

Digital Repository Universitas Jember

REGIONALISME DALAM PUSARAN GLOBALISME DAN NASIONALISME



Suyani Indriastuti
Abubakar Eby Hara
Agus Trihartono

Regionalisme dalam Pusaran Globalisme dan Nasionalisme

Suyani Indriastuti

Abubakar Eby Hara

Agus Trihartono



Regionalisme dalam Pusaran Globalisme dan Nasionalisme

Penulis:

Suyani Indriastuti

Abubakar Eby Hara

Agus Trihartono

ISBN: 978-623-6916-18-6

Editor:

Kholid Rosyidi MN

Fikry Zuledy Pamungkas

Desain Sampul dan Tata Letak:

KHD Production

Penerbit:

KHD Production

Redaksi

CV KHD Production

Jl Kalianyar Selatan RT019 RW004 Tamanan Bondowoso

Tlp 082282813311

Email: khdproduction7@gmail.com

Web: Khdproduction.blogspot.com

Cetakan pertama, Desember 2020

Hak Cipta dilindungi undang-undang

Dilarang memperbanyak buku ini dalam bentuk apapun tanpa ijin tertulis dari penerbit dan/atau pemegang hak cipta.

KATA PENGANTAR

Puji syukur kehadiran Allah SWT, shalawat serta salam kami curahkan kepada Nabi Muhammad SAW. Berkat rahmat, petunjuk serta karunia-Nya akhirnya kami dapat menyelesaikan penulisan buku yang berjudul “Regionalisme dalam Pusaran Globalisme dan Nasionalisme”. Tujuan penulisan buku ini untuk memperkaya kajian-kajian regionalisme dalam ilmu hubungan internasional.

Dalam kesempatan ini kami ingin mengucapkan terima kasih kepada beberapa pihak yang telah mendukung penulisan buku ini, antara lain: Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia dan Universitas Jember khususnya Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat (LP2M) melalui hibah buku teks tahun 2020 dengan Surat Keputusan Rektor Universitas Jember nomor 12960/UN25/LT/2020. Kami juga berterima kasih kepada Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Jember, Center for Research in Social Science and Humanities (C-RiSSH) Universitas Jember serta semua pihak yang tidak dapat kami sebutkan satu per satu.

Terakhir, harapan besar kami buku ini dapat membawa kontribusi positif bagi dunia akademik maupun. Jika terdapat kekeliruan di beberapa bagian buku ini, penulis akan melakukan revisi.

Jember, Desember 2020

Tim Penulis

DAFTAR SINGKATAN

ADMM	: ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting
AEC	: ASEAN Economic Community
APEC	: Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
APT	: ASEAN Plus Three
ARF	: ASEAN Regional Forum
ARF	: ASEAN Regional Forum
ASCC	: ASEAN Socio Cultural Community
ASEAN	: Association of Southeast Asians Nations
ASEAN PMC	: ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference
ASEM	: Asia Europe Meeting
Brexit	: British Exits
CFSP	: Common Foreign and Security Policy
CJEU	: European Court of Justice
CJEU	: European Court of Justice of Europe Union
CLMV	: Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, dan Vietnam
CM	: Council of Minister
CSCA	: Council for Security and Cooperation in Asia
CSCE	: Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe
DSM	: Dispute Settlement Mechanisms
EAGGF	: the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund
EAS	: East Asia Summit
EC	: European Community
ECB	: European Central Bank/
ECSC	: European Coal and Steel Community
ECSC	: European Coal and Steel Community
EDF	: Cohesion Fund, the European Development Fund
EEC	: European Economic Community
EFTA	: European Free Trade Association
ERDF	: European Regional, Development Fund
ESF	: European Social Fund
Euratom	: European Atomic Energy Community



FDI	: Foreign Direct Investment
FIFG	: Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance
FOIP	: Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy
GATS	: General Agreement on Trade in Service
GATT	: General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
HAM	: Hak Asasi Manusia
HI	: Hubungan Internasional
IBRD	: International Bank of Reconstruction and Development
ICJ	: International Court of Justice
IGC	: Intergovernmental Conference
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
ITO	: International Trade Organization
JIM	: Jakarta Informal Meetings
MAPHILINDO	: Malaysia-the Philippines-Indonesia
MFN	: Most-favored Nations
MNC	: Multinational Corporations
NAFTA	: North America Free Trade Agreement
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCR	: Neo-Classical Realism
NRA	: New Regional Approach
NTMs	: Non-Tariff Measures
PJCCM	: Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters
PTA	: Preferential Trade Area
QMV	: Qualified Majority Voting
RTA	: Regional Trade Agreement
SADC	: Southern Africa Development Community
SEANWFZ	: Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone
TFEU	: Treaty of Functional Europe Union
TRIPs	: Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights
UKIP	: United Kingdom Independence Party
UNTAC	: United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
WOA	: World Order Approach
WTO	: World Trade Organization

ZOPFAN : Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality



DAFTAR ISI

HALAMAN JUDUL	i
KATA PENGANTAR	iv
DAFTAR SINGKATAN	v
DAFTAR ISI	viii
DAFTAR GAMBAR DAN TABEL	xi
BAB I PENDAHULUAN.....	1
1.1. Signifikansi Penulisan Buku.....	1
1.2. Pengertian Kawasan (<i>Region</i>) dan Regionalisme.....	3
1.3. Evolusi Regionalisme: <i>Old Regionalism</i> dan <i>New Regionalism</i> .	10
1.4. Pendekatan Ekonomi Politik Regionalisme.....	12
1.5. Struktur Buku.....	15
DAFTAR PUSTAKA	18
BAB II TEORI INTEGRASI.....	20
2.1. Pendahuluan.....	20
2.2. Perkembangan Teori Integrasi Regional	20
2.3. Fungsionalisme dan Neofungsionalisme	22
2.4. Intergovernmentalisme	27
2.5. Liberal Institusionalisme	30
2.6. Neoliberal Institusionalisme	32
2.7. Konstruktivisme dan Integrasi.....	35
2.8. Teori Integrasi Kritis: <i>World Order Approach</i> (WOA) dan <i>New Regional Approach</i> (NRA).....	37
2.9. Post-Fungsionalisme.....	40
2.10. Penutup	41
DAFTAR PUSTAKA	45
BAB III GLOBALISME, REGIONALISME, DAN NASIONALISME	51
3.1. Globalisme.....	51
3.1.1 Diskursus tentang Globalisme dan Globalisasi	51
3.1.2 Globalisasi dan Pasar Bebas (<i>Free Trade/ Laissez Faire</i>)	54
3.1.3 Regionalisme dan Globalisme.....	57
3.2. Nasionalisme.....	58

3.2.1 Diskursus tentang Nasionalisme.....	58
3.2.2 Nasionalisme Ekonomi dan Proteksionisme	61
3.2.3 Regionalisme dan Nasionalisme	68
3.3 Penutup	70
DAFTAR PUSTAKA	73
BAB IV GLOBALISASI, WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION (WTO) DAN REGIONALISME	78
4.1 Pendahuluan.....	78
4.2 Institusi Liberalisme Global: dari GATT ke WTO.....	78
4.3 Globalisasi Ekonomi melalui WTO.....	83
4.4 Ketentuan WTO tentang Regionalisme	86
4.5 Penutup	91
DAFTAR PUSTAKA	93
BAB V REGIONALISME UNI EROPA DAN BRITISH EXIT (BREXIT)	95
5.1 Pendahuluan.....	95
5.2 Sejarah dan Proses Integrasi Eropa.....	96
Tahap I: Pembentukan ECSC, EEC, dan Euratom.....	97
Tahap 2: Pembentukan European Community (EC).....	101
Tahap 3: Pembentukan dan Perkembangan Uni Eropa	105
5.3 Institusi Uni Eropa	114
5.4 Hubungan Uni Eropa dengan WTO	117
5.5 Hubungan Uni Eropa dengan Negara Anggotanya	120
5.6 Brexit: Regionalisme vs Nasionalisme?	124
5.7 Penutup	127
DAFTAR PUSTAKA	129
BAB VI MENUJU KOMUNITAS ASEAN: PERJALANAN AMBISIUS YANG RAGU-RAGU?.....	135
6.1 Pendahuluan.....	135
6.2 Kelahiran ASEAN	139
6.3 Merespons dinamika Pasca Perang Dingin.....	144
6.3.1 Forum Regional ASEAN (ARF)	151
6.3.2 Zona Bebas Senjata Nuklir Asia Tenggara (SEANWFZ).....	153

6.4	Rasionalitas Perluasan Anggota	157
6.5	Menuju Masyarakat ASEAN: Rebound Pasca Krisis.....	157
6.5.1	Krisis Ekonomi dan kebutuhan ASEAN untuk tetap solid....	158
6.5.2	Semangat Baru nan Ambisius	161
6.5.3	Warisan masa lalu yang terlalu kuat.....	163
6.5.4	Nilai Bersama yang masih lemah	166
6.5.5	ASEAN Way mulai usang?.....	169
6.5.6	Dilema Prinsip Kedaulatan dan Non-Interferensi	170
6.6	Penutup	174
	DAFTAR PUSTAKA.....	176
BAB VII ASEAN DALAM PUSARAN GLOBAL SEJAK ERA PERANG DINGIN SAMPAI ERA INDO-PASIFIK.....		
7.1	Pendahuluan.....	181
7.2	Tinjauan Pustaka.....	183
7.3	Posisi ASEAN dalam Tarikan Eksternal sejak Era Perang Dingin sampai Era Indo-Pasifik.....	188
7.3.1	Posisi ASEAN pada Masa Perang Dingin.....	188
7.3.2	Posisi ASEAN pada Masa Pasca Perang Dingin.....	191
7.3.3	Peranan ASEAN pada Era Indo-Pasifik.....	195
7.4	Penutup	199
	DAFTAR PUSTAKA.....	201
BAB VIII KESIMPULAN		
INDEKS.....		
TENTANG PENULIS		

DAFTAR TABEL DAN GAMBAR

Tabel 4.1 Putaran Perundingan GATT.....	81
Gambar 4.1 Mekanisme Transparansi Regionalisme WTO.....	89
Gambar 7.1 Proses Kebijakan Luar Negeri.....	184



DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Beck, U. (2000). *What Is Globalisation* (1st ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Buzan, B. (2008). People, States & Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the post-Cold War Era (introducción y capítulo 10). *Relaciones Internacionales: Revista Académica Cuatrimestral de Publicación Electrónica*.
- Cohen, B. J. (2003). Are monetary unions inevitable? *International Studies Perspectives*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1528-3577.403004>
- Dreher, A., Gaston, N., & Martens, P. (2008). Measuring Globalisation. In *Measuring Globalisation*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-74069-0>
- Fawcett, L. (2008). Regionalism in World Politics: Past and Present. In *Elements of Regional Integration*. <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845210254-13>
- Greenfield, L. (2012). Nationalism. In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470670590.wbeog415>
- Hettne, B. (2005). Beyond the “new” regionalism. *New Political Economy*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563460500344484>
- Hurrell, A. (1995). Explaining the resurgence of regionalism in world politics. *Review of International Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210500117954>
- Hveem, H. (2003). The Regional Project in Global Governance. In *Theories of New Regionalism*. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781403938794_5

- Manoli, P. (2013). The dynamics of black sea subregionalism. In *The Dynamics of Black Sea Subregionalism*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2012.743706>
- Mansfield, E. D., & Milner, H. V. (1997). The Political Economy of Regionalism: An Overview. *The Political Economy of Regionalism*.
- Mittelman, J. H. (2000). *The Globalization Syndrome: Transformation and Resistance* (1st ed.). Retrieved from
<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/33170>
- Polanyi, K. (1944). The great transformation: Economic and political origins of our time. In *New York: Rinehart*.
- Polanyi, Karl, Stiglitz, J. E., & Block, F. (1944). *The Great Transformation The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* Foreword By. Retrieved from www.beacon.org
- Schrijver, F. (2006). Regionalism after Regionalisation. In *Regionalism after Regionalisation*. <https://doi.org/10.5117/9789056294281>
- Sderbaum, F. (2015). Early, Old, New and Comparative Regionalism: The Scholarly Development of the Field. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2687942>
- Telò, M. (2016). European Union and New Regionalism. In *European Union and New Regionalism*.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315581026>
- Väyrynen, R. (2003). Regionalism: Old and new. *International Studies Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1521-9488.501002>
- WTO. (2020). Regional trade agreements. diakses pada 9 Desember, 2020, from WTO website:
<http://rtais.wto.org/UI/publicsummarytable.aspx>

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Alexandrescu, M. (2007). David Mitran: From Federalism to Functionalism. *Transylvanian Review*, XVI(I), 20–33.
- Awesti, A. (2009). The Myth of Eurosclerosis: European Integration in the 1970s. *L'Europe En Formation*.
<https://doi.org/10.3917/eufor.353.0039>
- Aybet, G. (2016). The dynamics of European security cooperation, 1945-91. In *The Dynamics of European Security Cooperation, 1945-91*.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230598096>
- Badie, B., Berg-Schlosser, D., & Morlino, L. (2011). International Encyclopedia of Political Science Bertrand Badie. In *International encyclopedia of political science*.
- Balassa, B. (1994). The Theory of Economic Integration: An Introduction. In *The European Union*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-23984-9_15
- Baughn, C. C., & Yaprak, A. (1996). Economic Nationalism: Conceptual and Empirical Development. *Political Psychology*.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3792137>
- Behraves, M. (2011). Constructivism: An Introduction. diakses pada 1 Maret 2020, from E-International Relations Students website:
<https://www.e-ir.info/2011/02/03/constructivism-an-introduction/>
- Checkel, J. T. (2006). Constructivist approaches to European integration. *Handbook of European Union Politics*.
- Collard-Wexler, S. (2006). Integration under Anarchy: Neorealism and the European Union. *European Journal of International Relations*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066106067349>

- Eder, K. (2009). A theory of collective identity making sense of the debate on a “European identity.” *European Journal of Social Theory*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431009345050>
- Gilpin, R., & Gilpin, J. M. (2011). Global political economy: Understanding the international economic order. In *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*.
- Gladding, I. (2018). Rise of Economic Nationalism and Its Implications | Faculty Forum. diakses pada 1 March 2020, from <https://www.lewisu.edu/experts/wordpress/index.php/rise-of-economic-nationalism-and-its-implications/>
- Greenfield, L. (2012). Nationalism. In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470670590.wbeog415>
- Grieco, J. M. (2018). Anarchy and the limits of cooperation: a realist critique of the newest liberal institutionalism. In *The Nature of International Law*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315202006-7>
- Hayek, F. A., & Caldwell, B. (2014). The road to serfdom: Text and documents: The definitive edition. In *The Road to Serfdom: Text and Documents: The Definitive Edition*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315728124>
- Hellmann, G., & Wolf, R. (1993). Neorealism, neoliberal institutionalism, and the future of NATO. *Security Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636419309347537>
- Hitchcock, W. I., & Moravcsik, A. (1999). The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht. *The American Historical Review*. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2649481>
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2009). A postfunctionalist theory of European integration: From permissive consensus to constraining dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123408000409>

- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2019). Grand theories of European integration in the twenty-first century. *Journal of European Public Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1569711>
- Hutchinson, M. (2011). Functionalism and resource shortage: Historically, how has Functionalist Theory been applied to resolve competition between political bodies and can this model be used today to address contemporary problems of scarce natural resources? *Journal of Environmental Studies and Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13412-011-0014-3>
- Jensen, C. S. (2019). 4. Neo-functionalism. In *European Union Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hepl/9780198806530.003.0004>
- Jervis, R. (1978). Cooperation under the Security Dilemma. *World Politics*, 30(2), 167–214. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2009958?seq=1>
- Jervis, R. (2011). Cooperation under the Security Dilemma. In Y. M. L. Christopher W. Hughes (Ed.), *Security Studies, a reader* (1st ed., hal. 137–141). London: Routledge.
- Johnson, T., & Heiss, A. (2019). Liberal institutionalism. In *International Organization and Global Governance*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315301914-11>
- Keohane, R. (2011). Neoliberal Institutionalisme. In Christopher W. Hughes & Yew Meng Lai (Ed.), *Security Studies: a reader* (1st ed., hal. 157–164). London.
- Keohane, R. O. (2012). Twenty years of institutional liberalism. *International Relations*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117812438451>
- Keohane, R. O. (2018). *International Institutions And State Power: Essays in International Relations Theory* (1st ed.). New York: Rotledge.

- Knight, W. A., & Knight, W. A. (2000). Rationalist and Reflectivist Approaches to Multilateralism and Governance. In *A Changing United Nations*. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780333984420_2
- Kowalski, A. M. (2018). Theoretical Aspects of Regional Disintegration and Its Consequences for International Competitiveness. In *Brexit and the Consequences for International Competitiveness*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-03245-6_1
- Kuhn, T. (2019). Grand theories of European integration revisited: does identity politics shape the course of European integration? *Journal of European Public Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1622588>
- Kurki, M., & Kurki, M. (2009). Reflectivist and constructivist approaches in International Relations: more cases of Humeanism. In *Causation in International Relations*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511491481.005>
- Long, D., & Ashworth, L. M. (1999). Working for Peace: the Functional Approach, Functionalism and Beyond. In *New Perspectives on International Functionalism*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-27055-2_1
- McAnulla, S. (2002). Structure and Agency. In *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-230-62889-2_14
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (1994). The False Promise of International Institutions. *International Security*. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539078>
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (2011). The False of International Institutions. In Christopher W. Hughes; Yew Meng Lai (Ed.), *Security Studies: a reader a reader* (1st ed.). Retrieved from <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9780203422144>
- Mittelman, J. H. (1996). Rethinking the “new regionalism” in the context of globalization. *Global Governance*. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-002-02-90000004>

- Morgenthau, H. J.. (2005). A Realist Theory of International Politics. In *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*.
- Okafor, J. C., & Aniche, E. T. (2017). Deconstructing Neo-Functionalism In The Quest For a Paradigm Shift In african Integration: Post-Neo-Functionalism and The Prognostication of The Proposed Continental Free Trade area In africa. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. <https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-2202016072>
- Polanyi, K. (1944). The great transformation: Economic and political origins of our time. In *New York: Rinehart*.
- Schimmelfennig, F. (2010). Integration Theory. In *Research Agendas in EU Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230279445_3
- Schimmelfennig, F., & Schimmelfennig, F. (2018). Regional Integration Theory. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.599>
- Söderbaum, F. (2003). Introduction: Theories of New Regionalism. In *Theories of New Regionalism*. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781403938794_1
- Warleigh-Lack, A. (2006). Towards a conceptual framework for regionalisation: Bridging ‘new regionalism’ and ‘integration theory.’ *Review of International Political Economy*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290600950639>
- Wendt, A. E. (1987). The agent-structure problem in international relations theory. *International Organization*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002081830002751X>
- White, A. (2012). Neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism: born of the same approach? Diakses pada 25 Februari 2020, from E-International Relations Students website: <https://www.e-ir.info/2012/06/11/neorealism-and-neoliberal-institutionalism-born-of-the-same-approach/>

Zajontz, T., & Leysens, A. (2015). Regionalism Revised: A Critical-reflectivist Framework for Engaging the Changing Nature of Developing Regionalisms in Africa. *Politikon*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2015.1104465>



DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Baughn, C. C., & Yaprak, A. (1996). Economic Nationalism: Conceptual and Empirical Development. *Political Psychology*.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3792137>
- Beck, U. (2000). *What Is Globalisation* (1st ed.). Cambridge: Polity Presss.
- Bieber, F. (2018). Is Nationalism on the Rise? Assessing Global Trends. *Ethnopolitics*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2018.1532633>
- Caporaso, J. A. (2000). Changes in the Westphalian order: Territory, public authority, and sovereignty. *International Studies Review*.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1521-9488.00203>
- Chang, H. J. (2006). Kicking away the ladder: The “real” history of free trade. In *Globalization and the Myths of Free Trade: History, Theory, and Empirical Evidence*.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203966389>
- Cox, R. W., & Sinclair, T. J. (2012). Global perestroika (1992). In *Approaches to World Order*.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511607905.016>
- Crozet, C. (2018). Globalization and Culture. In *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance*.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-20928-9_1319
- Dreher, A., Gaston, N., & Martens, P. (2008). Measuring Globalisation. In *Measuring Globalisation*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-74069-0>
- Encyclopedia.com. (2020). Globalism and Globalization. diakses pada 9 September, 2020, from Encyclopedia.com website:
<https://www.encyclopedia.com/science/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/globalism-and-globalization>

- Fetzer, T. (2020). Nationalism and Economy. *Nationalities Papers*.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2019.123>
- Friedman, T. (2000). The Lexus and the olive tree: Understanding globalization. In *Journal of Product Innovation Management*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443710373954>
- Fukuyama, F. (2015). The end of history? In *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*.
<https://doi.org/10.5840/tpm20022019>
- Gellner, E. (1983). Nations and Nationalism. In *New Perspectives on the Past*.
- Giddens, A. (2012). The consequences of modernity. *Contemporary Sociological Theory*.
- Gilpin, R. (2016). The political economy of international relations. In *The Political Economy of International Relations*.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315254166-8>
- Gilpin, R., & Gilpin, J. M. (2011). Global political economy: Understanding the international economic order. In *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*.
- Gladding, I. (2018). Rise of Economic Nationalism and Its Implications | Faculty Forum. diakses pada 1 Maret 2020, from
<https://www.lewisu.edu/experts/wordpress/index.php/rise-of-economic-nationalism-and-its-implications/>
- Greenfield, L. (2012). Modernity and Nationalism. In *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*.
<https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848608061.n14>
- Greenfield, L. (2012a). Nationalism. In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470670590.wbeog415>

- Greenfield, L. (2012b). Nationalism. In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470670590.wbeog415>
- Grosby, S. (2005). A Very Short Introduction - Nationalism. In *Oxford University Press*.
- Hayek, F. A., & Caldwell, B. (2014). The road to serfdom: Text and documents: The definitive edition. In *The Road to Serfdom: Text and Documents: The Definitive Edition*.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315728124>
- Helleiner, E. (2002). Economic nationalism as a challenge to economic liberalism? Lessons from the 19th century. *International Studies Quarterly*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2478.00235>
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2009). A postfunctionalist theory of European integration: From permissive consensus to constraining dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science*.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123408000409>
- Jeffrey A. Frieden & David A. Lake. (2000). *International Political Economy: Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth*. London: Rotledge.
- Kiely, R. (2005). *The Clash of Globalisation: Neoliberalism, the Third Way, and Anti-globalisation*. Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV.
- Malesevic, S. (1999). Globalism and nationalism: Which one is bad? *Development in Practice*, 9(5), 579–583.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09614529952684>
- Michalopoulos, C., & Michalopoulos, C. (2017). The Many Faces of Globalization. In *Aid, Trade and Development*.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65861-2_7
- Miscevic, N. (2020). Nationalism. Retrieved from The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2020 Edition) website:

<https://plato.stanford.edu/cgi-bin/encyclopedia/archinfo.cgi?entry=nationalism>

Mitropolitski, S. (2011). Weber's Definition of the State as an Ethnographic Tool for Understanding the Contemporary Political Science State of the Discipline. *Canadian Political Science Association*.

Nakano, T. (2004). Theorising economic nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1354-5078.2004.00164.x>

Nye, J. (2002). *Globalism Versus Globalization What are the different spheres of globalism-and how are they affected by globalization? Rethinking Globalization, Globalist Perspective 44*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobalist.com/globalism-versus-globalization/1/3>

Oatley, T. (2015). International political economy: Fifth edition. In *International Political Economy: Fifth Edition*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315630878>

Özkirimli, U., & Özkirimli, U. (2017). Discourses and Debates on Nationalism. In *Theories of Nationalism*. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-41116-7_2

Polanyi, K. (1944). The great transformation: Economic and political origins of our time. In *New York: Rinehart*.

Polanyi, Karl, Stiglitz, J. E., & Block, F. (1944). *The Great Transformation The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time Foreword By*. Retrieved from www.beacon.org

Pryke, S. (2012). Economic Nationalism: Theory, History and Prospects. *Global Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1758-5899.2011.00146.x>

Puffer, S. M. (1999). Global statesman: Mikhail Gorbachev on globalization. *Academy of Management Perspectives*. <https://doi.org/10.5465/ame.1999.1567269>

Saval, N. (2017). Globalisation: the rise and fall of an idea that swept the world. 10 September 2020 dari The Guardian website:
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/14/globalisation-the-rise-and-fall-of-an-idea-that-swept-the-world>

Stack, L. (2016). Globalism: A Far-Right Conspiracy Theory Buoyed by Trump. diakses pada 10 September 2020 dari The New York Times website:
<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/15/us/politics/globalism-right-trump.html>

Stiglitz, J. E. (Joseph E. (2002). Globalization and its discontents / Joseph E. Stiglitz. In *Globalization and its discontents*.



DAFTAR PUSTAKA

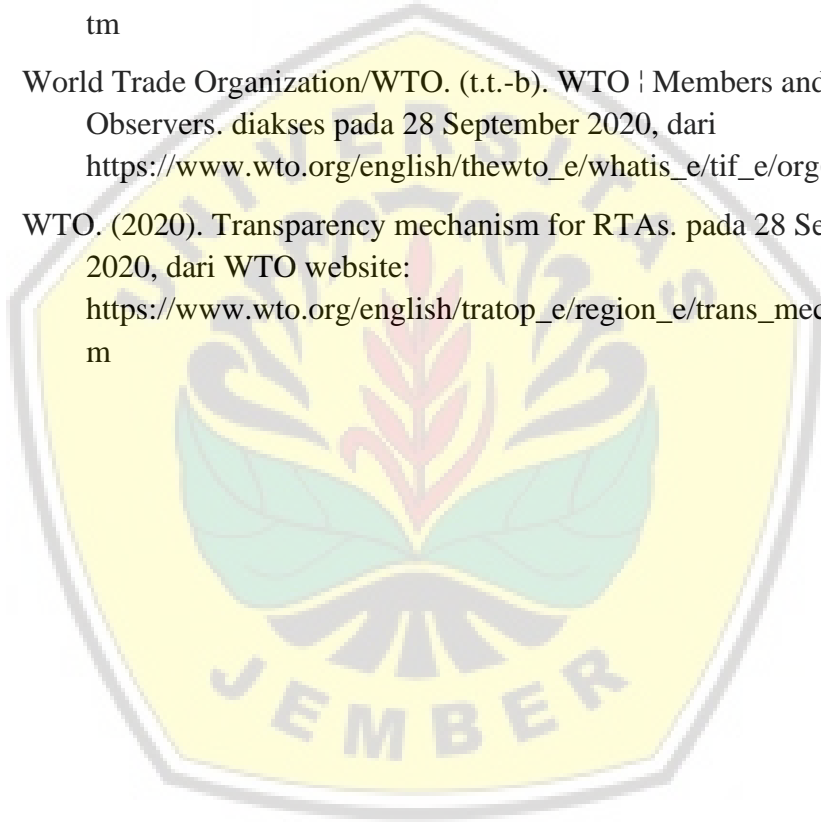
- Blutstein, H. (2018). Globalization and World Trade Organization. In *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-20928-9_3193
- Hoekman, B., & Kostecki, M. (2003). The Political Economy of the World Trading System. In *The Political Economy of the World Trading System*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/019829431x.001.0001>
- Hoekman, B. M., & Kostecki, M. M. (2001). The political economy of the world trading system: The WTO and Beyond. In *Oxford University Press*.
- Jo-Ann Crawford. (2007). a New Transparency Mechanism for Regional Trade Agreements. *Singapore Year Book of International Law and Contributors*.
- Koul, A. K. (2018). Guide to the WTO and GATT. In *Guide to the WTO and GATT*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-2089-7>
- Kumar, M. (2018). Negotiation Dynamics of the WTO. In *Negotiation Dynamics of the WTO*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8842-1>
- Landau, A., & Landau, A. (2001). The GATT/WTO: Instrumentalizing Globalization. In *Redrawing the Global Economy*. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230511361_5
- Shadikhodjaev, S. (2011). Checking RTA compatibility with global trade rules: WTO litigation practice and implications from the transparency mechanism for RTAs. *Journal of World Trade*.
- Urbi, J. (2018). One of the biggest US trade wars of the past had a tragic consequence — here's what happened. pada 28 September 2020, dari from cnbc.com website: <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/04/04/one-of-the-biggest-us-trade-wars-of-the-past-had-a-tragic-consequence--heres-what-happened.html>

William, J. H. (1943). Currency Stabilization: the Keynes and White Plans | Foreign Affairs. pada 28 September 2020, dari Foreign Affairs website: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/1943-07-01/currency-stabilization-keynes-and-white-plans>

World Trade Organization/WTO. (t.t.-a). Fiftieth Anniversary GATT. pada 28 September 2020 dari from WTO website: https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/minist_e/min96_e/chrono.htm

World Trade Organization/WTO. (t.t.-b). WTO | Members and Observers. diakses pada 28 September 2020, dari https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/org6_e.htm

WTO. (2020). Transparency mechanism for RTAs. pada 28 September 2020, dari WTO website: https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/region_e/trans_mecha_e.htm



DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Balassa, B. (1994). The Theory of Economic Integration: An Introduction. In *The European Union*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-23984-9_15
- Beach, D. (2012). The Constitutional Treaty: The Failed Formal Constitutionalisation. In *Designing the European Union*. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230367579_10
- Chochia, A., Troitiño, D. R., Kerikmäe, T., & Shumilo, O. (2018). Enlargement to the UK, the referendum of 1975 and position of margaret thatcher. In *Brexit: History, Reasoning and Perspectives*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73414-9_7
- Cuyvers, A. (2017). The EU Common Market. In A. Ugirashebuja, E.; Ruhangisa, J.E.; Ottervanger, T.R.; Cuyvers (Ed.), *East African Community Law, Institutional, Substantive and Comparative EU Aspects* (pp. 293–302). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Nijhoff.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2020). Marshall Plan | Summary & Significance | Britannica. diakses 6 Desember 2020, dari Marshall Plan website: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Marshall-Plan>
- EUR-Lex. (n.d.-a). Common commercial policy. Retrieved December 6, 2020, from EUR-Lex - a20000 - EN - EUR-Lex website: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM%3Aa20000>
- EUR-Lex. (n.d.-b). *TREATY ESTABLISHING A SINGLE COUNCIL AND A SINGLE COMMISSION*. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:11965F&from=LV>
- EUR-Lex. (2017). Treaty of Rome (EEC). Retrieved December 6, 2020, from Summaries of EU Legislation website: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal->

content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM%3Axy0023

EUR-Lex. (2018). Single European Act. Retrieved December 9, 2020, from Summaries of EU Legislation website: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:xy0027>

European Central Bank. (2017). Five things you need to know about the Maastricht Treaty. Retrieved December 10, 2020, from Explainer website: https://www.ecb.europa.eu/explainers/tell-me-more/html/25_years_maastricht.en.html

European Commission. (t.t.). *The Role Of The “Flexibility Clause”: Article 352.*

European Parliament. (t.t.-a). About Parliament. Retrieved December 31, 2020, from European Parliament website: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en>

European Parliament. (t.t.-b). Single European Act. Retrieved December 9, 2020, from The Parliament and the treaties website: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/in-the-past/the-parliament-and-the-treaties/single-european-act>

European Parliament. (t.t.-c). The Treaty of Lisbon. Retrieved December 29, 2020, from Fact Sheets on the European Union website: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/5/the-treaty-of-lisbon>

European Parliament. (2020). Treaty of Rome. Retrieved December 6, 2020, from Treaty of Rome website: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/in-the-past/the-parliament-and-the-treaties/treaty-of-rome>

European Union. (t.t.-a). Council of the European Union. Retrieved December 31, 2020, from European Union website: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies/council-eu_en

European Union. (t.t.-b). Court of Justice of the European Union

(CJEU). Retrieved December 31, 2020, from European Union website: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies/court-justice_en

European Union. (t.t.-c). European Commission. Retrieved December 31, 2020, from European Union website: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies/european-commission_en

European Union. (t.t.-d). European Council. Retrieved December 31, 2020, from European Union website: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies/european-council_en

European Union. (t.t.-e). European Parliament | European Union. Retrieved December 31, 2020, from European Union website: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies/european-parliament_en

European Union. (t.t.-f). Institutions and bodies. Retrieved December 31, 2020, from European Union website: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies_en

European Union. (2020). The Schuman Declaration – 9 May 1950 European Union. Retrieved December 6, 2020, from The Schuman Declaration– 9 May 1950 website: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration_en

Felsenthal, D. S., & Machover, M. (2001). The Treaty of Nice and qualified majority voting. *Social Choice and Welfare*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s003550100137>

History.com. (2020). Marshall Plan - HISTORY. Retrieved December 6, 2020, from Marshall Plan website: <https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/marshall-plan-1>

Igler, W. (2020). The European Union and the World Trade Organization. Retrieved January 1, 2021, from European Parliament website:

<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/161/the-european-union-and-the-world-trade-organization>

Jacques van Ypersele de Strihou. (1979). *European Monetary System And Its International Implications*. Retrieved from

<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/5083793.pdf>

Koller, V., Kopf, S., & Miglbauer, M. (2019). Introduction. In *Discourses of Brexit*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351041867-1>

Kuhn, T. (2019). Grand theories of European integration revisited: does identity politics shape the course of European integration? *Journal of European Public Policy*.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1622588>

Lane, J.-E., & Ersson, S. (2002). The New Institutional Politics: performance and Outcomes. In *Routledge Taylor & Francis Group*.

Laursen, F. (2012). The Treaty of Nice: The Inadequate Preparation of Enlargement. In *Designing the European Union*.

https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230367579_9

Matthes, H. (1983). The European Monetary System and International Currency Questions. *Intereconomics*, 18(2), 60-64.

<https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF02928486>

Mazzucelli, C. (2012). The Treaty of Maastricht: Designing the European Union. In *Designing the European Union*.

https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230367579_7

McKay, C. C. (1987). The common transport policy of the EEC. *Intereconomics*, 22, 290-296.

<https://doi.org/http://doi.org/10.1007/BF02933171>

McKenzie, F. (2010). The GATT-EEC Collision: The challenge of Regional Trade Blocs to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 1950-67. *International History Review*.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2010.489752>

- Montero, C. C. (2015). *Flexibility Mechanisms in the Lisbon Treaty Study*. Retrieved from [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536474/IPOL_STU\(2015\)536474_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536474/IPOL_STU(2015)536474_EN.pdf)
- O'Toole, F. (2016). Brexit is being driven by English nationalism. And it will end in self-rule. Retrieved January 2, 2021, from The Guardian website: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/18/england-eu-referendum-brexit>
- Putnam, R. D. (1988). Diplomacy and domestic politics: The logic of two-level games. *International Organization*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300027697>
- Schimmelfennig, F., & Schimmelfennig, F. (2018). Regional Integration Theory. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.599>
- Schuman, R. (1994). The Schuman Declaration. In *The European Union*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-23984-9_3
- Troitiño, D. R., Kerikmäe, T., & Chochia, A. (2018). De Gaulle and the British membership in the European communities. In *Brexit: History, Reasoning and Perspectives*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73414-9_5
- UK in a changing Europe. (2020). What is the Treaty of Rome? | UK in a changing Europe. Retrieved December 6, 2020, from What is the Treaty of Rome? website: <https://ukandeu.ac.uk/the-facts/what-is-the-treaty-of-rome/>
- Vanhoonacker, S. (2012). The Amsterdam Treaty: Modest Reforms. In *Designing the European Union*. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230367579_8
- Vos, E., & Weimer, M. (2017). Differentiated integration or uniform regime? National derogations from EU internal market measures.

In *Between Flexibility and Disintegration: The Trajectory of Differentiation in EU Law*.

<https://doi.org/10.4337/9781783475896.00020>

Wellings, B. (2020). Brexit, nationalism and disintegration in the European Union and the United Kingdom. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2020.1753664>

World Trade Organization/WTO. (t.t.). Fiftieth Anniversary GATT. Retrieved January 1, 2021, from WTO website:

https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/minist_e/min96_e/chrono.htm

WTO. (t.t.-a). Regional Trade Agreements - GATT Article XXIV.

Retrieved January 1, 2021, from WTO | website:

https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/region_e/region_art24_e.htm

WTO. (t.t.-b). Regional Trade Agreements - Transparency mechanism for RTAs. Retrieved January 1, 2021, from WTO website:

https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/region_e/trans_mecha_e.htm

WTO. (2020). Trade policy review -European Union (formerly EC)2020 - Concluding Remarks by the Chairperson. Retrieved January 1, 2021, from WTO website:

https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/tpr_e/tp495_crc_e.htm

Ziller, J. (2012). The Treaty of Lisbon: Constitutional Treaty, Episode II. In *Designing the European Union*.

https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230367579_11

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Acharya, A. (1991). 'The Association of Southeast Asian Nations: 'Security Community' or 'Defense Community'?' *Pacific Affairs*, 64:2. Hal.159-178.
- Acharya, A. (2001). Constructing a Security Community in the Southeast Asia, London and New York: Routledge. Hiro Katsumata, Reconstruction of Diplomatic Norms in Southeast Asia: The Case for Strict Adherence to the ASEAN Way, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Volume 25, Number 1, April 2003, hal. 106-108.
- Acharya, A. (2004). 'What Is a Community?', in ISEAS Report, Towards Realizing an ASEAN Community: A Brief Report on the ASEAN Community Roundtable, *ISEAS Publication*, Singapore. hal. 227-8.
- Acharya, A. and Richard Stubb. (1996). *The Perils of Prosperity?: Security and Economic Growth in the ASEAN Region*, in M. Jane Davis (ed), Security Issues in the Post Cold War World, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK-Brookfield, United States, hal. 99-103.
- Alagappa, M. (1991). Regional Arrangements and International Security in Southeast Asia: Going Beyond ZOPFAN, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 12, no. 4 (March 1991), hal. 269–305.
- Alatas, A. (5 January 2001). *ASEAN plus Three: Equals Peace Plus Prosperity*, ISEAS paper No. 2, delivered on 5 January 2001 at the 2001 Regional Outlook Forum organized by ISEAS, Singapore, hal. 7.
- Andrea, F. (1996) Peran Keamanan ASEAN Regional Forum (The Security Role of the ASEAN Regional Forum), in Bantarto Bandoro (ed) (1996), *ibid.*, hal. 76-8.

- Anggoro, K. (1996). *Kawasan Bebas Senjata Nuklir Asia Tenggara: Relevansi, Peluang dan Kendala Implementasi (the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone: Relevance, Opportunity and Implementation Problems)*, in Bantarto Bandoro (ed). hal. 133-37.
- Anonymous. (2001) *Cold War, the Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*. Oxford University Press. Hal. 149-150
- Anthony, M.C. (2003). ASEAN Economic Community, Political and Security Implication, in Hue (2003), *Towards an ASEAN Economic Community by 2020: Vision or Reality? Institute of South East Asian Studies (ISEAS)*, p. 96.
- Anwar, D.F. (2005). *ASEAN Experiences of Dialogue Partnership and Possibilities of ASEAN-SAARC Cooperation*, in Dewi Fortuna Anwar, *Indonesia at Large: Collected Writing on ASEAN, Foreign Policy, Security and Democratization*, The Habibie Center, Jakarta, p.26.
- ASEAN Declaration, Bangkok, 8 August 1967.
- ASEAN Secretariat. (2010) *ASEAN Security Community Blueprint 2025*. <https://aseanmineaction.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/ASEAN-APSC-Blueprint-2025.pdf>
- Bantarto Bandoro. (1 October 2003). *ASEAN's Collective Leadership, The Jakarta Post*
- Collins, A. (2007). *Forming a Security Community: Lesson from ASEAN*, *International Relations of Asia Pacific*, Vol. 7, No. 2. hal. 203-226.
- Dewi Fortuna Anwar. (2005). *Indonesia Role's in ASEAN*, in Dewi Fortuna Anwar, *Indonesia at Large: Collected Writing on ASEAN, Foreign Policy, Security and Democratisation*, The Habibie Center, Jakarta, hal. 2-3.

- Directorate of Information and Media, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. (2006). Keynote Speech Transcript of Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Dr. N. Hassan Wirajuda on National Seminar Membangun Komunitas ASEAN yang Berpusatkan pada Masyarakat (Building an ASEAN Community: Centered to People), Jakarta, 11 Agustus 2006, available at: <http://www.deplu.go.id/?hotnews_id=1261>, download on August 15, 2006).
- Eng, P. (1999) Transforming ASEAN, the Washington Quarterly, Vol. 22, No.1, hal. 51
- Gates, C. L. and Mya Tan (eds) (2001), ASEAN Enlargement, Impact and Implication, ISEAS, Singapore
- Gupta, S. Benedict Clements, Rina Bhattacharya, and Shamit Chakravarti. (2002). The Elusive Peace Dividend, Finance and Development a quarterly magazine of the IMF, December 2002, Volume 39, Number 4, available at: <<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2002/12/gupta.htm>>.
- Hass, M. (1989), *The Asian Way to Peace: A Story of Regional Cooperation*, Praeger.
- Jusuf Wanandi. (2004). The Security Dimensions of the Asia-Pacific Region in the 1980's, *Centre for Strategic and International Studies*
- Kerr, P., Andrew Mack and Paul Evan. (1994). *the Evolving Security Discourse*, in Mack, Andrew and Ravenhill, John, (Eds) (1994), Pacific Cooperation Building Economic and Security Regimes in the Asia Pacific Region, Allen & Unwin Australia Pty. Ltd., Canberra, hal.: 235-43.
- Khoo, N. (2004). Deconstructing the ASEAN Security Community: A Review Essay, *International Relations of the Asia Pacific*, Vol 4, hal. 35-46

- Kompas. (2003). Menu: Saatnya Indonesia Memimpin ASEAN (Foreign Minister: It's Time for Indonesia to lead ASEAN).
- Krasner, S. D. (2001). *Problematic Sovereignty*, in Stephen D. Krasner (ed), *Problematic Sovereignty: Contested Rule and Political Possibilities*, New York: Columbia University Press. hal. 1-23.
- Leifer, M. (1992). Michael Leifer Responds to Geoffrey Wiseman, *the Pacific Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1992.
- Narine (2006). *ASEAN was part of the anti-communist shell*. See Shaun Narine, the English School and ASEAN, *the Pacific Review*, Vol. 19 No. 2, hal.199.
- Narine, S. (2002). *Explaining ASEAN: Regionalism in Southeast Asia*, Boulder, Lynne Reiner Publishers.
- Peou, S. (2005). 'Merit in Security Community Studies', *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 5, Number 2, hal. 267–274;
- Severino, R. (2004). Toward an ASEAN Security Community, *Trend in Southeast Asia Series*, No. 8, hal. 1-19.
- Trihartono, A. (2016). *The Evolving ASEAN Security Community: Background and Rationales*, Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Weatherbee, D.E (2005) *International Relations in Southeast Asia*, Rowman & Littlefield Publisher. Inc
- William T. Tow. (1994). Changing U.S. Force Levels and Regional Security, in Colin McInnes and Mark G. Rolls (1994), *Post-Cold War Security Issues in the Asia-Pacific Region*, Frank Cass, Essex, England
- Wawancara Amitav Acharya, Kyoto, 10 Januari 2014
- Wawancara Caroline Hernandez, Kyoto, 22 Januari 2015
- Wawancara Rizal Sukma, Jakarta, 12 Desember 2006
- Wawancara Rizal Sukma, Kyoto, 22 Januari 2015



DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Acharya, A. (2005). Do norms and identity matter? Community and power in Southeast Asia's regional order. *The Pacific Review*, 18(1), 95–118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512740500047199>
- Acharya, A. (2009). *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203939239>
- Acharya, A. (2017). The Myth of ASEAN Centrality? *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, 39(2), 273–279. Retrieved from <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/667776/pdf>
- Acharya, A. (2018). *Constructing Global Order*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316756768>
- Aksu, E. (2010). *The United Nations, Intra-State Peacekeeping and Normative Change*. Manchester University Press.
- Alagappa, M. (1993). Regionalism and the quest for security: Asean and the Cambodian conflict. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 47(2), 189–209. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357719308445107>
- ASEAN Secretariat. (2008). *The ASEAN Charter*. Jakarta. Retrieved from <https://asean.org/storage/images/archive/publications/ASEAN-Charter.pdf>
- Caballero-Anthony, M. (2014). Understanding ASEAN's centrality: bases and prospects in an evolving regional architecture. *The Pacific Review*, 27(4), 563–584. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2014.924227>
- Chew, M. (1994). Human Rights in Singapore: Perceptions and Problems. *Asian Survey*, 34(11), 933–948. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2645345>

- Diesen, G. (2015). Inter-Democratic Security Institutions and the Security Dilemma: A Neoclassical Realist Model of the EU and NATO after the End of the Soviet Union. *East European Quarterly*, 43(2–3), 137–161. Retrieved from https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/10b6/713d6d65f12bbd1f6409f41c247a28520094.pdf?_ga=2.163839223.991168011.1569540100-1302577521.1569540100
- Eaton, S., & Stubbs, R. (2006). Is ASEAN powerful? Neo-realist versus constructivist approaches to power in Southeast Asia ¹. *The Pacific Review*, 19(2), 135–155. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512740500473148>
- Fukuyama, F. (2006). *The end of history and the last man*. Free Press.
- Haacke, J. (2005). Michael Leifer and the balance of power. *The Pacific Review*, 18(1), 43–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512740500047108>
- Hara, A. E. (2000). *The claims of 'Asian values' and 'Asian democracy': some implications for international society, with special attention to Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia*. Australian National University.
- Hara, A. E. (2018). The Concerns and Sustainability of ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR). In *Sustainable Future for Human Security* (pp. 49–59). Singapore: Springer Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-5433-4_4
- Hara, A. E. (2019a). The struggle to uphold a regional human rights regime: the winding role of ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR). *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 62(1). <https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-7329201900111>
- Hara, A. E. (2019b). The struggle to uphold a regional human rights regime: the winding role of ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR). *Revista Brasileira de*

- Política Internacional*, 62(1). <https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-7329201900111>
- He, K. (2007). Indonesia's foreign policy after Soeharto: international pressure, democratization, and policy change. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 8(1), 47–72. <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcm021>
- Howe, B., & Park, M. J. (2017). The Evolution of the “ASEAN Way”: Embracing Human Security Perspectives | APSSR. *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review*, 16(3). Retrieved from <http://apssr.com/volume-16-no-3/the-evolution-of-the-asean-way-embracing-human-security-perspectives/>
- Jackson, R. H. (1990). *Quasi-states : sovereignty, international relations, and the Third World*. Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from <https://www.cambridge.org/id/academic/subjects/politics-international-relations/international-relations-and-international-organisations/quasi-states-sovereignty-international-relations-and-third-world?format=PB>
- Jaipragas, B. (2019, August 17). Military bases to ballistic missiles, what's the target of Trump's Asia strategy? | South China Morning Post. *SCMP*. Retrieved from <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/geopolitics/article/3023190/military-bases-ballistic-missiles-whats-target-trumps-asia>
- Jie, C. (1993). Human rights: ASEAN's new importance to China. *The Pacific Review*, 6(3), 227–237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512749308719043>
- Jones, D. M., & Smith, M. L. R. (2002). ASEAN's Imitation Community - Foreign Policy Research Institute. *Orbis*, 46(1). Retrieved from <https://www.fpri.org/article/2002/01/aseans-imitation-community/>
- Koga, K. (2014). Institutional transformation of ASEAN: ZOPFAN,

- TAC, and the Bali Concord I in 1968–1976. *The Pacific Review*, 27(5), 729–753. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2014.948566>
- Krauthammer, C. (1990). The Unipolar Moment. *Foreign Affairs*, 70(1). Retrieved from <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1991-02-01/unipolar-moment>
- Leifer, M. (1999). The ASEAN peace process: A category mistake. *The Pacific Review*, 12(1), 25–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512749908719276>
- Lobell, S. E., Ripsman, N. M., & Taliaferro, J. W. (2009). *Neoclassical realism, the state, and foreign policy*. Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from <https://www.cambridge.org/id/academic/subjects/politics-international-relations/international-relations-and-international-organisations/neoclassical-realism-state-and-foreign-policy?format=HB&isbn=9780521517058>
- McLellan, B. (2017). *Sustainable future for human security: Society, cities and governance*. *Sustainable Future for Human Security: Society, Cities and Governance*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-5433-4>
- Narine, S. (1998). ASEAN and the Management of Regional Security. *Pacific Affairs*, 71(2), 195. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2760976>
- Natalegawa, M. M. (2013). *An Indonesian Perspective on the Indo-Pacific*. Washington DC. Retrieved from https://sis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/attachments/130516_MartyNatalegawa_Speech.pdf
- Oba, M. (2019). ASEAN's Indo-Pacific Concept and the Great Power Challenge – The Diplomat. *The Diplomat*. Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com/2019/07/aseans-indo-pacific-concept-and-the-great-power-challenge/>

- Parameswaran, P. (2019). Assessing ASEAN's New Indo-Pacific Outlook. *The Diplomat*. Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com/2019/06/assessing-aseans-new-indo-pacific-outlook/>
- Septiari, D. (2019). Singapore “holds back” adoption of ASEAN Indo-Pacific concept. *The Jakarta Post*.
- Singh, H. (1999). Understanding conflict resolution in Cambodia: A neorealist perspective. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 7(1), 41–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185379908434136>
- Sukma, R. (2013, May 28). Insight : Friendship and cooperation the Indo-Pacific: Will a treaty help? *The Jakarta Post*.
- van der Kroef, J. M. (1980). The Indochina Tangle: The Elements of Conflict and Compromise. *Asian Survey*, 20(5), 477–494. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2643903>
- Wicaksana, I. G. W. (2019). Indonesia in the South China Sea: Foreign Policy and Regional Order. *Jurnal Global & Strategis*, 13(2), 35. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jgs.13.2.2019.35-48>

INDEKS

- 'cognitive construction, 8
- ARF, iv, x, 162, 170, 172, 173, 175, 180, 207, 219, 221
- ASEAN Way, x, 185, 186, 189, 190, 191, 199, 210, 225
- Association of Southeast Asians Nations*, iv, 2
- bargaining of power*, 37, 38, 54
- Bieber, 88
- Brexit, ii, iv, x, 21, 53, 59, 85, 87, 112, 113, 148, 150, 151, 152, 154, 156, 157, 158, 231, 232
- Common agricultural policy*, 118
- Common market*, 10
- Common Market*, 32, 154
- common value*”, 8
- Complete Economic Integration*, 33
- constructivist theory of integration*, 25, 27, 53
- Custom Unions*, 10
- Customs Union*, 32
- David Mitrany, 29, 57
- Deklarasi Bangkok 1967, 163
- Dr. Harry D. White, 93
- Economic and Political Unions*, 12
- Economic Union*, 11, 32
- Ernest B. Haas, 28
- European Coal and Steel Community*, v, 5, 14, 28, 115, 116, 120, 137
- European Commission*, 123, 127, 134, 135, 136, 138, 146, 150, 155
- European Court of Justice*, iv, 135, 139
- European Economic Community*, v, 5, 14, 137
- Free Trade Area*, 9, 32, 188, 232
- Free Trade Area (FTA)*, 9
- Gary Marks, 51
- General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT)*, 92
- George H.W. Bush, 167
- Gilpin, 15, 16, 57, 67, 70, 75, 76, 79, 83, 89
- Hambatan non-tarif, 68
- Identitas, 52, 71, 72, 85, 151, 205
- integrasi regional, 8, 14, 25, 33, 34, 48, 53, 56, 232
- interdependency*, 2, 63
- intergovernmentalisme, 20, 25, 26, 27, 35, 38, 39, 41, 51, 53, 230
- John, 40

- Joseph Nye, 5, 39, 62
 kebijakan proteksi, 69, 80
 Kenneth Waltz, 38
 Konstruktivisme, viii, 27, 44,
 45, 55
laissez faire, 3
 level domestik, 18, 69
 level regional, 17, 31, 33, 36,
 86, 87, 105, 140, 141, 149,
 159
 level sistemik, 17
 liberal intergovernmentalisme,
 20, 25, 27, 53
 Liesbet Hooghe, 51
malign regionalism, 17, 18
Market access, 101
 Marshall Plan, 14, 114, 115,
 154, 156
 Merkantilisme, 75
 Miscovic, 72, 73, 90
Monetary Union, 11, 121, 127,
 146, 150
 neofungsionalisme, 25, 26, 27,
 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 39, 47,
 51, 53, 55, 126, 229, 230,
 231
 Neofungsionalisme, viii, 26, 28,
 30, 31, 33, 124
 Neorealisme, 36, 42, 54
new regional approach, 25, 27,
 53
new regionalism, 13, 19, 50, 60,
 61
New Regionalism, viii, 13, 15,
 23, 24, 53, 61
 Norma ASEAN, 191
*North America Free Trade
 Agreement*, vi, 14
*North Atlantic Treaty
 Organisation*, 2
old regionalism, 13, 19, 50
 Pendekatan rasionalis, 44, 54
 Polanyi, 24, 60, 65, 77, 78, 91
 Postfungsionalisme, 51, 52
 Proses Kebijakan Luar Negeri,
 xii, 208
 Ravenhill, 1, 6, 70, 197
Reciprocity, 100
Region, viii, 4, 6, 127, 196, 197
Regional awareness, 7, 46
regional conciousness, 7
regional identity, 7
*Regional interstate co-
 operation*, 8
Regionalization, 7
 Robert Cox, 48
 Robert Jervis, 37
 Robert Keohane, 39
 Robert O. Keohane, 43
*State promoted regional
 integration*, 8
 supranasionalisme, 26, 229
 teori integrasi, 20, 25, 26, 27,
 28, 31, 35, 48, 50, 53, 54,
 112, 143, 151, 152, 228, 229,
 231

Teori integrasi kritis, 47

Traktat Amsterdam, 128, 129,
130, 131

Traktat Lisbon, 133, 134, 135

Traktat Maastricht, 124, 125,
126, 127, 130

Traktat Nice, 131, 132

Traktat Roma, 116, 122, 145

Traktat Uni Eropa, 124, 145
welfare gain, 8

World Order Approach, vi, viii,
47, 48

World Trade Organisation, 1
zero-sum game., 36



TENTANG PENULIS

Suyani Indriastuti adalah Staf Pengajar pada Departemen Hubungan Internasional, Universitas Jember, Indonesia. Ia pernah menjadi peneliti di Institute of Asia Pacific Studies University of Nottingham, Inggris. Saat ini, ia adalah peneliti di Pusat Penelitian Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora [C-RiSSH] dan Center for Human Security Studies (CHSS), Universitas Jember. Minat penelitiannya adalah Ekonomi Politik Internasional, Sustainable Development dan Human Security, Resources Politics, dan Regionalisme Eropa. Ia menyelesaikan program Doktor di School of Politics and International Relations, University of Nottingham, Inggris.

Abubakar Eby Hara adalah Staf Pengajar di Departemen Hubungan Internasional, Universitas Jember, Indonesia. Saat ini, ia adalah peneliti di Pusat Penelitian Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora [C-RiSSH], Universitas Jember. Ia menyelesaikan program Doktor dan Masternya di the Research School, Pacific and Asian Studies (RSPAS), Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. Pernah menjadi peneliti tamu di pelbagai lembaga dan universitas seperti the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) (Singapore), CSEAS Kyoto University (Jepang), East-West Center, Washington D.C. (Amerika Serikat), Center for Southeast Asian Studies - National Sun Yat-sen University (Taiwan) dan Sydney University (Australia). Bidang minatnya termasuk kerja sama ASEAN, Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia, hubungan internasional dan demokrasi di Asia Tenggara. Dia telah menerbitkan buku dan artikel jurnal seperti Japanese Journal of Political Science dan Contemporary Southeast Asia.

Agus Trihartono adalah Staf Pengajar di Departemen Hubungan Internasional, Universitas Jember, Indonesia. Ia pernah menjadi peneliti di Ritsumeikan Global Innovation Research Organization (R-GIRO), Ritsumeikan University, Jepang. Saat ini, ia adalah peneliti di Pusat Penelitian Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora [C-RiSSH] dan Pusat Studi Gastrodiplomasi (CGS) Universitas Jember, dan Pilar Data Research and Consulting (Pilar Data Indonesia). Minat penelitiannya adalah Regionalisme Asia, Human Security, Soft Power dan Diplomasi, serta Polling Politik. Ia menyelesaikan program Doktor dan Masternya di Graduate School of International Relations, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Jepang.