

## Referensi

- Agarwal, P. (2019). *Foreign Aid*. Intelligent Economist.  
<https://www.intelligenteconomist.com/foreign-aid/#:~:text=Uses of Foreign Aid,-Foreign aid may&text=Other reasons to give foreign,other kinds of commercial access.>
- Almas, P. (2018, September 15). AS Berkomitmen Teruskan Sanksi PBB terhadap Korut. *Republika*.  
<https://www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/amerika/18/09/15/pf2zay349-as-berkomitmen-teruskan-sanksi-pbb-terhadap-korut>
- Anggraini, A. P. (2018). Pakar Nilai Kim Jong Un dan Donald Trump Memiliki Kepribadian Serupa. *Kompas.Com*. <https://lifestyle.kompas.com/read/2018/06/13/161600520/pakar-nilai-kim-jong-un-dan-donald-trump-memiliki-kepribadian-serupa?page=all>
- Anguelov, N. (2015). *Economic Sanctions vs. Soft Power*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ardiani dkk. (2020). Kepentingan Amerika Serikat dalam Proses Denuklirisasi Korea Utara. *Frequency of International Relations, II*, 56–87.
- Armitage, R. L., & Nye Jr., J. S. (2007). *CSIS Commission on Smart Power: A Smarter, More Secure America*.
- Asher, D., & Lorber, E. (2019). *Maximum Pressure 2.0 A Plan for North Korea*. Foundation for Defense of Democracies. <https://www.fdd.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/fdd-report-maximum-pressure-2-a-plan-for-north-korea.pdf>
- Bakry, U. S. (2017). *Dasar-Dasar Hubungan Internasional* (1st ed.). Kencana.
- Barston, R. P. (2013). *Modern Diplomacy* (4th ed.). Routledge.
- BBC News. (2018). *Kim-Trump tandatangani “kesepakatan”*: Hubungan AS-Korut akan berbeda sama sekali. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-44447915>
- BBC News, I. (2017). *Penyelesaian Diplomatik, Tegas Menhan AS, Tujuan Washington di Korea*. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-41775718>
- Berkes, R. N. (1942). *THE USE OF THE POWER OF RECOGNITION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DIPLOMACY*. The University of Southern California.
- Berridge, G. R. (2010). *Diplomacy Theory and Practice*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Berridge, G. R. ., & James, A. (2003). *A Dictionary of Diplomacy* (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bjola, C., & Kornprobst, M. (2013). *Understanding International Diplomacy Theory, practice and ethics*. Routledge.
- Blatter, J. K. (2008). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Bowman, B., & Maxwell, D. (2019). *Maximum Pressure 2.0 A Plan for North Korea*. Foundation for Defense of Democracies. <https://www.fdd.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/fdd-report-maximum-pressure-2-a-plan-for-north-korea.pdf>
- Bowman dkk. (2019). *Maximum Pressure 2.0 A Plan for North Korea*. Foundation for Defense of Democracies. <https://www.fdd.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/fdd-report-maximum-pressure-2-a-plan-for-north-korea.pdf>
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (4th ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Bull, H. (2002). *The Anarchical Society A Study of Order in World Politics* (3rd ed.). Palgrave.
- Burchill, S. (2005). *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Carr, E. H. (1946). *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939 An Introduction to The Study of International Relations*. MacMillan & Co. Ltd.
- Chandran, N. (2018). Trump says he and Kim are 'going right now for a signing.' *CNBC*. <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/11/donald-trump-and-kim-jong-un-meet-at-historic-summit-in-singapore.html>
- Christiastuti, N. (2018). Ini Alasan Trump Terima Undangan untuk Bertemu Kim Jong-Un. *Detik News*. <https://news.detik.com/internasional/d-3907415/ini-alasan-trump-terima-undangan-untuk-bertemu-kim-jong-un>
- CIA. (2020). *The World Factbook*. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/kn.html>
- CNN Indonesia. (2021). Jejak Cuitan Kontroversial Donald Trump di Twitter. *CNN Indonesia*. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20210109111959-134->

591474/jejak-cuitan-kontroversial-donald-trump-di-twitter

- Congressional Research Service. (2014). *Foreign Assistance to North Korea*.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design : Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- CSIS. (2016, March 11). Tensions in the South China Sea explained in 18 maps. *Business Insider*. <https://www.businessinsider.com/tensions-in-the-south-china-sea-explained-in-18-maps-2015-1?r=US&IR=T>
- Ericssen. (2017, September 4). *Sejarah Pengembangan dan Uji Coba Senjata Nuklir Korea Utara*. <https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2017/09/04/22032581/sejarah-pengembangan-dan-uji-coba-senjata-nuklir-korea-utara?page=all>
- Frankel, J. (1970). *National Interest* (L. B. Schapiro (ed.)). Pall Mall Press Ltd.
- Gading S., K. (2019). 7 Fakta Historis Perang Korea 1950-1953 yang Wajib Diketahui. *IDN TIMES*. <https://www.idntimes.com/science/discovery/karl-gading-s/fakta-historis-perang-korea-1950-1953-exp-c1c2/7>
- Ganesan, N. (2005). *Realism and Interdependence in Singapore's Foreign Policy*. Routledge.
- Gastelum, Z. (2012). *International Legal Framework for Denuclearization and Nuclear Disarmament – Present Situation and Prospects*.
- Gillham, B. (2000). *Case Study Research Methods*. Continuum.
- Global Policy Forum. (2005). *Sanctions Against Iraq*. Global Policy Forum. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/previous-issues-and-debate-on-iraq/sanctions-against-iraq.html>
- Gray, C. S. (2011). *Hard Power and Soft Power: The Utility of Military Force as an Instrument of Policy in the 21st Century*. Strategic Studies Institute.
- Gusfianda, B., & Indrawati. (2017). Aliansi Militer Dan Keamanan Amerika Serikat-Korea Selatan Pasca Perang Dingin Dan Pengaruhnya Di Kawasan Asia Timur. *Global Insight Journal, II*, 183–198.
- Guzzini, S. (2013). *Power, Realism, and Constructivism*. Routledge.
- Hamre, J. J. (2007). *CSIS Commission on Smart Power: A Smarter, More Secure America*.

- Hardoko, E. (2018). Beberapa Hal Terkait Pertemuan Kim dan Trump di Singapura. *Kompas.Com*. <https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2018/06/10/17525861/beberapa-hal-terkait-pertemuan-kim-dan-trump-di-singapura?page=all>
- Hastedt, G. (2004). *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*. Facts On File, Inc.
- Hoffman, J., & Graham, P. (2015). *Introduction to Political Theory* (3rd ed.). Routledge.
- Hutapea, R. U. (2017, September 9). *Ucapan Dubes AS untuk PBB Bikin Korut Geram*. <https://news.detik.com/internasional/d-3635588/ucapan-dubes-as-untuk-pbb-bikin-korut-geram>
- Hutchings, R., & Suri, J. (2020). *Modern Diplomacy in Practice*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hyun, K. (2017). Comparing North Korea Policies of The Obama and Trump Administrations. *NANZAN REVIEW OF AMERICAN STUDIES*, XXXIX, 45–69.
- Immelman, A. (2016). *The political personality of 2016 Republican presidential nominee Donald J. Trump*. College of Saint Benedict and Saint John's University.
- Immelman, A. (2017). *The leadership style of U.S. president Donald J. Trump* [College of Saint Benedict and Saint John's University]. [https://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/psychology\\_pubs/107/](https://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/psychology_pubs/107/)
- Jordan, R. (2018). Kehebohan Jelang Pertemuan Kim Jong Un dan Trump. *Detik News*. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4064770/kehebohan-jelang-pertemuan-kim-jong-un-dan-trump>
- Jørgensen, K. E. (2018). *International Relations Theory A New Introduction* (2nd ed.). Palgrave.
- Justisiawan, I. G. N. D. P. (2014). Six Party Talks dalam Negosiasi Amerika Serikat dan Korea Utara Terkait Daftar Hitam Negara-Negara Pendukung Terorisme Tahun 2003 – 2008. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, I(2), 1–8. <https://ojs.unud.ac.id/index.php/hi/article/view/9971>
- Kaschel, T., & Anguelov, N. (2015). *Economic Sanctions vs. Soft Power*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kaufman, J. P. (2013). *Introduction to International Relations: Theory and Practice*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

- KBS World. (2017). *Sanksi AS terhadap 10 Bank Korea Utara*.  
[http://rki.kbs.co.kr/service/contents\\_view.htm?lang=i&menu\\_cate=issues&id=&board\\_seq=58649&page=144&board\\_code=](http://rki.kbs.co.kr/service/contents_view.htm?lang=i&menu_cate=issues&id=&board_seq=58649&page=144&board_code=)
- Kellner, D. (2018). Donald Trump as Authoritarian Populist: A Frommian Analysis. In *Critical Theory and Authoritarian Populism* (pp. 71–82). University of Westminster Press. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.16997/book30.e>.
- Kennedy, P. S. J. (2016). Menghitung Indeks Kekuatan Nasional. *Buletin Ekonomi FE UKI*, XX(2), 56–65.
- Kim, D. K. (2019). *Negotiating Toward a Denuclearization-Peace Roadmap on the Korean Peninsula*.
- Klingner, B. (2018). U.S.–North Korea Summit Deal on Denuclearization Faltering. *The Heritage Foundation BACKGROUNDER*, 3342, 1–11.
- Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. New Age International (P) Limited.
- Kristianto, Y. I. A., & Nurhaqiqi, H. (2021). Aplikasi Media Sosial sebagai Alat Politik Donald Trump (Netnografi Cuitan Trump di Twitter). *Journal Of Media and Communication Science*, IV(1), 1–13.
- Kusuma, H. (2020). Membandingkan Kekuatan Militer AS dan Iran, Siapa Paling Kuat? *DetikFinance*. <https://finance.detik.com/berita-ekonomi-bisnis/d-4851262/membandingkan-kekuatan-militer-as-dan-iran-siapa-paling-kuat>
- Lachmann, R. (2019). Trump: authoritarian, just another neoliberal republican, or both? *OpenEdition Journals*, 9–31. <https://journals.openedition.org/spp/5340>
- Lee, C. (2018, December 15). Is Trump On Path To “Strategic Patience” On North Korea? *VOA News*. <https://www.voanews.com/usa/trump-path-strategic-patience-north-korea>
- Lightbody, B. (2011). *Invasion of Poland*.  
[http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/invasion\\_poland\\_01.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/invasion_poland_01.shtml)
- Lune, H., & Berg, B. L. (2017). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (9th ed.). Pearson Education Limited.
- Masters, J. (2019). *Backgrounder: What are Economic Sanctions*. Council on Foreign

- Relations, Inc. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-are-economic-sanctions>
- Masterson, J. (2020). *Chronology of U.S.-North Korean Nuclear and Missile Diplomacy*. Arms Control Association. <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/dprkchron>
- McBride, J. (2018). *How Does the U.S. Spend Its Foreign Aid?* Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/how-does-us-spend-its-foreign-aid>
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1948). *Politics Among Nations : The Struggle for Power and Peace* (1st ed.). Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
- Nailufar, N. N. (2020a). Dewan Keamanan PBB: Fungsi, Tugas dan Anggota. *Kompas.Com*. <https://www.kompas.com/skola/read/2020/03/05/234500669/dewan-keamanan-pbb--fungsi-tugas-dan-anggota?page=all>
- Nailufar, N. N. (2020b). Peran PBB dalam Memelihara Perdamaian Dunia. *Kompas.Com*. <https://www.kompas.com/skola/read/2020/03/05/230000969/peran-pbb-dalam-memelihara-perdamaian-dunia?page=all>
- Nailufar, N. N. (2020c). Perang Dingin: Faktor, Persaingan, dan Dampaknya. *Kompas.Com*. [kompas.com/skola/read/2020/02/22/100000169/perang-dingin--faktor-persaingan-dan-dampaknya?page=all](https://www.kompas.com/skola/read/2020/02/22/100000169/perang-dingin--faktor-persaingan-dan-dampaknya?page=all)
- Neack, L. (2008). *The New Foreign Policy* (2nd ed.). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Nicolson, H. (1939). *Diplomacy*. Oxford University Press.
- Nye Jr., J. S. (2004). *Soft Power : The Means to Success in World Politics*. PublicAffairs.
- Nye Jr., J. S. (2006). *Hard Power, Soft Power and the Future of Transatlantic Relations* (T. L. Ilgen (ed.)). Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Nye Jr., J. S. (2008). *The Powers to Lead*. Oxford University Press.
- Nye Jr., J. S. (2009). *Get Smart Combining Hard and Soft Power*. Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/article/65163/joseph-s-nye-jr/get-smart>
- Nye Jr., J. S. (2011). *The Future of Power*. PublicAffairs.
- Otieno, M. O. (2019, July 31). What is the Difference Between Republicans and Democrats? *Worldatlas.Com*. <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/what-is-the-difference-between-republicans-and-democrats.html>

- Pallaver, M. (2011). *Power and Its Forms: Hard, Soft, Smart*. The London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Pelupessy, T. E. E., & Wisanjaya, I. G. P. E. (2019). *TINDAKAN DENUKLIRISASI KOREA UTARA DARI PERSPEKTIF HUKUM INTERNASIONAL*. Universitas Udayana.
- Pevehouse, J. C. W., & Goldstein, J. S. (2017). *International Relations*. Charlyce Jones Owen.
- Pramadiba, I. M. (2020). *Kim Jong Un Berkomitmen Perkuat Program Nuklir untuk Cegah Perang*. dunia.tempo.co/read/1345933/kim-jong-un-berkomitmen-perkuat-program-nuklir-untuk-cegah-perang
- Pritchard, C. L. ., & Tilelli Jr., J. H. (2010). *U.S. Policy Toward the Korean Peninsula*.
- Rahmarilla, M. D. (2019). *Soft Power dalam Hubungan Internasional*. Indonesia International Studies Academic Utilization Community.  
<https://www.iisau.org/2019/10/21/soft-power-dalam-hubungan-internasional/>
- Revere, E. J. (2017). *The Trump administration's North Korea policy: Headed for success or failure?* Brookings. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2017/07/10/the-trump-administrations-north-korea-policy-headed-for-success-or-failure/>
- Roehrig, T. (2017). *Stability or Instability? The US Response to North Korean Nuclear Weapons* (M. D. KIM, SUNG CHULL ; COHEN (ed.)). GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY PRESS.
- Satri, L. (2020). Korsel dan AS Minta Korut Patuhi Perjanjian Denuklirisasi. *Republika*.  
<https://republika.co.id/berita/qch27q459/korsel-dan-as-minta-korut-patuhi-perjanjian-denuklirisasi>
- Scheuerman, W. E. (2009). *Hans Morgenthau Realism and Beyond*. Polity Press.
- Sebayang, R. (2020). Dua Korea Perang, Trump Perpanjang Sanksi untuk Korut 1 Tahun. *CNBC Indonesia*. [cnbcindonesia.com/news/20200618093002-4-166204/dua-korea-perang-trump-perpanjang-sanksi-untuk-korut-1-tahun](https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20200618093002-4-166204/dua-korea-perang-trump-perpanjang-sanksi-untuk-korut-1-tahun)
- Sigal, L. V. (1998). *Disarming Strangers : Nuclear Diplomacy With North Korea*. Princeton University Press.
- Siswoyo, R. D. (2015). Pengaruh Idiosinkratik Kim Jong Un Terhadap kebijakan Luar Negeri

- Korea Utara Studi Kasus Meningkatnya Eskalasi Konflik di Semenanjung Korea (2013). *Global & Policy*, III(101–112).
- Suastha, R. D. (2018a). Mengintip Isi Perjanjian Trump dan Kim Jong-un. *CNN Indonesia*. [cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20180612151952-106-305567/mengintip-isi-perjanjian-trump-dan-kim-jong-un](https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20180612151952-106-305567/mengintip-isi-perjanjian-trump-dan-kim-jong-un)
- Suastha, R. D. (2018b, September 4). Sanksi Ekonomi Trump: Bumerang yang Siap Hancurkan AS. *CNN Indonesia*. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20180903203640-134-327317/sanksi-ekonomi-trump-bumerang-yang-siap-hancurkan-as>
- Sung-won, B. (2017, January 25). US Humanitarian Aid Goes to North Korea Despite Nuclear Tensions. *VOA*. <https://www.voanews.com/usa/us-humanitarian-aid-goes-north-korea-despite-nuclear-tensions>
- Syahrin, M. N. Al. (2018). Donald Trump dan Reorientasi Kebijakan Keamanan Amerika Serikat terhadap Program Pengembangan Senjata Nuklir Korea Utara. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional*, XIV, 97–111. <http://journal.unpar.ac.id/index.php/JurnalIlmiahHubunganInternasional/article/view/2717>
- Tempo.co. (2017, September 18). Berbagai Sanksi PBB untuk Korea Utara dalam 11 Tahun. *Tempo.Co*. <https://dunia.tempo.co/read/910196/berbagai-sanksi-pbb-untuk-korea-utara-dalam-11-tahun>
- Tempo.co. (2018, November 5). Amerika Serikat dan Korea Selatan Gelar Latihan Militer Bersama. *Tempo.Co*. <https://dunia.tempo.co/read/1143214/amerika-serikat-dan-korea-selatan-gelar-latihan-militer-bersama>
- Tempo. (2014). Obama dan Politik Luar Negeri Baru AS. *Koran Tempo*. <https://koran.tempo.co/read/internasional/343383/obama-dan-politik-luar-negeri-baru-as>
- Third Way. (2019, March 7). Thematic Brief: The Department of Defense Budget and Oversight. *Third Way*. <https://www.thirdway.org/primer/thematic-brief-the-department-of-defense-budget-and-oversight>
- U.S. Embassy Jakarta. (2017). *Presiden Donald J. Trump Mengumumkan Strategi Keamanan Nasional untuk Memajukan Kepentingan Amerika*. Kedutaan Besar Dan Konsulat



- Amerika Serikat Di Indonesia. <https://id.usembassy.gov/id/presiden-donald-j-trump-mengumumkan-strategi-keamanan-nasional-untuk-memajukan-kepentingan-amerika/>
- U.S. Embassy Tbilisi. (2020). *Database offers transparency on U.S. foreign aid*. US Embassy in Georgia. <https://ge.usembassy.gov/database-offers-transparency-on-u-s-foreign-aid/#:~:text=In fiscal year 2018%2C the,population%2C which received %246.9 billion.>
- UN. (2017). *Adopted by the Security Council at its 8151st meeting*. [https://undocs.org/S/RES/2397\(2017\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/2397(2017))
- US Aid. (2021). *The Foreign Aid Explorer*. US Aid from the American People. <https://explorer.usaid.gov/>
- US Department of Defense. (2021). *Our Story*. US Department of Defense. <https://www.defense.gov/Our-Story/>
- US Department of State. (2018). *US Relations With North Korea*. [state.gov/u-s-relations-with-north-korea/](http://state.gov/u-s-relations-with-north-korea/)
- US Department of the Treasury. (2020). *North Korea Sanctions*. <https://home.treasury.gov/policy-issues/financial-sanctions/sanctions-programs-and-country-information/north-korea-sanctions>
- US Department of The Treasury. (2021). *Sanctions Programs and Country Information*. U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY. <https://home.treasury.gov/policy-issues/financial-sanctions/sanctions-programs-and-country-information>
- VOA. (2018). Pelarian Korea Utara Ceritakan Penderitaan Mereka kepada Trump. *VOA Indonesia*. <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/pelarian-korea-utara-ceritakan-penderitaan-ke-trump-/4237435.html>
- Wagner, J.-P. N. E. (2014). *The Effectiveness of Soft & Hard Power in Contemporary International Relations* [University of Dundee]. <https://www.e-ir.info/2014/05/14/the-effectiveness-of-soft-hard-power-in-contemporary-international-relations/>
- Wahyuni, N. C. (2019). Gagal di Hanoi, Korut Tawarkan Pembicaraan Lanjutan. *Beritasatu.Com*. <https://www.beritasatu.com/dunia/540857/gagal-di-hanoi-korut-tawarkan-pembicaraan-lanjutan>
- Watson, A. (1982). *Diplomacy The Dialogue Between States*. Eyre Methuen Ltd.

- Watson, C. A. (2002). *U.S. National Security* (2nd ed.). ABC-CLIO.
- Weaver, J. M. (2018). The 2017 National Security Strategy of the United States. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 11(1), 62. <https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/jss/vol11/iss1/5>
- Wertz, D. (2018). *The U.S., North Korea, and Nuclear Diplomacy*. The National Committee on North Korea.
- White House. (2017). National Security Strategy of the United States of America. In *Seal of The President of The United States*. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>
- Wilkinson, P. (2007). *International Relations: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Wu, R. (2017). Ini Penyebab AS “Kurang Berani” Menyerang Korea Utara. *IDN TIMES*. <https://www.idntimes.com/news/world/robin-wu/amerika-kurang-berani-menyerang-korea-utara-c1c2/full>