

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Afrihan, Muhammad Dhany, Lim Sanny, N. J. Setiadi, and Willy Gunadi. "Minimum Essential Force (MEF) Strategy: A Systematic Literature Review in the Context of Globalization." *KnE Social Sciences* (2024).
- Agastia, I., & Perwita, A. Indonesia's Maritime Axis and the Security of Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOCs) in the Indo-Pacific. (2016). 10-21.
- Ali Mardin, Difajrin Septiawan, Arie Kusuma Paksi, dan Nur Azizah, "Analysis of the Indonesian Government's Decision to Buy Rafale Dassault Aircraft From France," *Jurnal Wacana Politik* 9, no. 1 (Maret 2024)
- Ali, Y., Tri Legionosuk, and E. Nuraeni. "Modernization of the Defense System and the Potential for Technological Disruption in Indonesian Military Organizations." *Asian Journal of Scientific Research* 13 (2019): 18-22.
- Aloycius C. L. S. Saleo, Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, dan Yermia Hendarwoto, "The Role of Defense Diplomacy in Strengthening Indonesia–France Relations: A Case Study of Defense Equipment Procurement," *International Journal of Education, Culture, and Society* 3, no. 3 (Agustus 2025)
- Amrin, A., Suwito, S., & Suryo, A. Air Defense Strategy in Improving Security Against Airspace Violations in Indonesia. *Contemporary Journal of Applied Sciences*. (2025).
- Ardi, Asma Aulia Zikra Hanum, T. Siahaan, and IB Putra Jandhana. "KEBIJAKAN PUBLIK PERTAHANAN NEGARA INDONESIA." *Citizen : Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin Indonesia* (2022).
- Ardiansyah, R. F., Widnyana, I., & Rofii, M. S. (2024). INDONESIA-FRANCE DEFENCE COOPERATION: STRENGTHENING NAVAL POWER WITH SCORPENE SUBMARINE AMID REGIONAL DYNAMICS. *Global: Jurnal Politik I* Basundoro, A. FPembelian Pesawat Tempur Dassault Refale sebagai Implementasi Strategic Hedging Indonesia di Indo-Pasifik. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, . (2023). 16(1).

- Arini E, Hartati A. Kerjasama Internasional Korea Selatan Dengan Indonesia (Studi Kasus Peningkatan Status Kerjasama Dari Strategic Partnership Menjadi Special Strategic Partnership Tahun 2017). Kajian Hubungan Internasional. 2022.
- Ariputro AB, Syahtaria MI, Trismadi T, Suwarno P, Widodo P, Purwanto D. Collaboration and Technology Transfer in the Defense Industry as Drivers of Innovation and Global Security Enhancement. Physical Sciences, Life Science and Engineering. 2024.
- Armandha, Semmy Tyar, A. D. Sumari, and H. Rahmadi. "Ekonomi Politik Kerja Sama Korea Selatan-Indonesia dalam Joint Development Pesawat Tempur KFX/IFX." 10 (2017): 75-94.
- Arto, R., Pramono, B., Prakoso, L., S., & Sianturi, D. INDONESIA SEA DEFENSE STRATEGY IN OVERCOMING MARITIME THREATS. (2021). 205-223.
- Azad, T., M. W. Haider, and Muhammad Sadiq. "UNDERSTANDING GRAY ZONE WARFARE FROM MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES." World Affairs 186 (2022): 81 - 104.
- Bachtiar, Muchamad, Bambang Irwanto, Irdam Ahmad, Z. Sahabuddin, and Trismadi Trismadi. "Defense Spending Under Pressure: An ARDL Study of Indonesia's Economic and Strategic Realities." Statistics, Politics and Policy 17 (2025): 19 - 42.
- Cahyana, Taufik Budi, Achmad Wardana, Hudoro Tahdi, and Y.H. Yogaswara. "Review Transfer of Technology and Local Content & Offsets to Indonesia on the Procurement of Rafale Fighter Jets." *Jurnal Inotera* (2023).
- Cancian, Mark. "The End of an Era: Russia's Collapse as a Major Arms Exporter." CSIS (Center for Strategic and International Studies) Report,: 10-15.
- Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Indonesia, "Dinamika Keamanan Laut Natuna Utara dan Tantangan Patroli Bakamla," CSIS Commentaries, (Maret 2023).

- Chairil, T. "The politics behind Alpalhankam: Military and politico-security factors in Indonesia's arms procurements, 2005–2015." (2017): 281-290.
- Deeks, Ashley S. "The Double Black Box." (2025).
- Dei, Maryna O. "THE INDO-PACIFIC AS A STRATEGIC ARENA: EVOLVING SECURITY ALLIANCES AND DEEPENING POWER RIVALRIES." Politics & Security (2025).
- Delanova, Mariane, and Y. M. Yani. "INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN CREATING SECURITY STABILITY IN INDO-PACIFIC REGION." Journal Of Global Strategic Studies (2021).
- Fikri M, K, Putra N. Optimizing Transfer of Technology for Sustainable Competitiveness in Submarine Projects. Jurnal Multidisiplin Madani. 2025.
- Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," World Politics 51, no. 1 (Oktober 1998): (2023). 146
- Gindarsah, Iis, and Adhi Priamarizki. "Explaining Indonesia's Under-balancing: The Case of the Modernisation of the Air Force and the Navy." Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs 8 (2021): 391 - 412
- Green, Michael, et al. Countering Coercion in Maritime Asia: The Theory and Practice of Gray-Zone Deterrence. Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). (2017).
- Grevatt, Jon. "Indonesia finalises contract for 42 Rafale fighters." Janes Defence Weekly, 15 Februari 2022.
- Haass, R. The dangerous decade: a foreign policy for a world in crisis. *Foreign Aff.*, (2022). 101, 25.
- Habsari, Tien Norma. "PT Pindad's Strategy towards Defense Industry Independence." International Journal of Social Science and Human Research (2022).

- Hariyanto, S., Salim, A., & Palupi, E. Kerjasama industri pertahanan melalui pengadaan Jet Rafale untuk memperkuat pertahanan Indonesia. *Journal of Industrial Engineering & Management Research*, 3(6), (2022). 1-6.
- Hasim, Wachit. "Empowerment of National Defense in Realizing the Fulfillment of the Minimum Essence Force (MEF) By The Domestic Defense Industry." *Jurnal Ekonomi, Bisnis & Entrepreneurship* (2022).
- Hasnita, Hasnita, Muhammad Yusra, and Rifki Dermawan. "Pertimbangan Amerika Serikat Menjatuhkan Sanksi Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanction Act (CAATSA) ke Turki Tahun 2020." Palito (2024).
- Hijria, Styawati, Ika, Almubaroq, Hikmat Zakky, Rishdianto, Agung, and Duarte, Editha P. "Defense Diplomacy in Peace Time to Strengthening Military Partnership and Enhancing Defense Capabilities between Indonesia and France through the Acquisition of Rafale Jets." *International Journal Of Humanities Education and Social Sciences (IJHESS)* (2023).
- Ian Storey, "The Russia-Ukraine War and Its Implications for Southeast Asian Security," *ISEAS Perspective*, no. 68 (2022).
- Indirasari, Annidya. "INDONESIAN-UNITED STATES DEFENSE COOPERATION IN THE PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO ERA." *Jurnal Pena Wimaya* (2022).
- Inkiriwang, F. W. "The dynamic of the US-Indonesia defence relations: the 'IMET ban' period." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 74 (2020): 377 - 393.
- International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *The Military Balance 2023* (London: Routledge, 2023).
- Ismail, Ferry, and Priyanto. "Optimization of the Total Defense System in Facing National Securities Challenges to Defend State Sovereignty." *European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* (2023).
- Ismiyatun, I., and Adhytya Bagus Pramudhipta. "Analysis of Indonesia's National Interest in Cooperation with South Korea for the Development of KFX/IFX Fighter Aircraft (2008-2023)." *Maneggio* (2025).

- John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, ed. ke-4 (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2014)
- Johnson, Richard A. I. "Decision-Making in the Arms of a Dependent Relationship: Explaining Shifts in Importer Acquisition Patterns of Major Weapon Systems, 1955–2007." *Defence and Peace Economics* 31 (2019): 851 - 868.
- Karambelkar, A. An analysis of the French strategy in the Indo-Pacific. *Maritime Affairs: Journal of the National Maritime Foundation of India*, (2021). 17(1), 92-109.
- Khalid, Amna, and Bakri Mat. "SINO-US STRATEGIC COMPETITION IN THE INDO-PACIFIC: EXPLORING RESPONSES FROM MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA." *Journal of International Studies* (2024).
- Kuncoro, Very Hadi, G. Amperiawan, and Ansori Ansori. "Efforts to Develop TNI Defense Equipment Technology to Support National Defense Posture." *AURELIA: Jurnal Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat Indonesia* (2024).
- Laksmiana., Evan A. "A Fragile Fulcrum: Indonesia-U.S. Military Relations in the Age of Great-Power Competition." *Asia Policy* 28 (2021): 106 - 114.
- Listiyono, Yudi, B. Pramono, Lukman Yudho Prakoso, Kasih Prihantoro, and D. Sianturi. "MARINE DEFENSE STRATEGY IN SECURING INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGIC SEA Lanes (ALKI) TO REALIZE MARITIME SAFETY AND MAINTAIN INDONESIAN SOILITY." 04 (2021): 224-237.
- Lubis, Ira Rizka Aisyah. "Diplomasi Koersif Amerika Serikat Terhadap Indonesia Melalui Embargo 1991-2005." *PERSPEKTIF* (2022).
- Manafe, Cheryl, Yoedhi Swastanto, and Rodon Pedrasan. "Indonesia and South Korea defense diplomacy: Case study of procurement of Chang Bogo Class vessels in 2010-2018." *Jurnal Pertahanan* 6.2 (2020): 162-173.
- Manurung, Yanto S, T. L. Toruan, and Yoedhi Swastanto. "Indonesian National Defense Strategy in the Asean Region of the 21st Century Based on Defense

- System and Security Population Demography." JMKSP (Jurnal Manajemen, Kepemimpinan, dan Supervisi Pendidikan) (2023).
- Mardhika, R., de Fretes, C. H. J., & Simanjuntak, T. R.. Kepentingan Indonesia dalam Hubungan Kerja Sama Pertahanan Indonesia–Perancis:(Studi Kasus: Pembelian Pesawat Tempur Dassault Rafale Tahun 2020–2022). *Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin*, (2023)2(04), 43-55.
- Marliani, M. Enhancing Maritime Security: Challenges and Strategies in Indonesia's Natuna Sea. *Journal of Maritime Policy Science*(2024).
- Matthews, Ron, Curie Maharani, Jupriyanto, and S. Wu. "Indonesia's defense acquisition strategy." *Asian Security* 21 (2025): 125 - 148.
- Maulana, A. C. R., & Yunanto, SDiplomasi Pertahanan Indonesia-Prancis Tahun 2019-2023. *Sosial Simbiosis: Jurnal Integrasi Ilmu Sosial dan Politik*, 2(1). (2025). 58-76.
- Montolalu, Reynaldo Rudy Kristian, and Anak Agung Banyu Perwita. "THE OPERATIONAL IMPACTS OF THE US “INDONESIA STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP ON THE JOINT MILITARY EXERCISES GARUDA SHIELD." *Indonesian Journal of International Relations* 7.2 (2023): 212-240.
- Muslikin, Nanang. "Optimalisasi Pengembangan Iptek Industri Pertahanan Guna Pembangunan Nasional." *Jurnal Manajemen Daya Saing* (2023).
- Ngoc, N. M., Viet, D. T., Tien, N. H., Hiep, P. M., Anh, N. T., Anh, L. D. H., & Dung, V. T. P. Russia-Ukraine war and risks to global supply chains. *International Journal of Mechanical Engineering*, (2022). 7(6), 633-640.
- Nikaj, Aksel, Kacper Maksymczuk, and Kristina Irion. "Dark Matter or White Noise? Source Code Secrecy in Free Trade Agreements and its Discontents." *SSRN Electronic Journal* (2024).
- Nopriadi, Nopriadi, Herly Dwiyanto Herly Dwiyanto, and D. Danuri. "Strategi Pembangunan Kekuatan TNI di Natuna Utara Dalam Menghadapi Konflik

- Laut Cina Selatan (LCS)." *Journal of Education, Humaniora and Social Sciences (JEHSS)* (2024).
- Nugraha, M. H. "Indonesian Future Strategic Defense Planning." 3 (2017): 207-220.
- Pasaribu, Charles, G. Saputro, and Lukman Yudho Prakoso. "Anticipation of Indonesian Embargo Sanctions in the Economic Aspect of State Defense." *Journal of Social Work and Science Education* (2023).
- Pasha, Auralia Salsabila Tuada, and A. Paksi. "THE IMPACT OF SOUTH KOREA'S NEW SOUTHERN POLICY ON INDONESIA: ECONOMY AND DEFENSE SECTORS." *DIALEKTIKA: Jurnal Ekonomi dan Ilmu Sosial* (2022).
- Prastiti, Dian Naren Budi. "Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) Inconsistencies: The Case of India S-400 Weapon Procurement Inkonsistensi Kebijakan Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions ACT (CAATSA): Studi Kasus Pembelian Senjata S-400 India." (2019).
- Prayoga, A. "Indonesian Defense Strategy to Encounter Challenges in the Indo-Pacific (Case Study: Hegemonic War of China and the United States of America in the South China Sea)." *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* (2021).
- Purwanto, Yohanes. "Kerja Sama Internasional Indonesia dengan Korea Selatan dalam Pembuatan Pesawat Tempur KFX/IFX." *SINDANG: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah dan Kajian Sejarah* (2022).
- Putra, R., Sitohang, A., Suhana, M., Prayetno, E., Yunianto, A., Nusyirwan, D., Nugraha, S., & Bachtiar, I. The potential study of fishing area and its relationship to marine security in Natuna island. *IOP Conference Series: Materials Science and Engineering*, 1052. (2021).

- Putri, Valery Ilhamna. "Analisis Kepentingan Jerman dalam Pengiriman Main Battle Tank Leopard ke Indonesia (2012-2017)." *Nation State: Journal of International Studies* (2021).
- Rahmawati L, Widyarsa MR. Analisis Kerjasama Lanjutan Industri Pertahanan Indonesia 2012-2021 PKR SIGMA 10514. Indonesian Perspective. 2023.
- Ramadhan MI, Maulina R. Defense and Technical Cooperation Between Indonesia and Russia for the Defense and Security (2010-2015). *Tirtayasa Journal of International Law*. 2023.
- Rani Mardhika, Pieter de Fretes, dan Hotma P. Simanjuntak, "Kepentingan Indonesia dalam Hubungan Kerja Sama Pertahanan Indonesia-Perancis (Studi Kasus: Pembelian Pesawat Tempur Dassault Rafale Tahun 2020-2022)," *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Pendidikan* 9, no. 1 (2023)
- Reza, Bhatara Ibnu. "THE TOTAL PEOPLE'S DEFENSE AND SECURITY SYSTEM: PROBLEMS OF THE STATE-SPONSORED MILITIA IN INDONESIA." *Indonesia Law Review* (2017).
- Rifai, M., Ansar Tutu, Mulyani Mulyani, Andi Sunra, and Kasih Prihantoro. "PENGARUH ANGGARAN PERTAHANAN DAN MINIMUM ESSENTIAL FORCE DALAM MENGHADAPI ANCAMAN NON MILITER." *Citizen : Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin Indonesia* (2022).
- Rusydi, M., and Emil Radhiansyah. "Efek Latihan Super Garuda Shield terhadap Kepentingan Nasional Indonesia." *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional* (2024).
- Saputra, "Peluang Indonesia Dalam Memenuhi Minimum Essential Force (MEF) Melalui Kerjasama Pertahanan Indonesia - Prancis Tahun 2020-2024" (Skripsi Sarjana, Universitas Sriwijaya, 2023)
- Sari, Y. R. Y Indonesian Defence Diplomacy: France as A Partner in Military Defence Revitalization during 2019-2023. *Global Local Interactions Journal of International Relations*, (2023). 3(1), 139-150.

- Sarjito, A. IMPLICATIONS OF THE UKRAINE WAR FOR INDONESIAN MILITARY AND SECURITY COOPERATION: A POLICY ANALYSIS. JDP (JURNAL DINAMIKA PEMERINTAHAN). (2025).
- Scott, D. Indonesia Grapples with the Indo-Pacific: Outreach, Strategic Discourse, and Diplomacy. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*. (2019).
- Shiddiqy, M. A., Anissa Nur Sukma, and Siti Rahmawati. "Perkembangan PT. Pindad Dan Pemenuhan Minimumessential Force (MEF) Dalam Perspektif Keamanan Kawasan Asia Tenggara." *Jurnal Kajian Pemerintah: Journal of Government, Social and Politics* (2025).
- Sianipar, A.T.U. dkk. Strategic Position of Indonesian Waters in Supporting Global Maritime Trade Flows. *Jurnal Cakrawala Akademika*(2025).
- SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) 2024
- Sukadis, Beni. "PERAN DIPLOMASI PERTAHANAN INDONESIA DALAM KERJASAMA PERTAHANAN INDONESIA DAN AMERIKA SERIKAT." *Jurnal Mandala Jurnal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional* (2018).
- Sulistijono, R. K. "Kemandirian PT.PAL Indonesia (Persero) sebagai Industri Strategis Pertahanan Nasional dalam Pembuatan Kapal Selam Diesel Elektrik Klas 209." 3 (2017).
- Surahman D., I Nengah Putra, Khaerudin, & Muhamad Asvial. "Independence of the Indonesian Defense Industry and Challenges in Defense Budget Allocation". *International Journal Of Humanities Education And Social Sciences (IJHESS)* (2024).
- Susdarwono, Endro Tri. "Kebijakan Sinergitas R & D Pemerintah, Komunitas Epistemik, dan Sektor Swasta dalam Percepatan Kemandirian Industri Pertahanan." 2 (2020): 106-130.
- Taufiqah, Taufiqah. "Strategy to provide Minimum Essential Force (MEF) in facing the current challenges of the global economy." *Priviet Social Sciences Journal* (2026).

United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), 10 Desember 1982, Bagian IV mengenai Negara Kepulauan (Pasal 53 tentang Hak Lintas Alur Laut Kepulauan).

Wardana, Achmad, Taufik Budi Cahyana, Hudoro Tahdi, and Y. Yogaswara. "Review of Indonesian government policy in procurement plan of Dassault Rafale fighter aircraft." *Defense and Security Studies* (2022).

Wicaksono, Agus Purwo. "defense cooperation policy, benefits, implications, military preparedness Policy Effectiveness: Indonesia-China Defense Cooperation Study." *Journal of Social Science (JoSS)* 1.3 (2022): 139-152.

Widyaningrum, G. P., Sari, S., & Ginanjar, Y. ANALISIS KEPENTINGAN PRANCIS DALAM KERJA SAMA PERTAHANAN DENGAN INDONESIA PADA TAHUN 2020–2022. *Diplomacy and Global Security Journal: Jurnal Mahasiswa Magister Hubungan Internasional*, (2024). 1(1).

Wijayanti, A. "Pengaruh Kepentingan Nasional Dalam Pelaksanaan Politik Luar Negeri Bebas Aktif." *Kybernology : Journal of Government Studies* (2022).

Wiranegara CT, Pandjaitan MB, Syarifudin M, Prameswari N. Memperkuat Maritime Domain Awareness di ALKI I: Suatu Kajian Atas Kontribusi Strategis Pesawat Patroli CN-235-220 MPA. *Reslaj: Religion Education Social Laa Roiba Journal*. 2025.

Yesi Riana Yusnita Sari. Universitas Kristen Indonesia. Indonesian Defence Diplomacy: France as A Partner in Military Defence Revitalization during *nternasional*, 26(2), 99-122.

Yudha, R., Simatupang, H., & Susanto, T. Efektivitas Perencanaan Alat Utama Sistem Persenjataan dalam Memenuhi Kebutuhan Pokok Tentara Nasional Indonesia. *Journal of Education, Humaniora and Social Sciences (JEHSS)*. (2024).