

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Burchill, Scott, Andrew Linklater, Richard Devetak, Jack Donnelly, Terry Nardin, Matthew Paterson, Christian Reus-Smit, and Jacqui True. *Theories of International Relations*, 6th ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-31136-8>.
- Buszynski, Leszek, and Do T. Hai. *The South China Sea: From a Regional Maritime Dispute to Geo-Strategic Competition*. London: Routledge, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429331480>.
- Björk, Ragnar, and Thomas Lundén. *Territory, State and Nation: The Geopolitics of Rudolf Kjellén*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2021.
- Gilpin, Robert. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0084255900043904>.
- Gurtov, Melvin. *Pacific Asia?: Prospects for Security and Cooperation in East Asia*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3096151>.
- Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.1093/survival/44.3.150>.
- Neuman, W. L. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. New York: Pearson College Division, 2011. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3211488>.
- Ryan, Alan. *On Hobbes: Escaping The War Of All Against All*. Washington: National Geographic Books, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sor.2018.0036>.
- Samuels, Marwyn. *Contest for the South China Sea*. London: Routledge, 2013. doi:10.4324/9781315018904.
- Shaw, Malcolm N. *International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004386242_009.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. *Theory of International Politics*. Long Grove: McGraw-Hill Humanities, Social Sciences & World Languages, 1979. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-90400-9_127.

Government Publications

Advocate, Staff Judge. "US Policy on the South China Sea." U.S. Department of State. *International Law Studies* 97, no. 1 (2021): 12.

Dolven, Ben, Susan V. Lawrence, and Ronald O'Rourke. *China Primer: South China Sea Disputes*. Congressional Research Service, 2021.
<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10607>.

O'Rourke, Ronald. *U.S.-China Strategic Competition in South and East China Seas: Background and Issues for Congress*. Congressional Research Service, 2022. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R42784>.

U.S. Department of State, Office of Ocean and Polar Affairs, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. *LIMITS IN THE SEAS No. 150 People's Republic of China: Maritime Claims in the South China Sea*. U.S.: U.S. Department of State, 2022.
<https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/LIS150-SCS.pdf>.

United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. *The Law of the Sea: Official Text of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea with Annexes and Index : Final Act of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea : Introductory Material on the Convention and the Conference*. London: C. Helm ; New York, 1983.
https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclose.pdf.

Journal Articles

Bahri, Muhammad. "Kebijakan Freedom of Navigation Amerika Serikat Di Laut Tiongkok Selatan." *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional Departemen Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Universitas Hasanuddin* 5, no. 2 (December 2020), 122-146.
<https://journal.unhas.ac.id/index.php/wanua/article/view/14088>.

Boxer, Baruch. "China's island frontier. Studies in the historical geography of Taiwan." *Journal of Historical Geography* 9, no. 3 (1983), 333-335.
doi:10.1016/0305-7488(83)90205-0.

- Buszynski, Leszek. "The origins and development of the South China Sea maritime dispute." *The South China Sea Maritime Dispute*, 2014, 1-23. doi:10.4324/9781315858029-1.
- Djalal, Hasjim. "South China Sea Island Disputes." *Raffles Bulletin of Zoology* 8 (2000), 9-21. <https://lkcnm.nus.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/sites/10/app/uploads/2017/04/s08rbz009-021.pdf>.
- Dutton, Peter. "THREE DISPUTES AND THREE OBJECTIVES: China and the South China Sea." *Naval War College Review* 64, no. 4 (2011): 42–67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26397243>.
- Erickson, Andrew S., Joshua Hickey, and Henry Holst. "SURGING SECOND SEA FORCE: China's Maritime Law-Enforcement Forces, Capabilities, and Future in the Gray Zone and Beyond." *Naval War College Review* 72, no. 2 (2019): 10–34. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26607132>.
- Faesen, Louk, Tim Swejjs, Alexander Klimburg, Conor MacNamara, and Michael Mazarr. "Case Study 5: Upholding Freedom of Navigation in the South China Sea." *From Blurred Lines to Red Lines*, September 2020, 1-44. https://hcss.nl/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/From-Blurred-Lines-to-Red-Lines_0.pdf.
- Franckx, Erik, and Marco Benatar. "Dots and Lines in the South China Sea: Insights from the Law of Map Evidence." *Asian Journal of International Law* 2, no. 1 (2012), 89-118. doi:10.1017/s2044251311000117.
- Fravel, M. T. "China's Strategy in the South China Sea." *CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA* 33, no. 3 (2011), 292. doi:10.1355/cs33-3b.
- Garcia, Zenel. "The South China Sea Disputes." *China's Military Modernization, Japan's Normalization and the South China Sea Territorial Disputes*, 2019, 17-34. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-12827-2_2.
- Grossman, Derek. "Military build-up in the South China Sea." *The South China Sea*, 2019, 182-200. doi:10.4324/9780429331480-13.
- Hossain, Kamrul. "The UNCLOS and the US-China Hegemonic Competition over the South China Sea." *Journal of East Asia and International Law* 6, no. 1 (2013). doi:10.14330/jeail.2013.6.1.05.
- Jinming, Li, and Li Dexia. "The Dotted Line on the Chinese Map of the South China Sea: A Note." *Ocean Development & International Law* 34, no. 3-4 (2003), 287-295. doi:10.1080/00908320390221821.

- Ma, Xinmin. "China and the UNCLOS: Practices and Policies." *The Chinese Journal of Global Governance* 5, no. 1 (2019), 1-20. doi:10.1163/23525207-12340036.
- Mahoney, James, and Daniel Schensul. "Historical Context and Path Dependence." *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*, 2009, 454-471. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199270439.003.0024.
- McLaughlin, Madeline. "U.S. Strategy in the South China Sea." American Security Project, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep26608>.
- Milner, Helen. "The assumption of anarchy in international relations theory: a critique." *Review of International Studies* 17, no. 1 (1991), 67-85. doi:10.1017/s026021050011232x.
- Nincic, Miroslav. "The National Interest and its Interpretation." *The Review of Politics* 61, no. 1 (1999), 29-55. doi:10.1017/s0034670500028126.
- Ott, Marvin. "The South China Sea in Strategic Terms." Wilson Center. Last modified May 2019. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/the-south-china-sea-strategic-terms>.
- Philpott, Daniel. "Sovereignty." *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Political Philosophy*, 2011. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199238804.003.0032.
- Stilz, Anna. "Territorial sovereignty: A brief introduction." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 52, no. 1 (2021), 6-9. doi:10.1111/josp.12404.

Online Sources

- Acayan, Ezra. ""Ezra Acayan" Photos and Premium High Res Pictures." Royalty Free Stock Photos, Illustrations, Vector Art, and Video Clips - Getty Images. Accessed November 28, 2022. <https://www.gettyimages.com/photos/%22ezra-acayan%22>.
- ASEAN. "Plan of Action to Implement the Joint Declaration of the Heads of State/Government of ASEAN and China on Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity." ASEAN. Accessed November 30, 2022. <https://www.asean.org/news/item/plan-of-action-toimplement-the-joint-declaration-on-asean-china-strategic-partnership-for-peace-and-prosperity>.

Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. "South China Sea Energy Exploration and Development." Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. Last modified 2022. <https://amti.csis.org/south-china-sea-energy-exploration-and-development/>.

Banlaoi, Rommel C. ""The Bilateral Consultative Mechanism on the South China Sea and Philippines-China Relations"." ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute. Last modified April 28, 2021. <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/iseas-perspective/2021-51-the-bilateral-consultative-mechanism-on-the-south-china-sea-and-philippines-china-relations-by-rommel-c-banlaoi/>.

Brookshier, Kathryn. "Method Vs. Methodology: Understanding the Difference." Medium. Last modified May 30, 2018. <https://uxdesign.cc/method-vs-methodology-whats-the-difference-9cc755c2e69d>.

CFR. "Timeline: China's Maritime Disputes." Council on Foreign Relations. Last modified July 15, 2020. <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/chinas-maritime-disputes>.

China Power Team. "How Much Trade Transits the South China Sea?" ChinaPower Project. Last modified January 25, 2021. <https://chinapower.csis.org/much-trade-transits-south-china-sea/>.

CSIS. "Countering Coercion in Maritime Asia." Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. Last modified June 14, 2017. <https://amti.csis.org/countering-coercion-hub/>.

CSIS. "The U.S. Asserts Freedom of Navigation in the South China Sea." Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. Last modified October 27, 2015. <https://amti.csis.org/the-u-s-asserts-freedom-of-navigation-in-the-south-china-sea/>.

"Economic Maps." The South China Sea | An Online Resource for Students, Scholars and Policy-makers Interested in South China Sea Regional Development, Environment, and Security Issues. Accessed November 30, 2022. <https://www.southchinasea.org/maps/economy/>.

Gerval, Adam, and Mark Henderson. "US Policy in the South China Sea Across Three Administrations." E-International Relations. Last modified June 27, 2022. <https://www.e-ir.info/2022/06/27/us-policy-in-the-south-china-sea-across-three-administrations/>.

Glaser, Charles. "Will China's Rise Lead to War?" Foreign Affairs. Last modified September 2, 2022. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/2011-03-01/will-chinas-rise-lead-war>.

The Guardian. "Beijing Rejects Tribunal's Ruling in South China Sea Case." The Guardian. Last modified November 28, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/12/philippines-wins-south-china-sea-case-against-china>.

Harres, Cristopher. "South Tiongkok Sea Dispute Timeline: A History of Chinese and US Involvement in the Contested Region." International Business Times. Last modified November 18, 2012. <https://www.ibtimes.com/south-Tiongkok-sea-dispute-timelinehistory-chinese-us-involvement-contested-region-215849>.

Hindustan Times. "US' Kerry Says No Military Solution to South China Sea Dispute." Hindustan Times. Last modified August 31, 2016. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/us-kerry-says-no-military-solution-to-south-china-sea-dispute/story-P3uETKkgfvhffUTsbJMR3H.html>.

The Jakarta Post. "China Warns Top US General off 'arbitrary Provocations'." The Jakarta Post. Last modified July 8, 2022. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/world/2022/07/08/china-warns-top-us-general-off-arbitrary-provocations.html>.

LaGrone, Sam. "U.S. Destroyer Performs South China Sea FONOP; China Says It Expelled Warship." USNI News. Last modified July 13, 2022. <https://news.usni.org/2022/07/13/u-s-destroyer-performs-south-china-sea-fonop-china-says-it-expelled-warship>.

Lendon, Brad. "China Test Fires So-called 'carrier Killer' Missiles into South China Sea." CNN. Last modified August 29, 2020. <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/08/28/asia/china-missile-tests-exercises-intl-hnk-scli/index.html>.

Marine Gyaan. "What is a Baseline?" Marine Gyaan. Last modified October 18, 2016. <https://marinegyaan.com/what-is-a-baseline/>.

"Maritime Security and Navigation." U.S. Department of State Archive. Accessed November 23, 2022. <https://2009-2017.state.gov/e/oes/ocns/opa/maritimesecurity/index.htm>.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. "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." 中华人民共和国外交部. Last modified July 12, 2016. 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. "Wang Yi Delivers a Policy Speech on Open Regionalism at ASEAN Secretariat." 中华人民共和国外交部. Last modified July 12, 2022. https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/wjbz_663308/activities_663312/202207/t20220712_10718813.html.

Mittal, Tanya. "Troubled waters: FONOPS, UNCLOS, and global commons." Observer Research Foundation. Last modified June 30, 2022. <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/troubled-waters-fonops-unclos-and-global-commons/#:~:text=FONOPS%20gives%20the%20US%20the,waters%20anywhere%20in%20the%20wor>.

Mohammed, Arshad, and Humeyra Pamuk. "U.S. to Back Nations That Say China Violated Their South China Sea Claims." U.S. Last modified July 15, 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-china-southchinasea-pompeo/u-s-to-back-nations-that-say-china-violated%20their-south-china-sea-claims-idUSKCN24G25U>.

Nations Online Project. "Political Map of the South China Sea." Nations Online. Last modified November 7, 2022. <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/South-China-Sea-political-map.htm>.

NY Times. "U.S. PLANE IN CHINA AFTER IT COLLIDES WITH CHINESE JET (Published 2001)." The New York Times - Breaking News, US News, World News and Videos. Last modified April 2, 2001. <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/04/02/world/us-plane-in-china-after-it-collides-with-chinese-jet.html>.

Permanent Court of Arbitration. "The South China Sea Arbitration (The Republic of Philippines v. The People's Republic of China)." PCA. Accessed November 30, 2022. <https://pcacases.com/web/sendAttach/2086>.

Rappler. "Focus: Marine Riches of South China Sea." Rappler. Last modified April 26, 2012. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/4407-eyes-on-marine-riches-of-south-china-sea/>.

Reporter, SCMP. "Which Are the Key Countries in the South China Sea Dispute?" South China Morning Post. Last modified February 16, 2019. <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/article/2186449/explained-south-china-sea-dispute>.

Shicun, Wu. "US-China Rivalry Must Not Become Great Power Game in South China Sea." South China Morning Post. Last modified April 19, 2021. <https://www.scmp.com/comment/opinion/article/3129895/us-china-rivalry-south-china-sea-must-not-turn-great-power-game>.

Time. "Just Where Exactly Did China Get Its Nine-Dash Line From?" Time. Last modified July 19, 2016. <https://time.com/4412191/nine-dash-line-9-south-china-sea/>.

U.S. Department of State. "Maritime Security and Navigation." U.S. Department of State Archive. Last modified January 20, 2017. <https://2009-2017.state.gov/e/oes/ocns/opa/maritimesecurity/index.htm>.

U.S. Department of State. "Remarks at Press Availability." U.S. Department of State. Last modified July 14, 2010. <https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2010/07/145095.htm>.

U.S. Department of State. "The United States-ASEAN Relationship." United States Department of State. Last modified August 4, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-asean-relationship/>.

U.S. Mission Laos. "Statement by Secretary Michael R. Pompeo, U.S. Position on Maritime Claims in the South China Sea." U.S. Embassy in Laos. Last modified July 21, 2020. <https://la.usembassy.gov/statement-by-secretary-michael-r-pompeo-u-s-position-on-maritime-claims-in-the-south-china-sea/>.

The Guardian. "China Has Fully Militarized Three Islands in South China Sea, US Admiral Says." Last modified March 21, 2022. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/21/china-has-fully-militarized-three-islands-in-south-china-sea-us-admiral-says>.

"The United States-ASEAN Relationship." United States Department of State. Last modified August 4, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-asean-relationship/>.

VOA. "S. China Sea Dispute Blamed Partly on Depleted Fish Stocks." VOA. Last modified May 16, 2012. <https://www.voanews.com/a/south-china-sea-dispute-blamed-partly-on-depleted-fish-stocks/666766.html>.

Wilson Center. "The South China Sea in Strategic Terms." Wilson Center. Accessed November 23, 2022. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/the-south-china-sea-strategic-terms>.

World Courts. "The Oscar Chinn Case, Britain V. Belgium, Judgment, 12 December 1934, Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ)." WorldCourts: International Case Law Database (Judgments, Advisory Opinions, Views & Decisions). Accessed November 30, 2022. https://www.worldcourts.com/pcij/eng/decisions/1934.12.12_oscar_chinn.htm.

World Sustainable Development Summit. "Global Commons Beyond Sovereign Domains: Oceans, Atmosphere, Biodiversity and Our Heritage." World Sustainable Development Summit - WSDS 2023. Last modified February 17, 2022. <https://wsds.teriin.org/global-common-beyond-sovereign-domains.php>.

