Rudal.Balistik.Jarak.Menengah.Ke.Taiwan>.

- Kompas. (2018). Ketegangan melanda Selat Taiwan.
<Https://App.Komp.as/UPYcAHH7UcfVKpsX6>.
- Lee, Y. (2022). Taiwan details new advanced missile and drone attack capabilities. <Https://Www.Reuters.Com/World/Asia-Pacific/Taiwan-Details-New-Advanced-Missile-Drone-Attack-Capabilities-2022-04-22/>.
<https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/taiwan-details-new-advanced-missile-drone-attack-capabilities-2022-04-22/>
- Liao, H.-C. (n.d.). *An Interpretation of Xi's Taiwan Policy-and Taiwan's Response*. <https://media.defense.gov/2021/Mar/31/2002611832/-1/-1/1/6-LIAO%20FOR%20PDF.PDF>
- Maguire, D. (2022). Why does China want Taiwan when it's already so big and rich? The answer is about more than land and money.
<Https://Www.Abc.Net.Au/News/2022-08-12/Why-Does-China-Want-Taiwan-Military-Strategic-Location/101321856>.
- Maizland, L. (2023). *Why China-Taiwan are so tense*.
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/china-taiwan-relations-tension-us-policy-biden#chapter-title-0-2>
- Matray, I. J. (2012). *The Korean War 101: Causes, Course, and Conclusion of the Conflict**Education About Asia: Online Archives*. <http://tiny.cc/3d7dmw>.
- Merdeka.com. (2015). Sukses temui presiden china, Taiwan sebut 2 negara lupakan masa lalu. <Https://Www.Merdeka.Com/Dunia/Sukses-Temui-Presiden-China-Taiwan-Sebut-2-Negara-Lupakan-Masa-Lalu.Html>.
- Military Analys. (n.d.). *LVTP7 Landing Vehicle, Tracked AAVP7A1 Assault Amphibian Vehicle Personnel*. <Https://Man.Fas.Org/Dod-101/Sys/Land/Aavp7a1.Htm>.

Military, U. (n.d.). *FFG 7 Oliver Hazard Perry Class Missile Frigate.*

<Https://Www.Military.Com/Equipment/Ffg-7-Oliver-Hazard-Perry-Class-Guided-Missile-Frigate>.

Mjaawad. (2011). *Taiwan's National Day Parade to Mark 100th Anniversary of Revolution.* <Http://Chinesemilitaryreview.Blogspot.Com/2011/10/Taiwans-National-Day-Parade-to-Mark.Html>.

Mofa ROC. (2015). *President Obama affirms US commitment to Taiwan's security with reference to TRA in joint press conference with Xi Jinping.*

<Https://En.Mofa.Gov.Tw>.

https://en.mofa.gov.tw/News_Content.aspx?n=1329&s=32653

Muhaimin. (2018). Taiwan Pertimbangkan Beli 66 F-16V AS ketimbang Jet Siluman F-35 .

<Https://International.Sindonews.Com/Berita/1358822/40/Taiwan-Pertimbangkan-Beli-66-f-16v-as-Ketimbang-Jet-Siluman-f-35>.

Mustafaga, N. B., Grossman, D., & Ma, L. (2017). *Chinese Bomber flights around Taiwan: What purpose?* <Https://Warontherocks.Com/2017/09/Chinese-Bomber-Flights-around-Taiwan-for-What-Purpose/>.

<https://warontherocks.com/2017/09/chinese-bomber-flights-around-taiwan-for-what-purpose/>

Naval Technology. (n.d.). Kee Lung (Kidd) Class Destroyers.

<Https://Www.Naval-Technology.Com/Projects/Keelungkiddclassdest/>.

Panda, A. (2014). US Finalizes Sale of Perry-class Frigates to Taiwan U.S.

President Barack Obama signed legislation approving the sale of four frigates to Taiwan. <Https://Thediplomat.Com/>.

<https://thediplomat.com/2014/12/us-finalizes-sale-of-perry-class-frigates-to-taiwan/>

Perdana, A. V. (2019). onal Trump Setuju AS Jual 66 Unit Jet Tempur F-16 ke

Taiwan Artikel ini telah tayang di Kompas.com dengan judul “Trump

- Setuju AS Jual 66 Unit Jet Tempur F-16 ke Taiwan”,.
<Https://Internasional.Kompas.Com/Read/2019/08/20/12254651/Trump-Setuju-as-Jual-66-Unit-Jet-Tempur-f-16-Ke-Taiwan?Page=all>.
- Putri, A. (2019). *Kerjasama Pertahanan Amerika Serikat-Taiwan di Bawah Pemerintahan Barack Obama 2008-2012* [Universitas Paramadina].
https://catalogue.paramadina.ac.id/index.php?id=34782&p=show_detail
- Sofwan, R. (2016). Taiwan Siaga Hadapi Pergerakan Kapal Perang China.
<Https://Www.Cnnindonesia.Com/Internasional/20161227151605-113-182404/Taiwan-Siaga-Hadapi-Pergerakan-Kapal-Perang-China>.
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20161227151605-113-182404/taiwan-siaga-hadapi-pergerakan-kapal-perang-china>
- State government. (n.d.). *The August 17, China Coomunique on Arm Sales to Taiwan*. Retrieved July 25, 2023, from
<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1981-1988/china-communiqué>
- Suryanto. (2007). Upaya Taiwan Jadi Anggota PBB Kembali Gagal.
<Https://Www.Antaranews.Com/Berita/77873/Upaya-Taiwan-Jadi-Anggota-Pbb-Kembali-Gagal>.
- Taiwan defense & National Security. (2022). *Taiwan Arms Sales 1990-2022*.
<Https://Www.Ustaiwandefense.Com/Taiwan-Arms-Sales-Notified-to-Congress-1990-2022/>.
- TDP. (1982). *Taiwan Documents Project, The ‘Six Assurances’ to Taiwan*.
<http://www.taiwandoctrines.org/>
- Wheeler, N. (2014). *Rethinking the Security Dilemma*.
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/37146990>
- Wright, T. (2016). Five things we “learned” from Trump’s foreign policy speech.
<Https://Www.Brookings.Edu. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/five-things-we-learned-from-trumps-foreign-policy-speech/>

- Yeung, J., Gan, N., & Jiang, S. (2022). What you need to know about China-Taiwan tensions. <Https://Edition.Cnn.Com/. 2022/05/24/china/china-taiwan-conflict-explainer-intl-hnk/index.html>
- Yin, G., Chia-Hung, T., & Johnston, A. (2023). *When might US political support be unwelcome in Taiwan?* [Https://Www.Brookings.Edu/. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/when-might-us-political-support-be-unwelcome-in-taiwan/](Https://Www.Brookings.Edu/>. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/when-might-us-political-support-be-unwelcome-in-taiwan/)
- Zhiqun, Z. (2023). *Ma Ying-jeou offered an alternative vision for Taiwan's future.* <Https://Www.Thinkchina.Sg/Ma-Ying-Jeou-Offered-Alternative-Vision-Taiwans-Future.>

Wawancara:

Shalehah, A. & (2023, Agustus 1), Dampak Dukungan Amerika Serikat terkait modernisasi militer Taiwan terhadap dinamika hubungan Taiwan-Tiongkok 2016-2020. (Intan P.S, Pewawancara)

Wardoyo, B., & Dampak Dukungan Amerika Serikat terkait modernisasi militer Taiwan terhadap dinamika hubungan Taiwan-Tiongkok 2016-2020. (Intan P.S, Pewawancara)