

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- Alacevich. *The Political Economy of the World Bank: The Early Years*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- Amiruddin dan H. Zainal Asikin. *Pengantar Metode Penelitian Hukum*. Depok: Rajawali Pers, 2020.
- Ben-Artzi, Ruth. *Regional Development Banks in Comparison: Banking Strategies versus Development Goals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2016.
- Boediono. *Ekonomi Indonesia: Dalam Lintasan Sejarah*. Bandung: Mizan Pustaka. 2016.
- Chimni, B. S. *International Law and World Order: A Critique of Contemporary Approaches*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2017.
- Collins, David. *The World Trade Organization: A Beginner's Guide*. London: Oneworld Publications. 2015.
- den Bossche, Peter Van dan Werner Zdouc. *The Law and Policy of the World Trade Organization : Text, Cases, and Materials Fifth Edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2022.
- English, E. Philip dan Harris M. Mule. *The Multilateral Development Banks: The African Development Bank*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 1996.
- Irwansyah. *Penelitian Hukum Pilihan Metode & Praktik Penulisan Artikel, Edisi Revisi*. Yogyakarta: Mirra Buana Media. 2020.
- Kappagoda, Nihal. *The Multilateral Development Banks Volume 2: The Asian Development Bank*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 1995.
- Machiavelli, Nicolo (trans. W. K. Marriott). *The Prince*. State College: The Pennsylvania State University. 2001.
- Mccawley, Peter. *Banking On The Future Of Asia And The Pacific: 50 Years Of The Asian Development Bank*. Manila: Asian Development Bank. 2017.
- Mearsheimer, John J.. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. 2014.
- Nkrumah, Kwame. *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. London: Thomas Nelson And Sons Ltd. 1965.
- Scammell. *International Monetary Policy: Bretton Woods And After*. New York: The Macmillan Press Ltd. 1975.

Shilliam, Robbie (ed.). *International Relations and Non-Western Thought: Imperialism, colonialism and investigations of global modernity*. New York: Routledge. 2011.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2021. *Decolonizing Politics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2021.

Stuenkel, Oliver. *The BRICS and the Future of Global Order: Second Edition*. Lanham: Lexington Books. 2020.

Toussaint, Éric. *The World Bank: A Critical History*. London: Pluto Press. 2023.

Umar, Harun. *Perspektif Politik Internasional Penerapan Strategi Bantuan IMF Terhadap Indonesia*. Jakarta: Lembaga Penerbitan Universitas Nasional. 2022.

Vestergaard, Jakob. *The World Bank and The Emerging World Order: Adjusting to Multipolarity at The Second Decimal Point*. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies. 2011.

Xu, Xiujun dan Weiji Feng. *The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank in a Changing Era: New Institution and New Roles*. Singapore: The Springer. 2022.

### Jurnal

Abdenur, Adriana Erthal. "China and the BRICS Development Bank: Legitimacy and Multilateralism in South–South Cooperation." *IDS Bulletin*, Volume 45, No. 4 (2014) 85-101.

Agusman, Damos Dumoli. "The Battle of Notes Verbales and the Future of the South China Sea: An Indonesia's Perspective." *Viability of UNCLOS amid Emerging Global Maritime Challenges*, Springer, Singapore (2025) 163-178.

Barros, Ana Sofia dan Cedric Ryngaert. "The Position of Member States in (Autonomous) Institutional Decision-Making Implications for the Establishment of Responsibility." *International Organizations Law Review*, Volume 11 (2014) 53-82.

Benabdallah, Lina. "The Liberal International Order as an Imposition: A Postcolonial Reading." *Ethics & International Affairs*, 38, No. 2 (2024) 162-179.

Chimni, B. S. "An Outline of a Marxist Course on Public International Law." *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 17 (2004) 1-30.

\_\_\_\_\_. "International Institutions Today: An Imperial Global State in the Making." *European Journal of International Law*, Volume 15, No. 1 (2004) 1–37.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Marxism and International Law: A Contemporary Analysis." *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, No. 6 (1999) 337-349.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Third World Approaches to International Law: A Manifesto." *International Community Law Review*, Volume 8 (2006) 3-27.
- Daniswara, Adrian Pandhito dan Mohamad Ikhsan. "Infrastruktur Transportasi dan Kinerja Ekspor dari Tiga Kelompok Komoditas Indonesia." *Jurnal Ekonomi dan Pembangunan Indonesia*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2022) 149–161.
- Danns, Donna E. dan George K. Danns. "Challenging the Dominance of the World Bank and the IMF: The Role of the BRICS Countries and Their New Development Bank in Latin American and the Caribbean." *Journal of Business & Economic Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 3, September (2015) 125-134.
- Duggan, Niall. "The structural power of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) in multilateral development finance: A case study of the New Development Bank." *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (2022) 495–511.
- Efunniyi, Christianah Pelumi (et. al.). "Strengthening corporate governance and financial compliance: Enhancing accountability and transparency." *Finance & Accounting Research Journal*, Volume 6, No. 8 (2024) 1597-1616.
- Fauzan, Muhammad. "Implementing Toll Road Infrastructure Financing in Indonesia: Critical Success Factors from the Perspective of Toll Road Companies." *International Journal of Financial Studies*, Volume 11 (2023) 135-178.
- Forster, Timon. "Respected individuals: when state representatives wield outsize influence in international organizations." *International Affairs*, Volume 100, Issue 1, (2024) 261–281.
- Gu, Bin "Chinese Multilateralism in the AIIB." *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 20 (2017) 137–158.
- Haryono, et. al. "Evaluating the Role of BRICS in Shaping Global Economic Governance: A Comparative Analysis of Policy Approaches and Outcomes." *The Es Economics and Entrepreneurship*, Vol. 3, No. 02 (2024) 172–179.
- He, Kai dan Huiyun Feng. "Leadership Transition and Global Governance: Role Conception, Institutional Balancing, and the AIIB." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Volume 12, No. 2 (2019) 153–178.
- Ingratubun, Muhammad Amir (et. al.) "Dutch Curse on Indonesia: Unemployment Caused by Asian Development Bank (ADB) Loan Projects." *Gadjah Mada International Journal of Business*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2021) 113-136.
- Kacziba, Péter dan Bariş Hasan. "Hybrid Foreign Policies In The Eu's Eastern Flank: Adaptive Diplomacy." *Eastern Journal Of European Studies*, Volume 13 (2022) 207-235.

- Kim, Yooneui dan Youngwan Kim. "The autonomy of international organizations? The analysis of major powers' influence over the World Bank's aid policies." *International Area Studies Review*, Volume 24, No. 3 (2021) 224-240.
- Kurniawan, Firdhan Dwi (et. al.) "Pengaruh Prinsip Bebas-Aktif Dalam Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia: Studi Kasus BRICS." *Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin*, Volume 1, No. 2, (2023) 356-362.
- Lungu, Eugen. "Power Relations Between Russia, China And The United States In Central Asia. An Offensive Realist Perspective." *Analele Universităţii „Ovidius” Din Constanţa - Seria Ştiinţe Politice*, Volume 9 (2020) 167-187.
- Manulak, Michael W. "The Networked Diplomacy of Informal International Institutions: The Case of the Proliferation Security Initiative." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, Volume 27 (3) (2021) 410-432.
- Mayer, Alexander dan Stefan Napel. "Weighted voting on the IMF Managing Director." *Economics of Governance*, Volume 21 (2020) 237–244.
- McLean, Elena dan Juyun Park. "Containing China's rising power in international organizations: earmarked funding and influence in multilateral development bank." *The Review of International Organizations* (2025) 1-29.
- Mittelman, James H. "Global Bricolage: emerging market powers and polycentric governance." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No.1 (2013) 23-37.
- Preeg, Ernest H. "The Uruguay Round Negotiations And The Creation Of The WTO", *The Oxford Handbook On The World Trade Organization*, Oxford University Press (2012) 122-137.
- Sadewa, Dzikiara Pesona dan Falhan Hakiki. "Dinamika Kebijakan Politik Luar Negeri Bebas Aktif Indonesia Melalui Gerakan Non-Blok (GNB)." *Jurnal Lemhannas RI*, Volume 11, No.1 (2023) 13-28.
- Tarmidi, Lepi T. "Krisis Moneter Indonesia: Sebab, Dampak, Peran IMF Dan Saran." *Bulletin Of Monetary Economics And Banking*, Volume 1, No. 4 (1999) 1-25.
- Toft, Peter. "John J. Mearsheimer: an offensive realist between geopolitics and power." *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 8 (2005) 381–408.
- Toye, Richard. "The International Trade Organization." *The Oxford Handbook on The World Trade Organization* (2012) 52-65.
- Wei, Huang. "Calculable Power: A Case Study of IMF Quotas and Voting Rights Reform", *Social Sciences in China* Volume 38, No. 4, 2017, hlm. 45-66.
- Widarjono, Agus. "Evaluasi Kritis Kinerja IMF dalam Krisis Asia." *Unisia*, No. 15, (2003) 343-352.

Winanti, Poppy S. dan Rizky Alif Alvian. "Indonesia's South-South cooperation: when normative and material interests converged." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 21 (2021) 201–232.

Woldearegay, Tewodros. "An offensive realism approach to navigate the changing dynamics of summit-level dialogue between the AU and great powers." *Cogent Social Sciences*, Volume 10, No.1 (2024) 1-16.

### **Internet**

Antara, Indonesia diminta berinvestasi di New Development Bank BRICS, diakses di <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/4739101/indonesia-diminta-berinvestasi-di-new-development-bank-brics?> pada 06 September 2025.

Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, Board of Directors, diakses di <https://www.aiib.org/en/about-aiib/governance/board-directors/board-members/directors/Masyita-Crystallin.html?> pada 04 September 2025.

Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, Members and Prospective Members of the Bank, diakses di <https://www.aiib.org/en/about-aiib/governance/members-of-bank/index.html> pada 17 Juli 2025.

Bisnis.com, Gabung New Development Bank (NDB), RI Bisa Dapat Pembiayaan Proyek Pengolahan Sampah ke Listrik, diakses di <https://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20250326/15/1864844/gabung-new-development-bank-ndb-ri-bisa-dapat-pembiayaan-proyek-pengolahan-sampah-ke-listrik?> pada 28 Mei 2025.

China Daily, AIIB a key financing platform for Global South, diakses di <https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202508/04/WS689005bca310c0209d01ac60.html>, pada 08 Agustus 2025.

Daniel F. Runde dan Shannon McKeown, The Asian Development Bank: A Strategic Asset for the United States, Center for Strategic and International Studies, diakses di <https://www.csis.org/analysis/asian-development-bank-strategic-asset-united-states?> pada 14 Mei 2025.

Eric Walberg, 2009, Russia-India-China: The Bush Curse, Global Research, diakses di <https://www.globalresearch.ca/russia-india-china-the-bush-curse/16033> pada 29 November 2024.

International Bank For Reconstruction And Development, Subscriptions And Voting Power Of Member Countries, diakses di <https://www.worldbank.org/en/about/leadership/votingpowers> pada 15 Juli 2025.

John Hurley, AIIB, Tajikistan, and the Risks of Non-Concessional Lending, diakses di <https://www.cgdev.org/blog/aiib-tajikistan-and-risks-non-concessional-lending> pada 17 Juli 2025.

Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, Indonesia Resmi Gabung NDB, Presiden Prabowo: Langkah Strategis untuk Percepatan Transformasi Nasional, diakses di [https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/indonesia\\_resmi\\_gabung\\_ndb\\_presiden\\_prabowo\\_langkah\\_strategis\\_untuk\\_percepatan\\_transformasi\\_nasional](https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/indonesia_resmi_gabung_ndb_presiden_prabowo_langkah_strategis_untuk_percepatan_transformasi_nasional) pada 22 Mei 2025.

Kompas.com, 9 Proyek Kementerian PU Ditawarkan ke Investor, Nilainya Rp 90 Triliun, diakses di <https://www.kompas.com/properti/read/2025/06/12/181704021/9-proyek-kementerian-pu-ditawarkan-ke-investor-nilainya-rp-90-triliun> pada 17 Juli 2025.

Liputan 6, Jokowi Beberkan Syarat Rumit Pinjaman Bank Dunia Untuk JEDI, diakses di <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/551211/jokowi-beberkan-syarat-rumit-pinjaman-bank-dunia-untuk-jedi?> pada 15 Juli 2025.

Market Research Indonesia by Eurogroup Consulting, The Next Indonesia Infrastructure Investment Opportunities, diakses di <https://marketresearchindonesia.com/insights/articles/next-indonesia-infrastructure-investment-opportunities?>, pada 28 Mei 2025.

Metro TV News, Gabung NDB, Presiden Prabowo: Langkah Strategis Percepatan Transformasi Nasional, diakses di <https://www.metrotvnews.com/read/NleC8GQx-gabung-ndb-presiden-prabowo-langkah-strategis-percepatan-transformasi-nasional> pada 17 Juli 2025.

NDB, Capital Structure & Subscription, diakses di <https://www.ndb.int/about-ndb/shareholding/> pada 15 Mei 2025.

NDB, New Development Bank consolidates strategic expansion and reinforces commitment to sustainable development in the Global South, diakses di <https://brics.br/en/news/new-development-bank-consolidates-strategic-expansion-and-reinforces-commitment-to-sustainable-development-in-the-global-south?> pada 08 Agustus 2025.

New Business Age, Why is AIIB's Loan Expensive?, diakses di <https://www.old.newbusinessage.com/Articles/view/20608> pada 17 Juli 2025.

Nicholas Stern, et. al., 2013, A New World's New Development Bank, Project Syndicate, diakses di <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-benefits-of-the-brics-development-bank> pada 29 November 2024.

Pusat Kebijakan Regional dan Bilateral, 2015, Ringkasan Eksekutif: Kajian Posisi Indonesia Dalam Pembentukan Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, diakses di <https://fiskal.kemenkeu.go.id/kajian/2015/06/30/130514285741890-ringkasan-eksekutif-kajian-posisi-indonesia-dalam-pembentukan-asian-infrastructure-investment-bank> diakses pada 29 November 2024.

Pusat Kebijakan Regional dan Bilateral, 2015, Ringkasan Eksekutif: Kajian Posisi Indonesia Dalam Pembentukan Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, diakses di <https://fiskal.kemenkeu.go.id/kajian/2015/06/30/130514285741890-ringkasan-eksekutif-kajian-posisiindonesia-dalam-pembentukan-asian-infrastructure-investment-bank> diakses pada 29 November 2024.

Retno Maruti, Indonesia's role in multilateral development banks, diakses di <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/indonesia-s-role-multilateral-development-banks?> pada 04 September 2025.

Robert H. Wade dan Jakob Vestergaard, World Bank governance reform. "Puppet on a string"?, diakses di <https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/23/09/2024/world-bank-governance-reform-puppet-string> pada 14 Mei 2025.

Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 2025, Indonesia Resmi Gabung NDB, Presiden Prabowo: Langkah Strategis untuk Percepatan Transformasi Nasional, diakses di <https://setkab.go.id/indonesia-resmi-gabung-ndb-presiden-prabowo-langkah-strategis-untuk-percepatan-transformasi-nasional/> pada 15 Juli 2025.

Shabikunnahan Bonna, "The Bad Effects Caused by Policy Prescription and Financial Assistance by IMF on Developing Countries", Asian Journal of Social Science and Legal Studies, Vol. 3, No. 5, 2021, hlm. 172-177.

Sverrir Steinsson, "John Mearsheimer's Theory of Offensive Realism and the Rise of China", E-International Relations, diakses di "<https://www.e-ir.info/2014/03/06/john-mearsheimers-theory-of-offensive-realism-and-the-rise-of-china/>" pada 30 Mei 2025.

Tempo, Indonesia Resmi Jadi Anggota BRICS, Apa itu BRICS?, diakses di <https://www.tempo.co/internasional/indonesia-resmi-jadi-anggota-brics-apa-itu-brics--1190766> pada 23 Mei 2025.

The World Bank, Indonesia, diakses di <https://countryhistoricalprofiles.worldbank.org/home?year=2023&country=IDN>, pada 10 November 2024.

Víctor Burguete, Reform of the global financial architecture: the struggle between the Global North and Global South, diakses di <https://www.cidob.org/en/publications/reform-global-financial-architecture-struggle-between-global-north-and-global-south?> pada 2 Juni 2025.

World Bank Group, IBRD Number of Votes by Country, diakses di <https://financesone.worldbank.org/ibrd-number-of-votes-by-country/DS01469> pada 15 Juli 2025.

World Bank Group, Indonesia, diakses di <https://financesone.worldbank.org/countries/Indonesia>, pada 15 Juli 2025.

## **Perjanjian Internasional**

*"The Doha Mandate" Doha Ministerial Declaration 2001.*

*ADB Ordinary Operations Loan Regulations 2022.*

*Agreement Establishing The Asian Development Bank.*

*Agreement on the New Development Bank.*

*Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank Articles of Agreement.*

*IBRD Articles of Agreement.*

*Loan Agreement Jakarta Urgent Flood Mitigation Project (Jakarta Emergency Dredging Initiative) Between Republic Of Indonesia and International Bank For Reconstruction And Development February 17, 2012.*

*Organization and Management Annex Articles Of Agreement Of The New Development Bank.*

*The Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) 1994.*

*The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) 1947.*

*The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) 1995.*

*The Marrakesh Agreement.*

### **Laporan (Report)**

Asian Development Bank. Annual Report For 1967. 1968.

Asian Development Bank. Country Partnership Strategy Indonesia, 2020–2024 Emerging Stronger. 2020.

Asian Development Bank. Annual Report 2024. 2024.

Asian Development Bank. Completion Report (Indonesia: Trans Sumatra Toll Road Risk Monitoring). 2024.

Asian Development Bank. Project Administration Instructions (PAI) No. 1.05: Conditions and Declaration of Loan Effectiveness. 2024.

Asian Development Bank. ADB and Indonesia: Fact Sheet. 2025.

Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. 2024 AIIB Annual Report: Advancing Our Commitment To Financing Infrastructure For Tomorrow. 2025.

International Bank For Reconstruction and Development & International Development Association. Economic Development Of Indonesia (In Six Volumes), Volume I, Main Report. 1968.

International Bank For Reconstruction And Development, International Finance Corporation, & Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency. Country

Partnership Framework For The Republic Of Indonesia For The Period FY21-FY25. 2021.

The World Bank. Implementation Completion And Results On A Loan In The Amount Of Us\$640 Million To The Republic Of Indonesia For The Upper Cisokan Pumped Storage Hydro-Electric Power (1,040 Mw) Project Renamed "Pumped Storage Technical Assistance Project." 2022.

World Bank Group. Revised IBRD and IDA General Conditions. 2017.

Jim O'Neill. "Building Better Global Economic BRICs." Global Economics Paper, No. 66. 2001.

### **(Lampiran) Peraturan Perundang-undangan**

Lampiran I Peraturan Presiden Nomor 12 Tahun 2025 tentang Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional Tahun 2025-2029.

### **Makalah**

Kasahar, Shigehisa. *The Brics New Development Bank: Its Birth & Major Implications to International Political Economy*. 2016.