

## Daftar Pustaka

### Buku:

- Bakry, U. S. (2017). *Dasar-Dasar Hubungan Internasional* (Edisi Pert). Kencana.
- Buzan, B., & Hansen, L. (2009). *THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES*. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
- Buzan, B., & Waever, O. (2003). *Regions and Powers: The Structures of International Security*. In *CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS*.
- Clarence J. Bouchat. (2014). The Paracel Islands and U.S. Interests and Approaches in the South China Sea. In *U.S Army War Collage* (Issue April).
- Dharmaputra, R. (2016). Teori Hubungan Internasional: Prespektif-Prespektif Klasik. In V. Dugis (Ed.), *Cakra Studi Global Strategis (CSGS)* (p. 177). PT Revka Petra Media.
- Druce, S. C., & Julay, A. H. (2019). The Road to Brunei ' s Economic Diversification Contemporary Brunei-China Relations. In *China and Southeast Asia in the Xi Jinping Era* (pp. 139–152). Lexington Books.
- Eroukhmanoff, C. (2017). International Relations Theory. In S. McGlinchey, R. Walters, & C. Scheinpflug (Eds.), *International Relations Theory*. E-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PUBLISHING. <http://www.e-ir.info/about/donate/>
- Hendrarso, E. S. (2005). Penelitian Kualitatif: Sebuah Pengantar. In B. Suyanto & Sutinah (Eds.), *Metode Penelitian Sosial* (Edisi Keti, pp. 165–175). Kencana.
- Hiep, L. H. (2016). Vietnam's Pursuit of Alliance Politics in the South China Sea. In *Power Politics in Asia's Contested Waters* (pp. 271–287). Springer Cham.
- Mcdonald, M. (2008). Security Studies - an Introduction. In P. D. Williams (Ed.), *Security Studies - an Introduction* (pp. v–551). Routledge.
- Strangio, S. (2020). *IN THE DRAGON'S SHADOW*. Yale University Press.
- Waever, O. (2007). Securization and Desecuritization. In B. Buzan & L. Hansen (Eds.), *International Security* (III).
- Yarger, H. R. (2006). STRATEGIC THEORY FOR THE 21st CENTURY : THE LITTLE BOOK ON BIG STRATEGY. In *Strategic Studies Institute*. Strategic Studies Institute.
- Zou, K. (2021). Routledge Handbook of the South China Sea. In K. Zou (Ed.), *Political Science*. Routledge.

## Dokumen:

- Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2002). *2002 Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea* (Issue November). <http://www.aseansec.org/13163.htm>
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2014). *CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT OF THE 17TH ASEAN-CHINA SUMMIT* (Issue November).
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2016a). *CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT OF THE 19TH ASEAN-CHINA SUMMIT TO COMMEMORATE THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF ASEAN-CHINA DIALOGUE RELATIONS* (Issue 7 September).
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2016b). *JOINT STATEMENT ON THE APPLICATION OF THE CODE FOR UNPLANNED ENCOUNTERS AT SEA IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA* (Issue 7 September).
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2017). *CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT OF THE 20TH ASEAN-CHINA SUMMIT* (Issue 13 November). <http://asean.org/storage/2017/11/FINAL-Chairmans-Statement-of-the-20th-ASEAN-China-Summit-13-Nov-2017-Manila1.pdf>
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2019). *CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT OF THE ASEAN POST MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE (PMC) 10+1 SESSIONS WITH THE DIALOGUE PARTNERS* (Issues 31 July-1 August).
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2021). *CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT OF THE 38TH AND 39TH ASEAN SUMMITS* (Issue 26 October).
- Department of National Defense of Republic of the Philippines. (2010). *ARMED FORCES OF THE PHILIPPINES INTERNAL PEACE AND SECURITY PLAN*.
- Ministry of Defence. (2020). Defence White Paper. In *Malaysia Ministry of Defence*. <http://classtap.pbworks.com/f/SkillSoft+-+Blended+Elearning.pdf>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Malaysia. (2019). Foreign Policy Framework of the New Malaysia: Change in Continuity. In *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Malaysia*.
- Roach, J. A. (2014). *Malaysia and Brunei: An Analysis of their Claims in the South China Sea*.
- Rosen, M. E. (2014). *Philippine Claims in the South China Sea: A Legal Analysis*. [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/phil001.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/phil001.asp).
- Seah, S., Ha, H. T., Martinus, M., & Thao, P. T. P. (2021). *The State of Southeast Asia: 2021 Survey Report*. [www.iseas.edu.sg](http://www.iseas.edu.sg)
- United Nations. (2011, May 3). *Continental Shelf - joint submission to the Commission by Malaysia and Viet Nam*. United Nations [https://www.un.org/Depts/los/clcs\\_new/submissions\\_files/submission\\_mysvnm\\_33\\_2009.htm](https://www.un.org/Depts/los/clcs_new/submissions_files/submission_mysvnm_33_2009.htm)

- U.S. Department of State. (2014). *Limits in the Seas*. <http://www.state.gov/e/oes/ocns/opa/c16065.htm>.
- U.S. Department of Defense. (2017). Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2017. In *U.S. Department of Defense*.
- U.S. Department of Defense. (2017). Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2017. In *U.S. Department of Defense*.
- U.S. Department of Defense. (2019). *Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2019*.
- U.S. Department of Defense. (2020). Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2020. In *U.S. Department of Defense*. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/26819042>
- U.S. Department of Defense. (2021). Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2021. In *U.S. Department of Defense*.

### **Jurnal:**

- Austin, G. (2003). Unwanted Entanglement: The Philippines' Spratly Policy as a Case Study in Conflict Enhancement? *Security Dialogue*, 34(1), 44–54.
- Barkawi, T. (1998). Strategy as a Vocation: Weber, Morgenthau and Modern Strategic Studies. *Review of International Studies*, 24(2), 159–184. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20097516>
- Buszynski, L. (2003). ASEAN, the Declaration on Conduct, and the South China Sea. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 25(3), 343–362.
- Buszynski, L. (2012). The South China Sea: Oil, Maritime Claims, and U.S.—China Strategic Rivalry. *The Washington Quarterly*, 35(2), 139–156. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2012.666495>
- Chang, T.-K. (1991). China's Claim of Sovereignty over Spratly and Paracel Islands: A Historical and Legal Perspective. *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, 23(3), 399–420.
- Chubb, A. (2021). PRC assertiveness in the South China sea: Measuring continuity and change, 1970–2015. *International Security*, 45(3), 79–121. [https://doi.org/10.1162/isec\\_a\\_00400](https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00400)
- Darmawan, A. B. (2018). Dinamika Isu Laut Tiongkok Selatan: Analisis Sumber-Sumber Kebijakan Luar Negeri Tiongkok dalam Sengketa. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional*, 14(1), 13. <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v14i1.2786.13-35>

- Darmawan, A. B., & Mahendra, Lady. (2018). Isu Laut Tiongkok Selatan: Negara-negara ASEAN Terbelah Menghadapi Tiongkok. *Jurnal Global & Strategis*, 12(1), 79. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jgs.12.1.2018.79-100>
- De Castro, R. C. (2014). The Aquino administration's balancing policy against an emergent China: Its domestic and external dimensions. *Pacific Affairs*, 87(1), 5–27. <https://doi.org/10.5509/2014871005>
- De Castro, R. C. (2020). The Limits of Intergovernmentalism: The Philippines' Changing Strategy in the South China Sea Dispute and Its Impact on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 39(3), 335–358. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103420935562>
- Doeser, F., & Frantzen, F. (2020). The strategic and realist perspectives: An ambiguous relationship. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2020.1833860>
- Fangyin, Z. (2016). Between assertiveness and self-restraint: understanding China's South China Sea policy. *International Affairs*, 92(4), 869–890.
- Fravel, M. T. (2008). Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China's Use of Force in Territorial Disputes. *International Security*, 32(3), 44–83.
- Fuchs, A., & Klann, N.-H. (2010). Paying a Visit: The Dalai Lama effect on international trade. *Center for European, Governance and Economic Development Research*, 113, 1–42. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1694602>
- Garcia, Z., & Breslin, T. A. (2016). Biting the Cow's Tongue: Securitization and Capacity Building in the South China Sea. *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 3(3), 269–290.
- Gao, Z., & Jia, B. B. (2013). The Nine-Dash Line in the South China Sea: History, Status, and Implications. *The American Journal of International Law*, 107(1), 98–124. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/10.5305/amerjintlaw.107.1.0098>
- Gau, M. S.-T. (2012). The U-Shaped line and a categorization of the ocean disputes in the South China Sea. *Ocean Development and International Law*, 43(1), 57–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00908320.2012.647499>
- Hasan, M. M., & Jian, H. (2019). Spratly islands dispute in the South China sea: Potential solutions. *Journal of East Asia and International Law*, 12(1), 145–168. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.14330/jeail.2019.12.1.08>
- Hu, L. (2021). Examining ASEAN's effectiveness in managing South China Sea disputes. *The Pacific Review*, 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2021.1934519>
- Johnston, A. I. (2013). How new and assertive is china's new assertiveness? *International Security*, 37(4), 7–48. [https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC\\_a\\_00115](https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00115)
- Johnson, D. D. P., & Thayer, B. A. (2016). The evolution of offensive realism: Survival under anarchy from the Pleistocene to the present. *Politics and the Life Sciences*, 35(1), 1–26.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/pls.2016.6>

- Kwon, J. (2019). The Turn of the Tide: Explaining China's Growing Assertiveness in the South China Sea. *International Relations and Diplomacy*, 7(02), 49–65. <https://doi.org/10.17265/2328-2134/2019.02.001>
- Liff, A. P., & Ikenberry, G. J. (2014). The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the Twenty-first Century. *International Security*, 39(2), 52–91. [https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC\\_a\\_00176](https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00176)
- Ma'ruf, F., Legionosuko, T., & Risman, H. (2020). The Rationality of Indonesia Free-Active Politics Facing Chinese Aggressiveness in the Claims of the North Natuna Sea. *Technium Social Sciences Journal*, 8, 583–597. <https://techniumscience.com/index.php/socialsciences/article/view/332/124>
- Putra, B. A. (2015). China's Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Have ASEAN's Endeavors in Establishing Regional Order Truly Failed? *Journal of Politics and Law*, 8(4), 178. <https://doi.org/10.5539/jpl.v8n4p178>
- Putra, B. A. (2021). Comprehending Brunei Darussalam's vanishing claims in the South China Sea: China's exertion of economic power and the influence of elite perception. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 7(1), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2020.1858563>
- Ramkumar, M., Santosh, M., Mathew, M., Menier, D., Nagarajan, R., & Sautter, B. (2020). Hydrocarbon reserves of the South China Sea: Implications for regional energy security. *Energy Geoscience*, 1(1–2), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.engeos.2020.04.002>
- Qi, H. (2019). Joint development in the South China sea: China's incentives and policy choices. *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 8(2), 220–239. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24761028.2019.1685427>
- Suehiro, A. (2017). China's offensive in Southeast Asia: regional architecture and the process of Sinicization. *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 6(2), 107–131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24761028.2017.1391619>
- Thayer, C. A. (2011a). Chinese Assertiveness in the South China Sea and Southeast Asian Responses. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 30(2), 77–104. <https://doi.org/10.1177/186810341103000205>
- Thayer, C. A. (2011b). China's New Wave of Aggressive Assertiveness in the South China Sea. *Maritime Security in the South China Sea*, 1–24.
- Viana e Silva, C. C., & Pereira, A. E. (2019). International Security and New Threats: Securitisation and Desecuritisation of Drug Trafficking at the Brazilian Borders. *Contexto Internacional*, 41(1), 209–234. <https://doi.org/10.1590/s0102-8529.2019410100011>
- Wardhana, A. (2018). Grand Strategy Obama: Pivot to Asia. *Jurnal Global & Strategis*, 12(1), 59–77. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jgs.12.1.2018.59-77>
- Weiss, J. C., & Dafoe, A. (2019). Authoritarian Audiences, Rhetoric, and Propaganda in International Crises: Evidence from China. *International Studies Quarterly*, 63(4), 963–

973. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqz059>

Zhang, H., & Bateman, S. (2017). Fishing militia, the securitization of fishery and the South China Sea dispute. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 39(2), 288–314. <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs39-2b>

Zhang, K. (2019). Cautious Bully. *International Security*, 44(1), 117–159. [https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC\\_a\\_00354](https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00354)

Zhang, F. (2017). Chinese Thinking on the South China Sea and the Future of Regional Security; Chinese Thinking on the South China Sea and the Future of Regional Security. *Political Science Quarterly*, 132(3), 435–466. <https://doi.org/10.1002/polq.12658>

### **Website dan Laporan:**

ABC News. (2021, January 23). *China law empowers coast guard to use force amid disputes*. ABC News. <https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/china-law-empowers-coast-guard-force-amid-disputes-75441898>

Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. (2017, December 14). *A Constructive Year for Chinese Base Building*. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. <https://amti.csis.org/constructive-year-chinese-building/>

Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. (2018, September 29). *South China Sea Energy Exploration and Development*. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. <https://amti.csis.org/south-china-sea-energy-exploration-and-development/>

Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. (2019a, September 26). *Signaling Sovereignty: Chinese Patrols at Contested Reefs*. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. <https://amti.csis.org/signaling-sovereignty-chinese-patrols-at-contested-reefs/>

Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. (2019b, September 26). *Signaling Sovereignty: Chinese Patrols at Contested Reefs*. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. <https://amti.csis.org/signaling-sovereignty-chinese-patrols-at-contested-reefs/>

Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. (2019c, December 13). *UPDATE: China Risks Flare-Up Over Malaysian, Vietnamese Gas Resources*. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. <https://amti.csis.org/china-risks-flare-up-over-malaysian-vietnamese-gas-resources/>

BBC Monitoring. (2019, June 12). *Timeline: China's maritime territorial disputes*. BBC Monitoring. <https://monitoring.bbc.co.uk/product/c200vfb3>

Beech, H. (2016, July 19). *South China Sea: Where Did China Get Its Nine-Dash Line?* Time. <https://time.com/4412191/nine-dash-line-9-south-china-sea/>

- BenarNews. (2014, March 14). *Breaking from the past, Vietnam marks South China Sea battle anniversary*. BenarNews. <https://www.benarnews.org/english/news/philippine/battle-anniversary-03142022161026.html>
- Britannica. (2020, September 10). *Paracel Islands | islands, South China Sea*. Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Paracel-Islands>
- CGTN. (2017, June 21). *China names key areas of military-civilian integration*. CGTN. <https://news.cgtn.com/news/7741444d30517a6333566d54/index.html>
- CGTN. (2019, April 26). *Xi: China, Brunei to further implement cooperative projects*. CGTN. <https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d774d7a6b6a4d34457a6333566d54/index.html>
- Chew, A. (2021, October 25). *China harasses Malaysian oil and gas vessels on a 'daily' basis, Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative says*. South China Morning Post. <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3153648/china-harassing-malaysian-oil-and-gas-vessels-daily-basis-asia>
- China Power Project. (2020, August 18). *Are Maritime Law Enforcement Forces Destabilizing Asia?* China Power Project. <https://chinapower.csis.org/maritime-forces-destabilizing-asia/>
- China Power Project. (2021, January 25). *How Much Trade Transits the South China Sea?* . CSIS - China Power Project. <https://chinapower.csis.org/much-trade-transits-south-china-sea/>
- ChinaDaily.com.cn. (2016, July 6). *President Xi's remarks on South China Sea issue*. ChinaDaily.Com.Cn. [https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2016-07/06/content\\_25989430.htm](https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2016-07/06/content_25989430.htm)
- Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2018, June 25). *Xi Jinping Urges Breaking New Ground in Major Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics*. Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/cgvienna/eng/zgbd/t1571463.htm>
- Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2019, May 19). *The 17th Senior Officials' Meeting on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC) Held Successfully in China*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs the People's Republic of China. [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/nanhai/eng/wjbxw\\_1/201905/t20190521\\_8523395.htm](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/nanhai/eng/wjbxw_1/201905/t20190521_8523395.htm)
- Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2021, September 16). *Overview Of China-ASEAN Economic And Trade Relations, Opportunities And Challenges*. Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjb\\_663304/zwjg\\_665342/zwbd\\_665378/t1907333.shtml](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zwjg_665342/zwbd_665378/t1907333.shtml)
- CNN Philippines. (2021, May 18). *PH files diplomatic protest over China's fishing ban in South China Sea*. CNN Philippines. <https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2021/5/18/PH-diplomatic-protest-China-fishing-ban.html>
- Continental Shelf - joint submission to the Commission by Malaysia and Viet Nam*. (2011, May 3). United Nations.

[https://www.un.org/Depts/los/clcs\\_new/submissions\\_files/submission\\_mysvnm\\_33\\_2009.htm](https://www.un.org/Depts/los/clcs_new/submissions_files/submission_mysvnm_33_2009.htm)

Council on Foreign Relations. (2020, July 13). *Timeline: China's Maritime Disputes*. Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/chinas-maritime-disputes>

Council on Foreign Relations. (2021, May 28). *Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea / Global Conflict Tracker*. Council on Foreign Relations. <https://microsites-live-backend.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/territorial-disputes-south-china-sea>

De Castro, R. (2021, April 13). *The ghost of the 2012 Scarborough Shoal stand-off*. BusinessWorld. <https://www.bworldonline.com/opinion/2021/04/13/360526/the-ghost-of-the-2012-scarborough-shoal-stand-off/>

De Castro, R. C. (2020a, May 7). *Implications of the Recent Philippines-China Naval Stand-Off / Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative*. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. <https://amti.csis.org/implications-of-the-recent-philippines-china-naval-stand-off/>

Department of Foreign Affairs of Republic of the Philippines. (2013, June 30). *Secretary Del Rosario Expresses Concern Over "Militarization" of the South China Sea*. Department of Foreign Affairs of Republic of the Philippines. <https://dfa.gov.ph/dfa-news/dfa-releasesupdate/197-secretary-del-rosario-expresses-concern-over-militarization-of-the-south-china-sea>

Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines. (2019, April 4). *Statement: On the Presence of Chinese Vessels Near and Around Pag-asa*. Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines. <https://dfa.gov.ph/dfa-news/statements-and-advisoriesupdate/21089-statement-on-the-presence-of-chinese-vessels-near-and-around-pag-asa>

Embassy of Brunei Darussalam to the United States of America. (2015, May 21). *Brunei Vision 2035 - Wawasan 2035*. Embassy of Brunei Darussalam to the United States of America. <http://www.bruneiembassy.org/brunei-vision-2035.html>

Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Fiji. (2020, August 6). *Interview on Current China-US Relations Given by State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi to Xinhua News Agency*. Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Fiji. <https://www.mfa.gov.cn/ce/cefj//eng/sgxw/t1804643.htm>

Esmaguell II, P. (2018, July 23). *Duterte vows to defend West Philippine Sea in SONA 2018*. Rappler.Com. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/208019-duterte-vows-defend-west-philippine-sea-sona-2018/>

Esplanada, J. E., & Quismundo, T. (2011, June 3). *Abide by UN pact, China told*. Inquirer News. <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/11616/abide-by-un-pact-china-told>

EU Reporter. (2015, August 10). *Wang Yi on the South China Sea issue at ASEAN Regional Forum*. EU Reporter. <https://www.eureporter.co/world/2015/08/10/wang-yi-on-the-south-china-sea-issue-at-asean-regional-forum/>

Francisco, R., & Mogato, M. (2014, May 22). *Vietnam PM says considering legal action against*



- China over disputed waters*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-vietnam-china-idINKBN0E20W120140522>
- Global Times. (2016, July 15). *Brunei states commitment to peace in South China Sea: official*. Global Times. <https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/994541.shtml>
- GlobalSecurity.org. (2016, November 25). *South China Sea Oil and Natural Gas*. GlobalSecurity.Org. <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/spratly-oil.htm>
- Gnanasagaran, A. (2018, July 22). *Fishy business in the South China Sea* . The ASEAN Post. <https://theaseanpost.com/article/fishy-business-south-china-sea>
- Green, M., Hicks, K., Cooper, Z., Schaus, J., & Douglas, J. (2016). *Countering Coercion in Maritime Asia: the Theory and Practice of Grey Zone Deterrence* (Issue February).
- Greer, A. (2016, July 20). *The South China Sea Is Really a Fishery Dispute*. The Diplomat. <https://thediplomat.com/2016/07/the-south-china-sea-is-really-a-fishery-dispute/>
- Grudgings, S. (2014, February 27). *Insight - China's assertiveness hardens Malaysian stance in sea dispute* . Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-malaysia-china-maritime-insight-idUKBREA1P1Z020140226>
- Guan, A. C. (1999). *The South China Sea Dispute Re-visited With Compliments Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies Singapore* (No. 4).
- Haver, Z. (2021, January 29). *How Sansha City Implements Military-Civil Fusion in the South China Sea*. Center For Advanced China Research. <https://www.ccpwatch.org/single-post/how-sansha-city-implements-military-civil-fusion-in-the-south-china-sea>
- Haver, Z. (2022). *The People's Liberation Army in the South China Sea: An Organizational Guide*.
- Hayton, B. (2016, June 21). *China's 'Historic Rights' in the South China Sea: Made in America?* . The Diplomat. <https://thediplomat.com/2016/06/chinas-historic-rights-in-the-south-china-sea-made-in-america/>
- Higgins, A. (2012, June 10). *In Philippines, banana growers feel effect of South China Sea dispute*. The Washington Post. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/in-philippines-banana-growers-feel-effect-of-south-china-sea-dispute/2012/06/10/gJQA47WVTV\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.17679a6891f8](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/in-philippines-banana-growers-feel-effect-of-south-china-sea-dispute/2012/06/10/gJQA47WVTV_story.html?utm_term=.17679a6891f8)
- Lee-Brago, P. (2016, February 29). *DFA chief: China not above international law*. Philstar. <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2016/02/29/1558230/dfa-chief-china-not-above-international-law>
- Lema, K., & Petty, M. (2018, November 19). *Two years after Philippines' pivot, Duterte still waiting on China dividend*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-philippines-china-analysis-idUSKCN1NN0UO>
- Li, C. (2016, August 30). *Assessing U.S.-China relations under the Obama administration*. Brookings. <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/assessing-u-s-china-relations-under-the->

obama-administration/

- Lockman, S. (2013, April 24). *Why Malaysia isn't afraid of China (for now)*. The Strategist. <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/why-malaysia-isnt-afraid-of-china-for-now/>
- Long, D. (2020, June 12). *China Rams Vietnamese Fishing Boat Near Paracel Islands*. BenarNews. <https://www.benarnews.org/english/news/philippine/Vietnam-boat-rammed-06122020181050.html>
- Malay Mail. (2013, August 29). *Malaysia splits with Asean claimants over South China Sea threat*. Malay Mail. <https://www.malaymail.com/news/malaysia/2013/08/29/malaysia-splits-with-asean-claimants-over-south-china-sea-threat/516387>
- Malaysian Investment Development Authority. (2018, May 29). *Oil and Gas*. Malaysian Investment Development Authority. <https://www.mida.gov.my/industries/services/oil-and-gas/>
- Malindog-Uy, A. (2021, November 21). *Recent SCS Incident: More Than Meets The Eye?* The ASEAN Post. <https://theaseanpost.com/article/recent-scs-incident-more-meets-eye>
- Mangosing, F. (2019, November 4). *Philippines, Vietnam, Brunei navies stage drills near South China Sea*. Global News. <https://globalnation.inquirer.net/179664/philippines-vietnam-brunei-navies-stage-drills-near-south-china-sea>
- Mastro, O. S. (2020, May 21). *Military Confrontation in the South China Sea*. Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/report/military-confrontation-south-china-sea>
- Maulaya, M. (2022, June 24). *The truth behind China's fishing ban in the South China Sea*. Asia & the Pacific Policy Society. <https://www.policyforum.net/the-truth-behind-chinas-fishing-ban-in-the-south-china-sea/>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brunei Darussalam. (2013, November 20). *Press Releases - Joint Statement between Brunei Darussalam and the People's Republic of China*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brunei Darussalam. <http://www.mfa.gov.bn/Lists/PressReleases/NDispForm.aspx?ID=106&ContentTypeId=0x0100DE0D91A42F563640A6718A29AE56AE67>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (2007, November 20). *MOFA: Agenda Toward a Strategic Partnership between Japan and Vietnam (November 2007)*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/vietnam/agenda0711.html>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (2015, June 4). *Japan-Philippines Joint Declaration A Strengthened Strategic Partnership for Advancing the Shared Principles and Goals of Peace, Security, and Growth in the Region and Beyond*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. [https://www.mofa.go.jp/s\\_sa/sea2/ph/page4e\\_000280.html](https://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sea2/ph/page4e_000280.html)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (2021, September 13). *Signing of the Agreement between the Government of Japan and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam concerning the Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. [https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press3e\\_000244.html](https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press3e_000244.html)

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. (2014, December 7). *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China Is Authorized to Release the Position Paper of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Matter of Jurisdiction in the South China Sea Arbitration Initiated by the Republic of the Philippines*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjdt\\_665385/2649\\_665393/201412/t20141207\\_679389.html](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/2649_665393/201412/t20141207_679389.html)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. (2015, March 8). *Foreign Minister Wang Yi Meets the Press*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjb\\_663304/wjbz\\_663308/2461\\_663310/201503/t20150308\\_468552.html](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/wjbz_663308/2461_663310/201503/t20150308_468552.html)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. (2016a, July 12). *Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China on China's Territorial Sovereignty and Maritime Rights and Interests in the South China Sea*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjdt\\_665385/2649\\_665393/201607/t20160712\\_679472.html](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/2649_665393/201607/t20160712_679472.html)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. (2016b, July 12). *Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on the Award of 12 July 2016 of the Arbitral Tribunal in the South China Sea Arbitration Established at the Request of the Republic of the Philippines*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjdt\\_665385/2649\\_665393/201607/t20160712\\_679470.html](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/2649_665393/201607/t20160712_679470.html)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. (2021, August 5). *Wang Yi Stresses "Four Respects" on South China Sea Issue*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/zxxx\\_662805/202108/t20210805\\_9133758.html](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/202108/t20210805_9133758.html)
- Mission of the People's Republic of China to the European Union. (2015, May 28). *Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hua Chunying Remarks on China's Construction Activities on the Nansha Islands and Reefs*. Mission of the People's Republic of China to the European Union. [http://eu.china-mission.gov.cn/eng/more/southsea/201505/t20150528\\_8303068.htm](http://eu.china-mission.gov.cn/eng/more/southsea/201505/t20150528_8303068.htm)
- Mogato, M., & Elona, J. (2016, July 15). *Philippines says fishermen still blocked from Scarborough Shoal*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southchinasea-ruling-philippines/philippines-says-fishermen-still-blocked-from-scarborough-shoal-idUKKCN0ZV183>
- Naval Technology. (2021, November 19). *Brunei and US forces conclude 27th CARAT Brunei exercise*. Naval Technology. <https://www.naval-technology.com/news/brunei-us-conclude-carat-brunei-exercise/>

- Ong, C. (2021, September 21). *CDR – The Belt and Road Initiative*. ICLG. <https://iclg.com/cdr-essential-intelligence/1100-cdr-the-belt-and-road-initiative-2021/brunei>
- Parameswaran, P. (2015). *Playing It Safe: Malaysia's Approach to the South China Sea and Implications for the United States*.
- Parameswaran, P. (2017, November 8). *US, Brunei Launch Maritime Exercise*. The Diplomat. <https://thediplomat.com/2017/11/us-brunei-launch-maritime-exercise/>
- Pletcher, K. (2015, October 27). *Spratly Islands | reefs, shoals, atolls, and islets, South China Sea*. Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Spratly-Islands>
- Poling, G. B. (2019, January 9). *Illuminating the South China Sea's Dark Fishing Fleets*. Center for Strategic and International Studies. <https://ocean.csis.org/spotlights/illuminating-the-south-china-seas-dark-fishing-fleets/>
- Putra, B. A. (2015). China's Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Have ASEAN's Endeavors in Establishing Regional Order Truly Failed? *Journal of Politics and Law*, 8(4), 178. <https://doi.org/10.5539/jpl.v8n4p178>
- RFA. (2018, March 13). *Vietnam Marks Anniversary of Naval Clash With China Over Spratly Island Reefs — Radio Free Asia*. RFA. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/vietnam/anniversary-03132018160914.html>
- Roach, J. A. (2014a). *Malaysia and Brunei: An Analysis of their Claims in the South China Sea*.
- Roach, J. A. (2014b, August 1). *Malaysia and Brunei: An Analysis of their Claims in the South China Sea*. CNA. <https://www.cna.org/reports/2014/malaysia-and-brunei-claims-in-scs>
- Rosen, M. E. (2014). *Philippine Claims in the South China Sea: A Legal Analysis*. [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/phil001.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/phil001.asp).
- Sandy, J. M. (2020). *Chinese Nationalism and the South China Sea*. Wright State University.
- Sato, K. (2017). The Rise of China's Impact on ASEAN Conference Diplomacy: A Study of Conflict in the South China Sea. *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 2(2), 95–110. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24761028.2013.11869064>
- Seah, S., Ha, H. T., Martinus, M., & Thao, P. T. P. (2021). *The State of Southeast Asia: 2021 Survey Report*. [www.iseas.edu.sg](http://www.iseas.edu.sg)
- Siow, M. (2022, February 10). *South China Sea: China-Asean code of conduct unlikely by end of the year, experts say*. South China Morning Post. <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3166421/south-china-sea-china-asean-code-conduct-unlikely-end-year>
- Smith, M. L. ., & Stone, J. (2011). Explaining Strategic Theory. *Infinity Journal*, 27–30. <https://www.militarystrategymagazine.com/article/explaining-strategic-theory/>
- Smith, M. L. R. (2011). Strategic Theory: What it is...and just as importantly, what it isn't. In *E-International Relations* (pp. 1–6). <https://www.e-ir.info/2011/04/28/strategic-theory-what-it-is...and-just-as-importantly-what-it-isn't/>

- South China Sea Strategic Situation Probing Initiative. (2022). An Incomplete Report on US Military Activities in the South China Sea in 2021 . In *South China Sea Strategic Situation Probing Initiative*. <http://www.scspi.org/>
- Stashwick, S. (2019, August 19). *China's South China Sea Militarization Has Peaked*. Foreign Policy. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/08/19/chinas-south-china-sea-militarization-has-peaked/>
- Stewart, S., & Reininger, B. (2016). *Assessing the Obama Administration's Pivot to Asia*.
- Stone, A. (2020). *China's Military-Civil Fusion Strategy: A View from Chinese Strategists Executive Summary*. BLUEPATH LABS. [https://www.bluepathlabs.com/uploads/1/1/9/0/119002711/china's\\_military-civil\\_fusion\\_strategy\\_executive\\_summary.pdf](https://www.bluepathlabs.com/uploads/1/1/9/0/119002711/china's_military-civil_fusion_strategy_executive_summary.pdf)
- Storey, I. (2014). *The Sino-Vietnamese Oil Rig Crisis: Implications for the South China Sea Dispute*.
- Storey, I. (2020). *Malaysia and the South China Sea Dispute: Policy Continuity amid Domestic Political Change*.
- Tan, A. (1996, February 2). *Manila Treads on Eggshells With China Over Ship Run-In*. The Christian Science Monitor. <https://www.csmonitor.com/1996/0202/02071.html>
- Thayer, C. (2012, April 26). *The China-Philippines Face Off at Scarborough Shoal: Back to Square One?* E-International Relations. <https://www.e-ir.info/2012/04/26/the-china-philippines-face-off-at-scarborough-shoal-back-to-square-one/>
- Thayer, C. (2021, January 13). *COVID-19 masks mischief in the South China Sea*. East Asia Forum. <https://www.easiaforum.org/2021/01/13/covid-19-masks-mischief-in-the-south-china-sea/>
- Thayer, C. A. (2011a). Chinese Assertiveness in the South China Sea and Southeast Asian Responses. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 30(2), 77–104. <https://doi.org/10.1177/186810341103000205>
- Thayer, C. A. (2011b). China's New Wave of Aggressive Assertiveness in the South China Sea. *Maritime Security in the South China Sea*, 1–24.
- The Guardian. (2012, April 11). *Philippine warship in standoff with China vessels*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/apr/11/philippines-china-stand-off-south-china-sea>
- The Guardian. (2022, March 21). *China has fully militarized three islands in South China Sea, US admiral says*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/21/china-has-fully-militarized-three-islands-in-south-china-sea-us-admiral-says>
- The Nation Thailand. (2021, May 1). *Vietnam resolutely rejects China's unilateral fishing ban: Vice Spokesperson*. The Nation Thailand. <https://www.nationthailand.com/international/40000426>

- The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). (2016). *Vietnam - Country Profile from the Maritime Awareness Project* . The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). <https://www.nbr.org/publication/vietnam/>
- The Official Gazette. (2012, October 17). *Interview with President Aquino during the FOCAP Presidential Forum, October 17, 2012 | Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*. The Official Gazette . <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2012/10/17/interview-with-president-aquino-during-the-focap-presidential-forum-october-17-2012/>
- The Star. (2022, February 18). *Brunei-China bilateral trade reaches US\$2.85bil in 2021*. The Star. <https://www.thestar.com.my/aseanplus/aseanplus-news/2022/02/18/brunei-china-bilateral-trade-reaches-us285bil-in-2021>
- The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China. (2015). *China's Military Strategy*. The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China. [http://www.andrewerickson.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/China-Defense-White-Paper\\_2015\\_English-Chinese\\_Annotated.pdf](http://www.andrewerickson.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/China-Defense-White-Paper_2015_English-Chinese_Annotated.pdf)
- The State Council the People's Republic of China. (2022, May 1). *China kicks off annual summer fishing ban in South China Sea*. The State Council the People's Republic of China. [https://english.www.gov.cn/news/topnews/202205/01/content\\_WS626e248bc6d02e533532a235.html](https://english.www.gov.cn/news/topnews/202205/01/content_WS626e248bc6d02e533532a235.html)
- The White House. (2021, August 25). *FACT SHEET: Strengthening the U.S.-Vietnam Comprehensive Partnership* . The White House. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/08/25/fact-sheet-strengthening-the-u-s-vietnam-comprehensive-partnership/>
- Thompson, M. R. (2016). The Specter of Neo-Authoritarianism in the Philippines. *Current History*, 115(782), 220–225. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48614178>
- Tian, Y. L. (2021). *China authorises coast guard to fire on foreign vessels if needed*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-coastguard-law-idUSKBN29R1ER>
- Tønnesson, S. (2002). THE PARACELS: THE “OTHER” SOUTH CHINA SEA DISPUTE. *Asian Perspective*, 26(4), 145–169.
- Tonosaki, K. (2022, June 21). *Brahmos in the Philippines and Quad Potential*. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. <https://amti.csis.org/brahmos-in-the-philippines-and-quad-potential/>
- Torode, G. (2013, March 17). *Spratly Islands dispute defines China-Vietnam relations 25 years after naval clash*. South China Morning Post. <https://www.scmp.com/news/asia/article/1192472/spratly-islands-dispute-defines-china-vietnam-relations-25-years-after>
- United States Department of State. (2021, June 2). *U.S. Security Cooperation With Vietnam*. United States Department of State. <https://www.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-vietnam/>
- Uy, A., & Espena, J. B. B. (2020, September 23). *Examining Malaysia's Evolving Policy toward*

*the South China Sea*. Geopolitical Monitor.  
<https://www.geopoliticalmonitor.com/examining-malaysias-evolving-policy-toward-the-south-china-sea/>

- Viana e Silva, C. C., & Pereira, A. E. (2019). International Security and New Threats: Securitisation and Desecuritisation of Drug Trafficking at the Brazilian Borders. *Contexto Internacional*, 41(1), 209–234. <https://doi.org/10.1590/s0102-8529.2019410100011>
- VOA News. (2016, October 3). *Philippines Eyeing Aid Windfall From Diplomacy Shift*. VOA News. <https://www.voanews.com/a/philippines-eyeing-aid-windfall-from-diplomacy-shift/3534436.html>
- Vu, K. (2020a, April 4). *Vietnam protests Beijing's sinking of South China Sea boat*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-vietnam-china-southchinasea-idUSKBN21M072>
- Vu, K. (2020b, July 28). *Vietnam agrees \$348 million Japan loan to build six patrol vessels: media*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-vietnam-japan-defence-idUSKCN24T1J5>
- Westcott, B., & Lendon, B. (2019, April 5). *Duterte threatens "suicide mission" if Beijing oversteps in South China Sea*. CNN. <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/04/05/asia/south-china-sea-duterte-beijing-intl/index.html>
- Wholf, T. (2015, May 16). *5 things you should know about the South China Sea conflict* | . PBS News. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/5-things-didnt-know-south-china-sea-conflict>
- Wong, E. (2015, November 7). *Xi Again Defends China's Claim to South China Sea Islands*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/08/world/asia/xi-jinping-china-south-china-sea-singapore.html>
- Workman, D. (2022, March 22). *Malaysia's Top Trading Partners 2021*. World's Top Export. <https://www.worldstopexports.com/malaysias-top-import-partners/>
- Xi, L. (2016, July 19). *The South China Sea Case and China's New Nationalism*. The Diplomat. <https://thediplomat.com/2016/07/the-south-china-sea-case-and-chinas-new-nationalism/>
- Xinhuanet. (2020, October 17). *China ranks 4th largest trading partner for Brunei in 2019*. Xinhuanet. [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-10/17/c\\_139445906.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-10/17/c_139445906.htm)
- Xu, B. (2014, May 14). *South China Sea Tensions* | Council on Foreign Relations. Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/south-china-sea-tensions>
- Yong, C. (2018, August 2). *Asean, China agree on text to negotiate Code of Conduct in South China Sea*. The Straits Times. <https://www.straitstimes.com/politics/asean-china-agree-on-text-to-negotiate-code-of-conduct-in-south-china-sea>
- Yoshihara, T. (2016). The 1974 Paracels Sea Battle. *Naval War College Review*, 69(2), 41–65.
- Yunzhu, Y. (2017, January 27). *Questions to the Trump Administration on Its South China Sea Policy*. CHINA US Focus. <https://www.chinausfocus.com/peace-security/questions-to>

the-trump-administration-on-its-south-china-sea-policy-

Zhihao, Z. (2022, March 29). *US increases presence in S. China Sea*. China Daily.  
<https://global.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202203/29/WS62423c08a310fd2b29e53c18.html>