

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- Anggito, Albi dan Johan Setiawan. *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif*. CV Jejak (Jejak Publisher). 2018.
- Bartanto, Bandoro dan Ananta Gondomono. *ASEAN dan Tantangan Satu Asia Tenggara*. Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Jakarta, 1997.
- Crane, Keith, Roger Cliff, Evan Medeiros and James Mulvenon, *Modernizing China's Military Opportunities and Constraints*. Rand Corporation, 2005.
- Creswell, John W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, And Mixed Methods Approaches -4th ed*. SAGE Publications, Inc. California, 2004.
- Donelly, Jack. *Realism and International Relations*. The Pitt Building. Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom, 2002.
- Goldstein, S. Joshua and Jon C. Pevehouse. *International Relations Eighth Edition*. Pearson Longman. London, 2009.
- Jasuli, Akis. *ASEAN vs Cina, ASEAN dalam Pusaran Konflik Laut Cina Selatan*. Buku Litera. Jakarta, 2016.
- Jemadu, Aleksius. *Politik Global dalam Teori dan Praktik*. Suluh Media, Yogyakarta, 2017.
- Luhulima, C.P.F. *SEAN Menuju Postur Baru*. Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Jakarta, 1997.
- Nainggolan, Poltak Partogi. *Konflik Laut China Selatan dan Implikasinya Terhadap Kawasan*. P3DI Setjen DPR Republik Indonesia dan Azza Grafika. Jakarta, 2013.
- Neuman, W. Laurence. *Basic of Social Research, Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Pearson Education. Canada, 2004.
- Semiawan, Conny R. *Metode Kualitatif, Jenis Karakteristiknya dan Keunggulannya*. Grasindo. Jakarta, 2004.
- Usman, Asnani dan Rizal Sukma. *Konflik Laut Cina Selatan, Tantangan Bagi ASEAN*. Centre for Strategic and International Studies. Jakarta, 1997.

## Artikel jurnal

- Acharya, Amitav and Jillian Moo-Young. "Constructing Security and Identity in Southeast Asia." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Winter / Spring 2006), pp. 155-163, diakses pada 02 Maret 2019.
- Bitzinger, Richard. "Modernising China's Military, 1997-2012." *China Perspectives*, No. 4 (88) (2011), pp. 7-15, diakses pada 2 Maret 2019.
- Buszynski, Leszek. "ASEAN, the Declaration on Conduct, and the South China Sea." *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (December 2003), pp. 343-362, diakses pada 23 Februari 2019.
- Buszynski, Leszek. "Chinese Naval Strategy, the United States, ASEAN and the South China Sea." *Security Challenges*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Winter 2012), pp. 19-32 63, diakses pada 22 Februari 2019.
- Fravel, M. Taylor. "China's Strategy in the South China Sea." *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2011), pp. 292-319, diakses pada 18 Februari 2019.
- Gusterson, Hugh. "Realism and the International Order After The Cold War." *Social Research, Business Source Premier*, 60, No. 2:279-300. (1993), 12 April 2019.
- Jihyun, Kim. "Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea: Implications for Security in Asia and Beyond." *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Summer 2015), pp. 107-141, diakses pada 23 Februari 2019.
- Kurniawan, Dwiki. "Hedging Maritim Indonesia di Tengah Persaingan Strategis India-China." *Indonesian Perspective*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Juli-Desember 2017): 85-103, diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.
- Nie, Wenjuan. "Xi Jinping's Foreign Policy Dilemma: One Belt, One Road or the South China Sea?." *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (December 2016), pp. 422-444, diakses pada 9 April 2019.
- Péron-Doise, Marianne. "The South China Sea: A Maritime Geography of Latent Conflictuality." *North Asia, Strategy and Maritime Security Researcher*. (2017), diakses pada 20 Februari 2019.
- Roy, Denny. "Southeast Asia Balancing Or Bandwagoning?." *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (August 2005), pp. 305-322, diakses pada 20 April 2019.

- Scott, David. "Conflict Irresolution in the South China Sea." *Asian Survey*, Vol. 52, No. 6 (November/December 2012), pp. 1019-1042, diakses pada 21 Februari 2019.
- Seth, S. P. "ASEAN and Regional Security." *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, No. 33 (Aug. 14-20, 1999), p. 2304, diakses pada 28 Februari 2019.
- Severino, Rodolfo C. "ASEAN and the South China Sea." *Security Challenges*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Winter 2010), pp. 37-47 63, diakses pada 23 Februari 2019.
- Shaun, Narine. "ASEAN and the Management of Regional Security." *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 2 (Summer, 1998), pp. 195-214, diakses pada 02 Maret 2019.
- Solingen, Etel. "Regional conflict and cooperation: The Case of Southeast Asia." *University of California Irvine*, September (2001), diakses pada 28 Februari 2019.
- Sutter, Robert G. dan Chin-Hao Huang "Myanmar, South China Sea Issues." *Comparative Connections* Volume 11, Issue 3 [e-journal] <http://cc.pacforum.org/2009/10/myanmar-south-china-sea-issues/>, diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.
- Thayer, Carlyle A. "Chinese Assertiveness in the South China Sea and Southeast Asian Responses." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 30, 2, (2011), 77-104, diakses pada 20 April 2019.
- Thitapha, Wattanapruttipaisan. "ASEAN—China Free Trade Area: Advantages, Challenges, and Implications for the Newer ASEAN Member Countries." *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 20, no. 1 (2003): 31-48, diakses pada 6 Februari 2019.
- Tsung-Yen, Chen Ian and Alan Hao Yang. "A Harmonized Southeast Asia? Explanatory typologies of ASEAN's Countries' Strategies to the rise of China." *Pacific Review* 26, no.3:265-288. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost, diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.
- Yamaguchi, Shinji. "Strategies of China's Maritime Actors in the South China Sea." *China Perspectives*. Available from <http://journals.openedition.org/chinaperspectives/7022> ISSN: 1996-4617, diakses pada 18 Februari 2019.
- Yoon, Sukjoon. "Implications Of Xi Jinping's "True Maritime Power": Its Context, Significance, And Impact On The Region." *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Summer 2015), pp. 40-63, diakses pada 20 Februari 2019.

### **Sumber Daring :**

ASEAN Program Studies. "The South China Sea and ASEAN Unity: A Cambodian Perspective." <https://www.thcsean.org/read/articles/268/The-South-China-Sea-and-ASEAN-Unity-A-Cambodian-Perspective>, diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

ASEAN. "About ASEAN." <https://asean.org/asean/about-asean/>; Internet; diakses pada 28 Februari 2019.

ASEAN. Declaration on The Conduct of Parties in The South China Sea. [https://asean.org/?static\\_post=declaration-on-the-conduct-of-parties-in-the-south-china-sea-2](https://asean.org/?static_post=declaration-on-the-conduct-of-parties-in-the-south-china-sea-2) diakses pada 10 Februari 2019.

Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. "China Lands First Bomber South China Sea Island" <https://amti.csis.org/china-lands-first-bomber-south-china-sea-island/> diakses pada 12 April 2019.

Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. "China's New Spratly Island Defense." <https://amti.csis.org/chinas-new-spratly-island-defenses/> diakses pada 9 April 2019.

Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. "Exercises Bring New Weapons Paracels." <https://amti.csis.org/exercises-bring-new-weapons-paracels/> diakses pada 9 April 2019.

Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. "South China Sea Energy Exploration and Development." <https://amti.csis.org/south-china-sea-energy-exploration-and-development/> diakses pada 12 April 2019.

Banyu Perwita, Anak Agung. Dinamika Keamanan dalam Hubungan Internasional dan Implikasinya Bagi Indonesia. [http://repository.unpar.ac.id/bitstream/handle/123456789/344/Orasi\\_Anak\\_Agung\\_Dinamika\\_Keamanan-p.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](http://repository.unpar.ac.id/bitstream/handle/123456789/344/Orasi_Anak_Agung_Dinamika_Keamanan-p.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y) diakses pada 28 Februari 2019.

Central Military Commission. "ASEAN, China agree on code for unplanned encounters in South China Sea." [http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2016-09/07/content\\_7246240.htm](http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2016-09/07/content_7246240.htm) diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

Commander, U.S. Pacific Fleet. <https://www.cpf.navy.mil/rimpac/2014/> diakses pada 9 April 2019.

Connelly, Aaron L. *Lowy Institute for International Policy*. "Indonesia di Laut Cina Selatan: Berjalan sendiri."

<https://www.lowyinstitute.org/sites/default/files/documents/Indonesia%20di%20Laut%20Cina%20Selatan.pdf> diakses pada 6 Februari 2019.

Council on Foreign Relation. "Territorial Disputes in The South China Sea."  
<https://www.cfr.org/interactive/global-conflict-tracker/#!/conflict/territorial-disputes-in-the-south-china-sea> diakses pada 10 Februari 2019.

Defense Intelligence Agency. China Military Power Modernizing a Force to Fight and Win.  
[https://www.dia.mil/Portals/27/Documents/News/Military%20Power%20Publications/China\\_Military\\_Power\\_FINAL\\_5MB\\_20190103.pdf](https://www.dia.mil/Portals/27/Documents/News/Military%20Power%20Publications/China_Military_Power_FINAL_5MB_20190103.pdf) diakses pada 9 April 2019.

Finkbeiner, John M. *Strategic Studies Institute*. "Malaysia's Great Power Balance and the South China Sea Disputes."  
<https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a589214.pdf> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

Global Fire Power. [https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country\\_id=china#manpower](https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=china#manpower) diakses pada 2 Maret 2019.

International Organizations. <https://internationalrelations.org/international-organizations/> diakses pada 28 Februari 2019.

Lye, Liang Fook dan Ha Hoang Hop. *ISEAS Perspective*. "Vietnam's Responses to China's Maritime Assertiveness in the South China Sea."  
[https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS\\_Perspective\\_2018\\_50@50.pdf](https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2018_50@50.pdf) diakses pada 17 April 2019.

Pang, Edgar. *ISEAS Perspective*. "Same-Same but Different: Laos and Cambodia's Political Embrace of China."  
[https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS\\_Perspective\\_2017\\_66.pdf](https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2017_66.pdf) diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

Pitakdumrongkit, Kaewkamol. *S. Raja Ratnam School of International Studies, Policy Report*. "Managing Asean's External Relations Via The Country Coordinator: Lessons Learned From Thailand." [https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/PR160222\\_Managing-ASEAN-External-Relations.pdf](https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/PR160222_Managing-ASEAN-External-Relations.pdf) diakses pada 20 April 2019.

Singapore Institute of International Affairs. "On the South China Sea and other contentious issues, ASEAN must speak with one voice."  
<http://www.siaaonline.org/on-the-south-china-sea-and-other-contentious-issues-asean-must-speak-with-one-voice/> diakses pada 23 April 2019.

Storey, Ian. *ISEAS Perspective*. “Assessing the ASEAN-China Framework for the Code of Conduct for the South China Sea.”

[https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS\\_Perspective\\_2017\\_62.pdf](https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2017_62.pdf)  
diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

The Office of Naval Intelligence. “The PLA navy new capabilities and missions for the 21<sup>st</sup> century”. <https://fas.org/nuke/guide/china/plan-2015.pdf> diakses pada 9 April 2019.

Tomotaka, Shoji. *The National Institute for Defense Studies*. “Vietnam and China over the South China Sea The confrontation proceeds towards a new phase.” [http://www.nids.mod.go.jp/english/publication/briefing/pdf/2014/briefing\\_e189.pdf](http://www.nids.mod.go.jp/english/publication/briefing/pdf/2014/briefing_e189.pdf) diakses pada 17 April 2019.

Weatherbee, Donald E. *ISEAS Perspective*. “Re-Assessing Indonesia’s Role in the South China Sea.” [https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS\\_Perspective\\_2016\\_18.pdf](https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2016_18.pdf) diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

#### **Situs Resmi :**

Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia. “Isu Khusus, Laut China Selatan.” <https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/kebijakan/isu-khusus/Pages/Laut-China-Selatan.aspx>. diakses pada 10 Februari 2019.

Ministry of National Defense (MND) of the People's Republic of China [http://eng.mod.gov.cn/Press/2015-05/26/content\\_4586805.htm](http://eng.mod.gov.cn/Press/2015-05/26/content_4586805.htm) diakses pada 9 April 2019.

Sekretariat Nasional ASEAN-Indonesia. <http://setnas-asean.id/tentang-asean> diakses pada 23 April 2019.

#### **Berita :**

Albert, Eleanor. *The Diplomat*. “China Digs Deep in Landlocked Laos.” <https://thediplomat.com/2019/04/china-digs-deep-in-landlocked-laos/> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

Aung, H Nyan Lynn. *Myanmar Times*. “Myanmar wades in to South China Sea ruling with a balancing act.” <https://www.mmmtimes.com/national-news/21447-myanmar->

[wades-in-to-south-china-sea-ruling-with-a-balancing-act.html](#) diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

BBC Indonesia. “Apa Pengaruh Putusan Mahkamah Arbitrase Soal Laut Cina Selatan?”  
[https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2016/07/160711\\_dunia\\_filipina\\_cina\\_mahkamah\\_preview](https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2016/07/160711_dunia_filipina_cina_mahkamah_preview) diakses pada 3 Mei 2019.

BBC Indonesia. “Singapura desak Cina soal klaim wilayah”  
[https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2011/06/110620\\_sporchina.shtml](https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2011/06/110620_sporchina.shtml) diakses pada 22 April 2019.

BBC News, “China building runway in disputed South China Sea island.”  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-32331964> diakses pada 9 April 2019.

BBC News, “Sengketa kepemilikan Laut Cina Selatan.”  
[https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan\\_khusus/2011/07/110719\\_spratlyconflict](https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan_khusus/2011/07/110719_spratlyconflict) diakses pada 2 Februari 2019.

CNN Indonesia. “China-ASEAN Gelar Latihan Militer di Laut China Selatan.”  
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20181019145907-106-339810/china-asean-gelar-latihan-militer-di-laut-china-selatan> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

Hart, Michael. *Geopolitical monitor*. “Brunei Abandons South China Sea Claim for Chinese Finance.” <https://www.geopoliticalmonitor.com/brunei-abandons-south-china-sea-claim-for-chinese-finance/> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

Hellendorff, Bruno dan Thierry Kellner. *The Diplomat*. “Indonesia: A Bigger Role in the South China Sea?” <https://thediplomat.com/2014/07/indonesia-a-bigger-role-in-the-south-china-sea/> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

Jaipragas, Bhavan. *South China Morning Post*. “Singapore ill not ‘roll over’ for China.” <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/2103291/singapore-will-not-roll-over-china> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

Jennings, Ralph. *Voa News*. “Malaysian PM Shows Signs of a Bolder Stance on South China Sea” <https://www.voanews.com/a/malaysia-south-china-sea/4453209.html> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

Kompas Indonesia. “Pangkalan Militer China Di Laut.China Selatan.Siap Digunakan.”  
<https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2017/03/29/09261221/pangkalan.militer.china.di.laut.china.selatan.siap.digunakan> diakses pada 12 April 2019.

- Kurniawan, Bagus. *Detik News*. “Selat Malaka dan Selat Singapura, Jalur Sempit dengan Ribuan Kapal Setiap Tahun” <https://news.detik.com/berita/3307281/selat-malaka-dan-selat-singapura-jalur-sempit-dengan-ribuan-kapal-setiap-tahun> diakses pada 22 April 2019.
- Long, Amelia. *The National Interest*. “Indonesia’s South China Sea Dilemma.” <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/indonesias-south-china-sea-dilemma-16707> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.
- Orendain, Simone. *Voa Indonesia*. “China Bangun Landasan Udara di Kawasan Laut China Selatan.” <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/chinabangun-landasan-terbang-di-kawasan-laut-china-selatan/2723475.html> diakses pada 9 April 2019.
- Permal, Sumathy. *Maritime Issues*. “New Mahathir Administration's South China Sea Policy” <http://www.maritimeissues.com/politics/new-mahathir-administration39s-south-china-sea-policy.html> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.
- Quismundo, Tarra. *ABS-CBN News*. “Singapore asserts rule of law to calm South China Sea tensions.” <https://news.abs-cbn.com/overseas/08/07/18/singapore-asserts-rule-of-law-to-calm-south-china-sea-tensions> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.
- Reuters. “Thailand 'supports' China's efforts to maintain maritime peace.” Available from <https://www.reuters.com/article/asean-summit-southchinasea-thailand-idUSL3N1BJ27A> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.
- Samosir, Hanna Azarya. *CNN Indonesia*. “China Perkuat Relasi dengan Militer Myanmar.” <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20171123142657-113-257608/china-perkuat-relasi-dengan-militer-myanmar> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.
- Santi, Natalia. *CNN Indonesia*. “China Pasang Rudal di Kepulauan Spratly Laut China Selatan.” <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20180504072016-113-295584/china-pasang-rudal-di-kepulauan-spratly-laut-china-selatan> diakses pada 12 April 2019.
- South China Morning Post. “Cambodia made the right decision in South China Sea dispute.” <https://www.scmp.com/comment/letters/article/1985205/cambodia-made-right-decision-south-china-sea-dispute> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.
- Suastha, Riva Dessthanika. *CNN Indonesia*. “ASEAN-China Sepakati Draf Negosiasi Kode Etik LCS.” <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20180803094924-106-319145/asean-china-sepakati-draf-negosiasi-kode-etik-lcs> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.



Torode, Greg. *Reuters*. "China leaning on Singapore to keep ASEAN calm over South China Sea." <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-asean-china-singapore-analysis/china-leaning-on-singapore-to-keep-asean-calm-over-south-china-sea-sources-idUSKBN1AO17D> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

Voa Indonesia. "Pembangunan Pulau dan Sarana Militer China di Laut China Selatan Hampir Selesai." <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/pembangunan-pulau-dan-sarana-militer-di-laut-china-selatan-hampir-selesai/3790677.html> diakses pada 10 April 2019.

Voa News. "UN Arbitration Court Rules Against Beijing in South China Sea Dispute." <https://www.voanews.com/a/3413156.html> diakses pada 20 April 2019.

Ward, Oliver. *ASEAN Today*. "The Silent Claimant in The South China Sea." <https://www.aseantoday.com/2017/07/the-silent-claimant-in-the-south-china-sea/> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

#### **Dokumen Resmi :**

ASEAN Document. Chairman's Statement of The 23rd Asean Regional Forum. [https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Chairmans-Statement-of-the-23rd-ASEAN-Regional-Forum\\_FINAL.pdf](https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Chairmans-Statement-of-the-23rd-ASEAN-Regional-Forum_FINAL.pdf) diakses pada 2 Mei 2019.

ASEAN Document. Joint Communiqué 47th ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting. <https://asean.org/storage/2012/05/Joint-Communique-of-47th-AMM.pdf> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

ASEAN Document. Joint Communiqué of The 49th Asean Foreign Ministers' Meeting. <https://asean.org/storage/2016/07/Joint-Communique-of-the-49th-AMM-ADOPTED.pdf> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

ASEAN Document. Joint Communiqué of The 50th Asean Foreign Ministers' Meeting. [https://asean.org/storage/2017/08/Joint-Communique-of-the-50th-AMM\\_FINAL.pdf](https://asean.org/storage/2017/08/Joint-Communique-of-the-50th-AMM_FINAL.pdf) diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

Embassy of People's Republic of China in Malaysia. Co-chairs' Press Release on the ASEAN-China SOM Retreat. <http://my.china-embassy.org/eng/zgxw/t983616.htm> diakses pada 1 Mei 2019.

General Debate of The 69<sup>th</sup> Session of The Un General Assembly. [https://www.un.org/en/ga/69/meetings/gadebate/pdf/VN\\_en.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/ga/69/meetings/gadebate/pdf/VN_en.pdf) diakses pada 3 Mei 2019.

Permanent Court of Arbitration, Press Release. “The South China Sea Arbitration (The Republic of The Philippines V. The People’s Republic of China).”  
<https://pca-cpa.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2016/07/PH-CN-20160712-Press-Release-No-11-English.pdf> diakses pada 3 Mei 2019.

Permanent Mission of The Republic Indonesia to The United Nation.  
[https://www.un.org/Depts/los/clcs\\_new/submissions\\_files/mysvnm33\\_09/idn\\_2010re\\_mys\\_vnm\\_e.pdf](https://www.un.org/Depts/los/clcs_new/submissions_files/mysvnm33_09/idn_2010re_mys_vnm_e.pdf) diakses pada 22 April 2019.

