

Daftar Pustaka

- Afriansyah, A., (2016). Indonesia's Practice in Combatting Illegal Fishing: 2015–2016. *Asian Yearbook of International Law*, Volume XXII, pp. 283-300.
- Al-Saadi, H., (2014). *Demystifying Ontology and Epistemology in Research Methods*, Sheffield: University of Sheffield.
- Al-Syahrin, M. N., (2018). Kebijakan Poros Maritim Jokowi dan Sinergitas Strategi Ekonomi dan Keamanan Laut Indonesia. *Indonesian Perspective*, III(1), pp. 2-3.
- Amalia, R., (2018). KERJA SAMA MARITIM INDONESIA-TIONGKOK MENUJU VISI INDONESIA SEBAGAI POROS MARITIM DUNIA. *eJournal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, VI(3), pp. 1271-1280.
- Andika, M. T. & Aisyah, A. N., (2017). Analisis Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia-China di Era Presiden Joko Widodo: Benturan Kepentingan Ekonomi dan Kedaulatan?. *Indonesian Perspective*, Juli-Desember, II(2), pp. 161-179.
- Angelika S, M., Firmansyah, Y., Wijaya, H. & Sylvana, Y., 2020. *Implementation of International Relations on Illegal Fishing Activities by Chinese Fisherman in the Exclusive Economic Zone of the Republic of Indonesia Natural Islands*. International Journal of Social Science and Religion (IJSSR), I(2), pp. 113-127.
- Angga, R., (2016). Pencurian Ikan oleh Kapal Asing di Wilayah Teritorial Indonesia dalam Perspektif Hukum Positif di Indonesia. *Lex et Societatis*, Januari, IV(1), pp. 1-9.
- Ardyantara, D. M., Sukarna, K., Sadono, B. & Arifin, Z., 2020. Reposisi Kewenangan Antar Lembaga Negara Dalam Pengaturan Terkait Pertahanan Keamanan Kemaritiman Nasional. *Jurnal USM Law Review*, III(2), pp. 404-418.
- Azis, N. A., Setyawanto R, . L. T. & Hardiwinoto, S., 2016. Kewenangan Badan Keamanan Laut (Bakamla) dalam Pelaksanaan Pengamanan di Wilayah Perairan Indonesia. *Diponegoro Law Journal*, 5(4).
- Barkin, S., (2008). *Qualitative Methods in International Relations : 'Qualitative' Methods?* 1st ed. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Barston, R., (2019). *Modern Diplomacy*. 5th ed. Oxon: Routledge.
- Berg, B. L., (2001). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Science*. 4th ed. Needham: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berger, A., Brewster, D. & Bachhaw, A., (2019). *Ocean horizons Strengthening Maritime Security in Indo-Pacific Island States*, s.l.: Australian Strategic Policy Institute.
- Berridge, G. R., (2010). *Diplomacy Theory and Practice*. 4th ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Berridge, G. R. & James, A., (2003). *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*. 2nd ed. New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN.
- Berridge, G. R., Keens-Soper, M. & Otte, T. G., (2001). *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger*. 1st ed. New York: PALGRAVE.
- Bjola, C. & Kornprobst, M., (2013). *Understanding International Diplomacy : Theory, practice and ethics*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge.

- Brighi, E., (2013). *Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics and International Relations: The case of Italy*. 1st ed. Oxon: Routledge.
- Bryman, A., (2012). *Social Research Methods*. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Burchill, S., (2005). *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*. 1st ed. New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN .
- Buzan, B., (1983). *People, States, and Fear The National Security Problem in International Relations*. 1st ed. Great Britain: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd..
- Cable, J., (1985). *Diplomacy at Sea*. 1st ed. London: THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD .
- Cahyani, D. W., (2020). *Kapal Cina Diduga Terlibat Pencurian Ikan di Natuna Utara*. Jakarta: Tempo.co.
- Calvin, (2018). *China's Public Diplomacy in Indonesia: Problems and Challenges*. Beijing: Tsinghua University.
- Carr, E. H., (1946). *THE TWENTY YEARS' CRISIS 1919-1939 AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS*. 2nd ed. London: MACMILLAN & CO. LTD.
- Cassidy, F. et al., (2016). *Diplomas! Poros Maritim: Keamanan Maritim dalam Perspektif Politik Luar Negeri*. 1st ed. Jakarta: Badan Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Kebijakan Kementerian luar Negeri Republik Indonesia .
- Chan, J. G. Y. & Koh, C. S. L., (2017). *International Maritime Review 2017 - Need for More Inclusive Asia-Pac Maritime Diplomacy*. Singapore: Nanyang Technological University.
- Chiaruzzi, M., (2012). *An Introduction to International Relations*. 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- China Embassy for Indonesia, (2004). *China and Indonesia*. [Online] Available at: <http://id.china-embassy.org/indo/zgyyn/sbgxgk/> [Accessed 10 November 2020].
- CNN Indonesia, (2020). Laut China Selatan dan Gelombang Sengketa, Jakarta: CNN Indonesia.
- Cochrane, J., (2016). *Indonesia Confirms Seizing Fishing Boat in South China Sea, Defying Beijing*, Jakarta: The New York Times.
- Crane, G., (1998). *Thucydides and the Ancient Simplicity: The Limits of Political Realism*. 1st ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Creswell, J. W., (2013). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 4th ed. s.l.:SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Damastuti, T. A., Hendrianti, R. C., Laras, R. O. & Agustina, R., 2018. Penyelesaian Sengketa Ilegal Fishing di Wilayah Laut Natuna antara Indonesia dengan China. *Jurnal Reformasi Hukum : Cogito Ergo Sum*, I(2), pp. 51-58.
- Das, C., (2019). India's Maritime Diplomacy in South West Indian Ocean. *Journal of Strategic Security*, XII(2), pp. 42-59.
- Ditzler, B. A., (1989). *Naval Diplomacy Beneath The Waves: A Study of the Coercive Use of Submarines Short of War*. 1st ed. Annapolis: United States Naval Academy.

Marsetio, L. T. (2018). *Mengembalikan Kejayaan Maritim Indonesia*. 1st ed. Bogor: Universitas Pertahanan.

Dugis, V., (2016). *Teori Hubungan Internasional Perspektif-Perspektif Klasik*. 1st ed. Surabaya: Cakra Studi Global Strategis (CSGS).

Eluwa, A., (2011). *The Role of Diplomacy in the Challenges to Maritime Security Cooperation in the Gulf of Guinea: Case Study of Nigeria*. London: DiploFoundation - University of Malta.

Fahrizal, M., Yudilla, A. & Sundari, R., (2019). Implementasi Konsep Kebijakan One Belt One Road (OBOR) China dalam Kerangka Kerjasama Pembangunan Infrastruktur di Indonesia. *Journal of Diplomacy and International Studies*, II(2), pp. 77-96.

Fathun, L. M., (2019). ASEAN Contemporary Security: Maritime Diplomacy in Handling of Maritime Security Threats in Malaka Strait. *Insignia Journal of International Relations*, VI(1), pp. 50-63.

Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN, 2020. *Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing : What is IUU fishing?*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.fao.org/iuu-fishing/background/what-is-iuu-fishing/en/> [Accessed 10 September 2020].

Frankel, J., (1970). *Key Concepts in Political Science National Interest*. 1st ed. London: Pall Mall Press.

Gallarotti, G. M., (2010). *Cosmopolitan Power in International Relations A Synthesis of Realism, Neoliberalism, and Constructivism*. 1st ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gorshkov, S. G., (1979). *The Sea Power of The State*. 1st ed. London: British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data.

Haryanto & Setiyono, J., (2017). Kebijakan Penenggelaman Kapal Asing Pelaku Illegal Fishing oleh Pemerintah Indonesia dalam Perspektif Hukum Pidana Internasional. *Jurnal Law Reform*, XIII(1), pp. 70-85.

Hastedt, G., (2004). *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Facts On File, Inc.

Hendropriyono, D. (2019). *Indonesia Layak Jadi Negara Poros Maritim Dunia*. [Online] Available at: <https://setkab.go.id/indonesia-layak-jadi-negara-poros-maritim-dunia/> [Accessed 23 November 2020].

Hermann, C. F. (2012). *WHAT WE DO WHEN THINGS GO WRONG*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge.

Hidayat, D. N. (2002). Metodologi Penelitian dalam Sebuah "Multi-Paradigm Science". *Mediator*, III(2), pp. 197-220.

Holsti, K. J. (1970). National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy. *International Studies Quarterly*, September, XIV(3), pp. 233-309.

Hudson, V. M. & Day, B. S. (2020). *Foreign Policy Analysis Classic and Contemporary Theory*. 3rd ed. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.

Hutchings, R. & Suri, J. (2015). *Foreign Policy Breakthrough: Cases in Successful Diplomacy*. 1st ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hutchings, R. & Suri, J. (2020). *Modern Diplomacy in Practice*. 1st ed. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Idris, M. (2020). *4 Kebijakan Kontroversial Menteri Edhy Prabowo yang Ditangkap KPK*. Jakarta: Kompas.com.

Idris, M. (2020). *Diapit Malaysia, Kenapa Natuna Malah Gabung Indonesia?*. Jakarta: Kompas.com.

Idris, M. (2020). *Selama Jadi Menteri, Berapa Kapal China Ditenggelamkan Susi?*. Jakarta: Kompas.com.

Jackson, R. & Sorensen, G. (2013). *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*. 5th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jönsson, C. & Hall, M. (2005). *Essence of Diplomacy*. 1st ed. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Jorgensen, K. E. (2018). *International Relations Theory: A New Introduction*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave and Macmillan.

Kaarbo, J., Lantis, J. S. & Beasley, R. K. (2013). *Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behavior*. 2nd ed. California: CQ Press.

Kallen, S. A. (2008). *National Security*. 1st ed. San Diego: ReferencePoint Press.

Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2019. *Landasan, Visi Dan Misi Polugri*. [Online]

Available at: <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/20/view/sasaran-strategis> [Accessed Agustus 2022].

Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia (2019). *Sasaran Strategis Kementerian Luar Negeri*. [Online]

Available at: <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/20/view/sasaran-strategis-kementerian-luar-negeri>

[Accessed 10 November 2020].

Klein, N. (2011). *Maritime Security and The Law of The Sea*. 1st ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Korab-Karpowicz, W. J. (2010). *Political Realism in International Relations*, California: The Metaphysics Research Lab, Center for the Study of Language and Information (CSLI), Stanford University.

Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. 3rd ed. New Delhi: New Age International (P) Ltd.

Kraska, J. & Pedrozo, R. (2013). *International Maritime Security Law*. 1st ed. Leiden: IDC Publishers and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Kusumadewi, A. (2016). *Staf Ahli Luhut: Jika Dibiarkan, China Kuasai Laut Natuna*, Jakarta: CNN Indonesia.

Kusumawardhani, I. & Afriansyah, A. (2019). Kebijakan Kelautan Indonesia dan Diplomasi Maritim. *Jurnal Kertha Patrika*, Desember, XLI(3), pp. 251-282.

Laksmana, E. (2019). *Indonesia as “Globa Maritime Fulcrum”: A Post-Mortem Analysis*, Jakarta: Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative.

Le Mièrè, C. (2014). *Maritime Diplomacy in the 21st Century Drivers and Challenges*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge.

Lisbet, (2014). Diplomasi Indonesia terhadap Kasus Penenggelaman Kapal Nelayan Asing. *Info Singkat Hubungan Internasional*, Desember, VI(24), pp. 5-8.

MacDonald, D. B. (2007). *The Ethics of Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Mahan, A. T. (2010). *The Influence Of Sea Power Upon History (1660-1783)*. 1st ed. Washington: Spectral Assoc.

Mahfud (2018). Mengenal Ontologi, Epistemologi, Aksiologi dalam Pendidikan Islam. *CENDEKIA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, IV(1), pp. 82-96.

Maierbrugger, Arno (2017). *Indonesia Declares "North Natuna Sea" - China: "Totally Meaningless"*. Investvine.

Maness, R. C. & Valeriano, B. (2015). *Russia's Coercive Diplomacy: Energy, Cyber, and Maritime Policy as New Sources of Power*. 1st ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Manicom, J. (2013). Canada's Return to East Asia: Re-engagement Through Maritme Diplomacy. *Centre for International Governance Innovation*, Volume 25, pp. 1-10.

Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative Researching*. 2nd ed. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Melissen, J. (2005). *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. 1st ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mintz, A. & DeRouen Jr. , K. (2010). *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. 1st ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Morgenthau, H. J. (1948). *Politics Among Nations*. 1st ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Muhammad, R. A. (2017). *Diplomasi Maritim Indonesia dalam Menangani Praktik Illegal Fishing di Selat Malaka Tahun 2014*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

Nasution, M. K. M. (2017). *Ontologi*. Medan: Universitas Sumatera Utara.

Neack, L. (2008). *The New Foreign Policy: Power Seeking in a Globalized Era*. 2nd ed. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. 7th ed. London: Pearson Education Limited.

Noferius, A. L., Isnarti, R. & Moenir, H. D. (2020). India's Maritime Diplomacy in the Southeast Asia. *Dauliyah Journal of Islamic and International Affairs*, V(2), pp. 185-219.

Nurdiansyah, D. R. (2020). *Merumuskan Definisi Keamanan Maritim*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.fkpmar.org/merumuskan-definisi-keamanan-maritim/> [Accessed 25 November 2020].

Nye Jr, J. S. (2011). *The Future of Power*. 1st ed. New York: PublicAffairs.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J. & Collins, K. M. (2007). A Typology of Mixed Methods Sampling Designs in Social Science Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 12(2), pp. 281-316.

Palmer, G. & Morgan, T. C. (2006). *A Theory of Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Palys, T. (2008). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. 1st ed. California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Pari, F. (2018). Epistemologi dan Pengembangan Ilmu Pengetahuan. *Ilmu Ushuluddin*, V(2), pp. 139-154.

Patalano, A. (2015). Beyond the Gunboat: Rethinking Naval Diplomacy and Humanitarian Assistance Disaster Relief in East Asia. *RUSI Journal*, CLX(2), pp. 32-39.

Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Natuna (2020). *Selayang Pandang Kabupaten Natuna, Provinsi Kepulauan Riau*. [Online] Available at: <https://natunakab.go.id/selayang-pandang-kabupaten-natuna-provinsi-kepulauan-riau/> [Accessed 10 November 2020].

Pevehouse, J. C. W. & Goldstein, J. S. (2017). *International Relations*. 11th ed. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.

Prasongko, D. (2019). *Menteri Susi Serukan Illegal Fishing Jadi Kejahatan Lintas Negara*, Jakarta: TEMPO.CO.

Pratomo, Yulistyo (2016). *Ini Penampakan Kapal Aparat China yang Terobos Laut Natuna*, Jakarta: Merdeka.com.

Pregiwati, Lilly Aprilya (2019). *Menteri Susi Resmikan 6 Sentra Kelautan dan Perikanan Terpadu (SKPT) di Indonesia*. [Online] Available at: <https://kkp.go.id/SKPT/artikel/14786-menteri-susi-resmikan-6-sentra-kelautan-dan-perikanan-terpadu-skpt-di-indonesia>

Prihatsanti, U., Suryanto & Hendriani, W. (2018). Menggunakan Studi Kasus sebagai Metode Ilmiah dalam Psikologi. *Buletin Psikologi*, XXVI(2), p. 126 – 136.

Puspen Markas Besar TNI (2018). *Bakamla RI Bersama Telkom Kembangkan Sistem Informasi Maritim Karya Anak Bangsa*. [Online] Available at: <https://tni.mil.id/view-124894-bakamla-ri-bersama-telkom-kembangkan-sistem-informasi-maritim-karya-anak-bangsa.html> [Accessed 17 Agustus 2022]

Putri, S. Y. & Ma'arif, D. (2019). Kerja Sama Ekonomi-Politik Indonesia dan Cina pada Implementasi Program Belt and Road Initiative. *Jurnal Kajian Lemhanas RI*, September, Volume XXXIX, pp. 53-66.

Rahardjo, P. D. H. M. M. (2017). *Studi Kasus dalam Penelitian Kualitatif: Konsep dan Prosedurnya*. Malang: Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Ratriani, V. R. (2020). *Riwayat Konflik China-Indonesia di Laut Natuna*, Jakarta: KOMPAS.com.

Republik Indonesia (2008). *Undang-undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 17 Tahun 2008 tentang Pelayaran*. s.l.:Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat dan Presiden Republik Indonesia .

Republik Indonesia (2009). *Undang-undang Nomor 45 Tahun 2009 tentang Perubahan atas Undang-undang Nomor 31 Tahun 2004 tentang Perikanan*. Jakarta: Presiden Republik Indonesia.

Republik Indonesia (2017). *Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 16 Tahun 2017 tentang Kebijakan Kelauta Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Kemaritiman Republik Indonesia.

Republik Indonesia, K. K. d. I. (2016). *Menuju Poros Maritim Dunia*. [Online] Available at: https://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/8231/menuju-poros-maritim-dunia/0/kerja_nyata

[Accessed 1 November 2020].

Republik Indonesia, K. L. N. (2019). *Isu Khusus Kejahatan Lintas Negara*. [Online] Available at: https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/89/halaman_list_lainnya/kejahatan-lintas-negara

[Accessed 27 Agustus 2020].

Reveron, D. S. (2010). *Exporting Security : International Engagement, Security Cooperation, and the Changing Face of the U.S. Military*. 1st ed. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press.

Rijal, N. K. (2019). Smart Maritime Diplomacy: Diplomasi Maritim Indonesia Menuju Poros Maritim Dunia. *Global & Strategis*, pp. 63-78.

Riska, E. (2017). Diplomasi Maritim Indonesia terhadap Aktivitas Penangkapan Ikan Ilegal (Illegal Fishing) oleh Nelayan China di ZEEI Perairan Kepulauan Natuna. *Jurnal Prodi Diplomasi Pertahanan*, III(2), pp. 33-47.

Risnain, M. (2017). Rekonsepsi Model Pencegahan dan Pemberantasan Illegal Fishing di Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, IV(2), pp. 379-398.

Rose, G. (1998). Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy. *World Politics*, LI(1), pp. 144-172.

Rosyidin, M. (2014). Soft Diplomacy SBY dalam Konflik Indonesia-Malaysia: Studi Kebijakan SBY terhadap Pelanggaran Kedaulatan oleh Malaysia di Perairan Bintan Tahun 2010. *Jurnal Kajian Wilayah*, V(1), pp. 3-22.

Salengke, H. H. (2020). *Kerja Sama Tiongkok-Indonesia Diharapkan Ubah Krisis Jadi Peluang*, Internasional: E-paper Media Indonesia.

Santoso, B. (2019). *China Langgar Kedaulatan RI di Perairan Natuna, Indonesia Layangkan Protes*, Jakarta: suara.com.

Saputra, F. A. (2016). Dampak Program Pemberantasan IUU Fishing terhadap Hubungan Bilateral Indonesia-China. *eJournal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, IV(4), pp. 1271-1284.

Sari, D. & Rohman, K. (2020). Kedudukan Epistemologi dalam Filsafat Barat. *JAQFI: Jurnal Aqidah dan Filsafat Islam*, V(1), pp. 35-52.

Sari, N. Z. M. (2018). *Analisis Kebaruan (novelty) dalam Metode Penelitian Akuntansi*. s.l.:s.n.

- Satow, M. E., (1979). *Satow's Guide to diplomatic practice*. 5th ed. New York: Longman Publishing Group.
- Setiadji, A., (2017). *Diplomasi Maritim untuk Kedaulatan Indonesia*, s.l.: Maritim News.
- Setiawan, A. & Zaman, A. N., (2020). *Diplomasi Maritim Indonesia dalam Menjaga Kedaulatan Kepulauan Natuna 2014-2019*. Jakarta: UM Jakarta Press.
- Shicun, W. & Keyuan, Z. (2009). *Maritime Security in the South China Sea : Cooperation and Implications*. 1st ed. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Sistiyanto, H. (2020). *Kolaborasi KKP dan CSIRO dalam Memberantas IUU Fishing*. Jakarta: Badan Riset dan Sumber Daya Manusia Kelautan dan Perikanan.
- Sitepu, P. A. (2011). *Studi Hubungan Internasional*. 1st ed. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.
- Smith, E. (2015). *International Security Studies Theory and practice*. 1st ed. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Sofian, Ahmad, (2018). *Penindakan dan Penghukuman 'Illegal Fishing'*. Jakarta: Binus University
- Stearns, J., Pettiford, L., Diez, T. & Imad (2010). *An Introduction to International Relations Theory: Perspectives and Themes*. 3rd ed. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Susilo, I. B. (2016). *Teori Hubungan Internasional (Perspektif-Perspektif Klasik)*. 1st ed. Surabaya: Cakra Studi Global Strategis (CSGS).
- Susilowati, E., Sulistiyo, S. T. & Rochwulaningsih, Y. (2018). Coastal civilization and maritime diplomacy in premodern Southeast Asia. *The International Journal of History*, XXX(4), p. 649–662.
- Sutari, T., 2016. *Pencurian Ikan, Penyelundupan, dan Kejahatan Lintas Negara*, Jakarta: CNN Indonesia.
- Tampi, B. (2017). Konflik Kepulauan Natuna Antara Indonesia dengan China (Suatu Kajian Yuridis). *Jurnal Hukum Unsrat*, XXIII(10), pp. 1-16.
- Tempo.co (2020). *Kapal Cina Masuk ke Natuna, Pemerintah Harus Tegakkan Kedaulatan*, Jakarta: Tempo.co.
- Till, G. (2009). *Seapower A Guide for the Twenty-First Century*. 2nd ed. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Trihartono, A. (2016). *Diplomasi (Megafon) di Natuna: Langkah Kuda Presiden Jokowi*, Kyoto: CNN Indonesia.
- UNCLOS (1982). *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 10 December 1982*. [Online]
Available at: https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf
[Accessed 22 November 2020].
- Viotti, P. R. & Kauppi, M. V. (2012). *International Relations Theory*. 5th ed. London: Pearson Education, Inc..
- Wahyuni, S. (2019). Strategi Pemerintah Indonesia dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Klaim Traditional Fishing Ground pada Zona Ekonomi Eksklusif Indonesia di Perairan Natuna oleh Republik Rakyat Tiongkok. *Sosioreligius*, Desember, II(4), pp. 13-41.

- Wallace, W. (1971). *Studies in Comparative Politics: Foreign Policy and the Political Process*. 1st ed. London and Basingstok: The Macmillan Press Ltd..
- Waltz, K. N. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. 1st ed. California: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Watson, A. (1982). *Diplomacy The Dialogue Between States*. 1st ed. London: Eyre Methuen Ltd.
- Weber, C. (2005). *International Relations Theory A critical Introduction*. 2nd ed. Oxon: Routledge.
- Weldes, J. (1999). *Constructing National Interests : The United States and the Cuban Missile Crisis*. 1st ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Widen, J. J. (2011). *Naval Diplomacy—A Theoretical Approach*. s.l.:Taylor & Francis Group.
- Wiegand, K. E. (2009). China's Strategy in the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Dispute: Issue Linkage and Coercive Diplomacy. *Asian Security*, V(2), p. 170–193.
- Wilkinson, P. (2007). *International Relation A Very Short Introduction*. 1st ed. New York: Oxford University Press Inc..
- Wiseman, G. & Sharp, P. (2012). *An Introduction to International Relations*. 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolfers, A. (1962). *Discord and Collaboration Essays on International Politics*. 1st ed. London: Oxford University Press.
- Woodside, A. G. (2010). *Case Study Research: Theory, Methods, Practice*. 1st ed. Chestnut Hill: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Yanuar, M. D. (2019). *Exploring the maneuvers of the Government of Indonesia with regard to the various and overlapping claims to territorial sovereignty over the South China Sea*. Wageningen: Wageningen University and Research (WUR).
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*. 3rd ed. London: Sage Publications.
- Yulianingsih, T. (2019). *70 Tahun China, Hubungan Tiongkok dengan RI Berkembang Pesat*, Jakarta: Liputan6.com.

