

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Sumber Buku:

- Codesman, Anthony H. dkk. 2015. *Chinese Strategy and Military Modernization in 2015: A Comparative Analysis*. CSIS.
- Goh, Evelyn. 2005. *Meeting the China Challenge: The U.S. in Southeast Asian Regional Security Strategies*. East-West Center: Washington.
- Johnston, Douglas M. dan Mark J. Valencia. 1990. *Pacific Ocean Boundary Problems: Status and Solution*.
- Mas'oed, Mohtar. 1994. Edisi Revisi: *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Disiplin dan Metodologi*. LP3ES: Jakarta.
- Miles, B. Matthew dan A. Michael Huberman. 1992. Dalam Djam'an Satori dan Aan Komariah. 2009. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Alfabeta: Bandung.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam. 2003. *The Introducing of the Main Issues of the Law of The Sea in Vietnam*. The National Political Publisher.
- Mintz, Alex dan Karl DeRouen Jr.. 2010. *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Nguyen, Dong Manh. 2005. *Settlement of disputes under the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea: The case of the South China Sea Dispute*. UN-Nippon Foundation: New York.
- Satori, Djam'an dan Aan Komariah. 2009. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Alfabeta: Bandung.

Sumber Jurnal:

- Bautista, Lowel. 2009. The Philippine Treaty Limits and Territorial Water Claim in International Law. *Research Online*. University of Wollongong.
- Baviera, Aileen. 2000. Philippines-China Relation in the 20th Century: History Versus Strategy. *Asian Studies Journals*
- Bolton, Kerry R.. 2012. China's Passport Map Controversy: The intransigence of territorial ambitions. *Foreign Policy Journal*
- Castro, Renato Cruz De. 2005. Philippine Defense Policy in the 21st Century: Autonomous Defense or back to the Alliance?. *The Pacific Affairs Journal*, Vol.78 No.3

- Castro, Renato Cruz De. 21th Century Philippine Civil-Military Relations: Why Partnership instead of Subordination?. *The Study of National Security*
- Castro, Renato Cruz De. 2012. The Aquino Administration's 2011 Decision to Shift Philippine Defense Policy from Internal Security to Territorial Defense: The Impact of the South China Sea Dispute. *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, Vol.24 No.1
- De Leon Jr., Fermin R., dkk. 2011. First Manila Conference on the South China Sea: Toward a Region of Peace, Cooperation, and Progress. *National Security Review Special Edition*. National Defense College of the Philippines: Manila.
- Djalal, Hasjim. 2000. South China Sea Island Disputes. *The Raffles Bulletin of Zoology*, No.8
- Duchatel, Mathieu dan Francois Godement. 2009. China's Politics under Hu Jintao. *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*
- Francis, Anselm. 1991. Treaty between the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago and the Republic of Venezuela on the delimitation of the marine and submarine area: an analys. *International Journal of Estuaries and Coastal*. Vol. 6
- Hallang, Andi. 2007. Pola Perubahan Kebijakan Luar Negeri Cina. *Jurnal LITE*, Vol.3, No.2
- Hong, Zhao. 2012. Can China-Philippine Relations Go Beyond South China Sea Dispute?", *EAI Background Brief*, No.740
- Jervis, Robert. 1978. Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma. *World Politics*. No.2
- Lampton, David M. 2004. The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform, 1978-2000. *China Perspectives*, No.52
- Nguyen, Hong Thao. 2012. Vietnam's Position on the Sovereignty over the Paracels & the Spratlys: Its Maritime Claims. *V JEAIL*. No.1
- Saha, Subrata. 2010. China's Grand Strategy: From Confusion to Contemporary. *Strategy Research Report*.
- Storey, Ian. 2013. The South China Sea Dispute (Part 2): Friction to Remain the Status Quo. *China Brief*, Vol. 13 No. 13
- Swaine, Michael D.. 2014. Xi Jinping on Foreign Relations: The Governance of China and Chinese Commentary. *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 48

- Tanter, Richard. 2013. The US Military Presence in Australia Asymmetrical Alliance Cooperation and its Alternatives. *Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol.11 Issue 45 No.1
- Velasco, Mark Anthony M. 2014. Philippines-China Relations: The Case of the South China Sea (Spratly Islands) Claims. *Asia Pacific Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*. Vol.2 No.6
- Walt, Stephen M. 1985. Alliance Formation and Balance of World Power. *International Security*. Vol. 9 No. 4
- Zhao, Hong. 2012. Sino-Philippines Relations: Moving Beyond South China Sea Dispute?. *The Journal of East Asian Affairs*, Vol.26, No.2

Sumber Terbitan Khusus:

- Departemen Luar Negeri Vietnam. 1981. *White Paper on the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes Vietnamese Territories*.
- Pasal dan Artikel *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea* (UNCLOS)

Sumber Internet:

- Acosta, Rene P. 2013. “Pasukan Filipina dan AS berlatih bahu-membahu”. Dalam <http://apdforum.com/id/article/rmiap/articles/online/features/2013/04/23/balikatan-philippines-us>
- Arase, David. 2011. “China’s militant tactics in the South China Sea”. Dalam <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2011/06/29/china-s-militant-tactics-in-the-south-china-sea/>
- Ali, Alman Hevas. “Dinamika di Laut Cina Selatan dan Implikasinya Terhadap Indonesia”. Dalam <http://www.fkpmaritim.org/dinamika-di-laut-cina-selatan-dan-implikasinya-terhadap-indonesia/>
- Aljazeera. 2012. “Philippines will not stamp new China passport”. Dalam <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2012/11/2012112961659865875.html>
- Aljazeera. 2014. “US and Philippines sign ten-year defence pact”. Dalam <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2014/04/us-philippines-sign-ten-year-defence-pact-20144284332171232.html>
- Artileri. 2013. “Atasi China, Filipina Modernisasi Militer Besar-besaran”. Dalam <http://www.artileri.org/2013/05/atasi-china-filipina-modernisasi-militer.html>

- BBC News. 2011. “*Sengketa kepemilikan Laut Cina Selatan*”. Dalam http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan_khusus/2011/07/110719_spratlyconflict
- BBC News. “*Mao Zedong (1893-1976)*”. Dalam http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/mao_zedong.shtml
- BBC News. 2011. “*Marinir bersiap untuk perang*”. Dalam http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2011/12/111207_china.shtml
- BBC News. 2015. “*Q&A: South China Sea Dispute*”. Dalam <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-13748349>
- BBC News. 2013. “*Xi Jinping named president of China*”. Dalam <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-21766622>
- Berg, Chris dan Sabine Wolff. “*China under Mao – What we know now and what we should have known then*”. Dalam <https://ipa.org.au/publications/1938/china-under-mao---what-we-know-now-and-what-we-should-have-known-then>
- Castro, Renato Cruz De. 2011. “*U.S.-Philippines Partnership in the Cause of Maritime Defense*”. Dalam <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2011/08/us-philippines-partnership-in-the-cause-of-maritime-defense>
- Castro, Renato Cruz De. 2012. “*Getting the Philippines Air Force Flying Again: The Role of the U.S.-Philippines Alliance*”. Dalam http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2012/09/getting-the-philippines-air-force-flying-again-the-role-of-the-us-philippines-alliance#_ftn38
- Castro, Renato Cruz De. 2013. “*China’s Realpolitik Approach in the South China Sea Dispute: The Case of the 2012 Scarborough Shoal Stand-Off*”. Dalam http://csis.org/files/attachments/130606_DeCastro_ConferencePaper.pdf
- Castro, Renato Cruz De. 2015. “*Is the Philippines’ Military Modernization Dead in the Water?*”. Dalam <http://thediplomat.com/2015/07/is-the-philippines-military-modernization-dead-in-the-water/>
- Center for a New American Security. 2015. “*Timeline 1955-Present*”. Dalam <http://www.cnas.org/flashpoints/timeline>
- China.org.cn. “*What is ‘Three Represents’ CPC Theory?*”. Dalam <http://www.china.org.cn/english/zhuanti/3represents/68735.htm>
- CNN. 2014. “*Balikatan boosts Phl-US military alliance*”. Dalam <http://ireport.cnn.com/docs/DOC-1128502>

- Cronin, Patrick. 2014. "*China's Problem With Rules: Managing a Reluctant Stakeholder*". Dalam <http://warontherocks.com/2014/06/chinas-problem-with-rules-managing-a-reluctant-stakeholder/>
- Darwanto, Herry. 2014. "*Masalah Regional di Asia-Pasifik*". Dalam <http://www.kemhan.go.id/kemhan/files/1967cbc67254038ce9690eb6938325b8.pdf>
- Department of National Defense. 2013. "*HADR Training Concludes Balikatan 2013*". Dalam <http://www.dnd.gov.ph/hadr-training-concludes-balikatan-2013.html>
- Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of the Philippines. 2014. "*China's Position on the Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea between China and the Philippines*". Dalam <http://ph.china-embassy.org/eng/xwfb/t1143881.htm>
- Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of the Philippines. 2009. "*Overview of China-Philippines Bilateral Relations*". Dalam <http://ph.china-embassy.org/eng/zfgx/zzgx/t180703.htm>
- Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of the Philippines. 2011. "*Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Ma Zhaoxu's Remark on Philippine President Aquino's Visit to China*". Dalam <http://ph.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/Aquino/t895082.htm>
- Embassy of The Philippines. "*PH-US Bilateral Relations*". Dalam <http://www.philippineembassy-usa.org/philippines-dc/embassy-dc/ph-us-bilateral-relations-dc/>
- Embassy of the United States. 2012. "*Balikatan Combined Exercise Returns to the Philippines*". Dalam <http://manila.usembassy.gov/balikatan2012pr.html>
- Fisher, Cindy. 2010. "*Balikatan shoulders projects*". Dalam <http://www.mcipac.marines.mil/NewsCenter/NewsArticleDisplay/tabid/1144/Article/530812/balikatan-shoulders-projects.aspx>
- French, Howard W.. 2015. "*What's behind Beijing's drive to control the South China Sea?*". Dalam <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/28/whats-behind-beijings-drive-control-south-china-sea-hainan>
- Global Security. 2015. "*China's Defense Budget*". Dalam <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/budget.htm>
- H., Richard Javad. 2015. "*Regional Summits and the South China Sea: Wading into the storm*". Dalam <http://amti.csis.org/regional-summits-and-the-south-china-sea-wading-into-the-storm/>

- Harian Kompas. 2014. "AS-Filipina Teken Perjanjian Pertahanan Baru". Dalam <http://dunia.tempo.co/read/news/2014/04/28/118573872/as-filipina-tanda-tangani-kerja-sama-pertahanan-baru>
- Harress, Christopher .2015. "South China Sea Dispute Timeline: A History of Chinese and US Involvement in the Contested Region". Dalam <http://www.ibtimes.com/south-china-sea-dispute-timeline-history-chinese-us-involvement-contested-region-2158499>
- Higgins, Andrew. 2012. "In Philippines, banana growers feel effect of South China Sea dispute". Dalam https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/in-philippines-banana-growers-feel-effect-of-south-china-sea-dispute/2012/06/10/gJQA47WVTV_story.html
- Ikenberry, G. John. 2012. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?". Dalam <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/2008-01-01/rise-china-and-future-west>
- Informal Expert Group, 2012, "Towards a Strategic Framework for Management of the West Philippine Sea", http://philippinesintheworld.org/sites/default/files/Summary%26Highlights_083112.pdf
- Joyner, Christopher C. "The Spratly Islands Dispute in the South China Sea: Problems, Policies, and Prospects for Diplomatic Accommodation". Dalam <http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/cbmapspratly.pdf>
- Jr., Merle David K.. 2011. "United States Commemorates Alliance with Philippines". Dalam <http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/article/2011/11/20111116152903elrem0.6947748.html>
- Luedi, Jeremy. 2014. "China and the Philippines: Understanding the Latest Clash over the South China Sea". Dalam <http://www.freedomobservatory.org/china-and-the-philippines-understanding-the-latest-clash-over-the-south-china-sea/>
- Lundry, Chris. 2012. "Another Twist to the South China Sea Dispute". Dalam <http://csc.asu.edu/2012/12/01/another-twist-to-the-south-china-sea-dispute/>
- Malik, Mohan. 2013. "Historical Fiction: China's South China Sea Claims". Dalam <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/historical-fiction-china%E2%80%99s-south-china-sea-claims>

- McCullough, Christopher. 2013. "U.S., Philippines partner for Exercise Balikatan 2013". Dalam http://www.army.mil/article/102588/US__Philippines_partner_for_Exercise_Balikatan_2013
- Meares, Mike. 2012. "Balikatan 2012 Officially Opens". Dalam <http://www.marforpac.marines.mil/News/NewsArticleDisplay/tabid/919/Article/530537/balikatan-2012-officially-opens.aspx>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. 2011. "Hu Jintao Holds Talks with Philippine President". Dalam http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zzjg_663340/yzs_663350/gjlb_663354/2762_663528/2764_663532/t855400.shtml
- Official Gazette. 2004. "The President's Day: September 1, 2004". Dalam <http://www.gov.ph/2004/09/01/the-presidents-day-september-1-2004/>
- Official Gazette. 2014. "Q&A on the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement". Dalam <http://www.gov.ph/2014/04/28/qna-on-the-enhanced-defense-cooperation-agreement/>
- Orendain, Simone. 2011. "Philippines Seeks Answers About Latest South China Sea Incident". Dalam <http://www.voanews.com/content/philippines-seeks-answers-about-latest-south-china-sea-incident-122936653/140180.html>
- Phy, Sopheada. "Peace and Conflict Monitor Analysis II: The Management of the Spratly Islands Conflict: Success or Failure?". Dalam http://www.monitor.upeace.org/printer.cfm?id_article=623
- Smith, Andrew. 2010. "Essex Completes Balikatan 2010". Dalam http://www.navy.mil/submit/display.asp?story_id=52101
- Snyder, Scott. 1996. "The South China Sea Dispute: Prospects for Preventive Diplomacy". Dalam <http://www.usip.org/publications/the-south-china-sea-dispute-prospects-preventive-diplomacy>
- Soepanji, Budi Susilo. 2012. "Pengaruh Keamanan Regional Bagi Keamanan Nasional Indonesia (Kasus Sengketa Laut Cina Selatan)". dalam <http://budisusilosoepandji.com/2012/05/23/pengaruh-keamanan-regional-bagi-keamanan-nasional-indonesia-kasus-sengketa-laut-cina-selatan/>
- South China Morning Post. 2013. "China snubs Philippine president over visit to Nanning Expo". Dalam <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1300512/china-snubs-philippine-president-over-planned-visit-nanning-expo>
- Spratly.org. "Malaysian Claims in the Spratlys (Spratly Islands)". Dalam <http://www.spratlys.org/collection/claims/malaysia/malaysia.htm>

- Sumakul, Willy F.. 2010. Potensi Konflik di Laut China Selatan (Bagian-2). *Forum Kajian Pertahanan dan Maritim*. Dalam <http://www.fkpmaritim.org/potensi-konflik-di-laut-cina-selatan-bagian-2/>
- The Philippine Star. 2015. “*Editorial: Weak at 68*”. Dalam <http://www.philstar.com:8080/opinion/2015/07/02/1472309/editorial-weak-68>
- U.S. Department of State. 2016. “*U.S. Collective Defense Arrangements*”. Dalam <http://www.state.gov/s/l/treaty/collectivedefense/>
- U.S. Energy Information Administration. 2013. “*South China Sea*”. Dalam http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis_includes/regions_of_interest/South_China_Sea/south_china_sea.pdf
- Whitlock, Craig. 2012. “*Philippine President Aquino seeks U.S. military aid*”. Dalam https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/philippine-president-aquino-seeks-us-military-aid/2012/06/08/gJQAUEwtOV_story.html
- Woong, Edward. 2011. “*China Hedges Over Whether South China Sea Is a ‘Core Interest’ Worth War*”. Dalam http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/31/world/asia/31beijing.html?_r=0
- Xinhua News. 2014. “*Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence not outdated: Chinese President*”. Dalam http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-06/28/c_133445548.htm
- Young, Cohen A.. 2011. “*Balikatan Kicks Off in Philippines for Bilateral Training*”. Dalam http://www.army.mil/article/54542/Balikatan_2011_kicks_off_in_Philippines_for_bilateral_training/
- Yujuico, Emmanuel. “*The real story behind South China Sea dispute*”. Dalam http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/pdf/SEAPpdf/SA_southchinaseadispute.pdf

Sumber Tesis:

- Glogan, Timothy. 2011. *China's 'Assertive' South China Sea Policy and Rhetoric: Proactive, Reactive or Myth?*, Tesis. Universitas of Turku.
- Miller, Casey J.. 2002. *The PRC Decision-Making Process*, Tesis. Naval Postgraduate School: California.
- Sihita, Ruth Ivanna. 2012. *Sikap Asertif China Sebagai Great Power Studi Kasus: Laut China Selatan (2008-2011)*, Tesis. Universitas Indonesia: Jakarta.
- Veronika, Nuri Widiastuti, 2012. *Pengaruh Komponen Geopolitik Terhadap Konflik Di Laut China Selatan Antara China-Vietnam Pada Periode 2009-2011*, Tesis. Universitas Indonesia: Jakarta.

