



## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku:

- Acharya, Amitav, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and The Problem of Regional Order 2nd edition*, New York, Routledge, 2009
- Bateman, Sam, Emmers, Ralf, *Security and International Politics in the South China Sea*, New York, Routledge, 2009
- Bryman, Alan, *Social Research Methods 2nd edition*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004
- Caceres, Sigfrido B., *China's Strategic Interests in the South China Sea: Power and Resources*, New York, Routledge, 2014
- Collins, Alan, *The Security Dilemmas of Southeast Asia*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2000
- Downs, Erica S., *China's Quest for Energy Security*, Arlington, RAND, 2000
- Ganguly, Sumit, Scobell, Andrew, & Liow, Joseph Chinyong (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Asian Security Studies*, London & New York, Routledge
- Gungwu, Wang, *The Nanhai Trade. The Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea*, Singapore, Times Academic Press, 1998
- Heijmans, Annelies, Simmonds, Nicola, & Van de Veen, Hans (eds.), *Searching for Peace in Asia Pacific: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities*, London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004
- Hong, Zhao, *China and India: The Quest for Energy Resources in the Twenty-first Century*, New York, Routledge, 2012
- Huisken, Ron, *Rising China: Power and Reassurance*, Canberra, ANU E Press, 2009
- Jonnson, Christer, Hall, Martin, *Essence of Diplomacy*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005



Koo, Min Gyo, *Island Disputes and Maritime Regime Building in East Asia Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, London, Springer Science Business Media, 2009

Lanteigne, Marc, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, London & New York, Routledge, 2009

Luhulima, C.P.F, *Dinamika Asia Tenggara Menuju 2015*, Yogyakarta, Pustaka Pelajar, 2011

Medeiros, Evan S., *China's International Behaviour: Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification*, Santa Monica, RAND Corporation, 2009

Olton, Roy, Plano, Jack C., *Internasional Relations Dictionary*, diterjemahkan oleh Wawan, Juanda, Jakarta, CV. Putra A. Bardhin, 1999

Ras, Abd Rivai, *Konflik Laut China Selatan dan Ketahanan Regional Asia Pasifik Sudut Pandang Indonesia*, Jakarta, Yayasan Abdi Persada Siporenmu Indonesia, Spers Mabes TNI AL, 2001

Roy, S. L., *Diplomacy*, diterjemahkan oleh Harwanto, Misrawati, Jakarta, PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 1995

Shambaugh, David, *China Goes Global: The Partial Power*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2013

Spanier, John, *Games Nation Play*, New York, New York Press, 1975

Thuy, T. T., *Recent Developments in the South China Sea: Implications for Regional Security and Cooperation*, Washington, CSIS, 2011

*The Post American World*, New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 2008

**Jurnal:**

Bateman, Sam, "Regime Building in the South China Sea – Current Situation and Outlook," *Australian Journal of Maritime and Ocean Affairs*, Vol. 3 No. 1, 2011

BA., Alice D., "Staking Claims and Waves in the South China Sea: How Troubled Are the Waters?," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2011



Beukel, Erik, "China and the South China Sea: Two Faces of Power in the Rising China's Neighborhood Policy," *DIIS Working Paper*, Copenhagen, Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), 2010

Buszynski, Leszek, "The South China Sea: Oil, Maritime Claims, and U.S.-China Strategic Rivalry," *The Washington Quarterly*, CSIS, No. 32, Vol. 2, 2012

Buszynski, Leszek, "ASEAN, the Declaration of Conduct, and the South China Sea," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 2003

Chang, Maria Hsia, "Chinese irredentist nationalism: The magician's last trick," *Contemporary Strategy*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1998

De Castro, Renato Cruz, "The Philippines in the South China Sea dispute," *Australian National University*

Denoon, David B. H., Friemen, Wendy, "China's Security Strategy: The View from Beijing, ASEAN, and Washington," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 36, No. 4, 1996

Foot, Rosemary, "Chinese Strategies in a US-Hegemonic Global Order: Accomodating and Hedging," *Foreign Affair*, Vol. 82, 2006

Foot, Rosemary, "China in the ASEAN Regional Forum: Organizational Process and Domestic Modes of Thought," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 38, No. 5, 1998

Fravel, M. Taylor, "China's Strategy In The South China Sea," *Contemporary Southeast Asia, Special Focus: The South China Sea Dispute*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2011

Garver, John W., "China's Push Through the South China Sea: The Interaction of Bureaucratic and National Interest," *The China Quarterly*, No. 132, 1992

Hideshi, Ueno, "The Problems in the South China Sea," *Review of Island Studies*

Ho, Joshua H., "The Security of Sea Lanes in Southeast Asia," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 46, Issue 4, 2006

Hyer, Eric, "The South China Sea Disputes: Implications of Chinas's Earlier Teritorial Settlements," *Pacific Affairs*, University of British Columbia, Vol. 68, No. 1, 1995

Ji, You, Xu, You, "In Search of Blue Water Power: The PLA Navy's Maritime Survey in the 1990s," *Pacific Review*, No. 2, 1991



Johnston, Alastair Iain, "How New and Assertive is China's New Aseriveness?,"  
*International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 4, 2013

Lunn, Jon, Lang, Arabella, "The South China Sea dispute: July 2016 update,"  
*Briefing Paper*, House of Commons Library, No. 7481, 2016

NDP Consulting Group, "China's Quest for Energy," *Institute for 21st Century Energy & US Chamber of Commerce*

Nguyen, Dong Manh, "Settlement Of Disputes Under The 1982 United Nations Convention On The Law Of The Sea: The Case Of The South China Sea Dispute," *University of Queensland Law Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Queensland, 2006

Pumphrey, Carolyn W., ed., "The Rise of China in Asia: Security Implications,"  
*Carlisle PA, US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute*, 2002

Renard, Thomas, "Aggressive, Assertive and Approximative: how Russia, China and Europe adapt to the changing global order," *Heinrich Boll Stiftung*, 2015

Tonnesson, Stein, "An International History of The Dispute in the South China Sea," *EAI Working Paper*, No. 71, 2001

Wu, Samuel S. G., de Mesquita, B. B., "Assessing the Dispute in the South China Sea: A Model of China's Security Decision Making," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 1994

Yi, Xiaoxiong, "Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition: Understanding China's "Peaceful" Development," *The Journal of East Asian Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 2005

Zhao, Suisheng, "China's New Foreign Policy "Assertiveness": Motivations and Implications," *Istituto Per Gli Studi Di Politica Internazionale*, No. 54, 2011

"China' Worldwide Quest for Energy Security", *International Energy Agency (IEA)*

"International Energy Outlook 2010," *Energy Information Administration's (EIA)*

### **Dokumen Resmi:**

*United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)*



“Annual Report to Congress—Military Power of the People’s Republic of China 2008,” *Office of the Secretary of Defense, United States of America*

“China’s Activities in the South China Sea,” *Ministry of National Defense of the People’s Republic of China*, 2015

**Tesis:**

Bakhtiar, Arief, “Perilaku Politik Luar Negeri Tiongkok Dalam Konflik Laut Tiongkok Selatan,” (Tesis Pascasarjana, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2016)

Shaohua, Ma, “China’s Multilateralism and the South China Sea Conflict: Quest for Hegemonic Stability?” (Tesis Pascasarjana, National University of Singapore, 2006)

Veronika, Nuri Widiastuti, “Pengaruh Komponen Geopolitik Terhadap Konflik di Laut China Selatan Antara China – Vietnam Pada Periode 2009 – 2011”, (Tesis Pascasarjana, Universitas Indonesia, 2012)

**Website:**

Amirullah, “Tiga Alasan China Berambisi Kuasai Laut China Selatan,” *Tempo*, 2016, <https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2016/07/30/118791866/tiga-alasan-cina-berambisi-kuasai-laut-cina-selatan>, diakses 3 Oktober 2016

Ana, “China Reclaiming Land in 5 Reefs?,” *ABC CBN News*, 2014, <http://news.abs-cbn.com/nation/06/13/14/china-reclaiming-land-5-reefs>, diakses 2 Oktober 2016

Anshu, “When compared to transport aircraft do fighter aircraft need long runways to slow down after landing?,” *Quora*, <https://www.quora.com/When-compared-to-transport-aircraft-do-fighter-aircraft-need-long-runways-to-slow-down-after-landing>, diakses 2 Oktober 2016

Budianto, Lilian, “South China Sea dispute a potential rift in RI-China ties: Envoy,” *The Jakarta Post*, 2010, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/05/25/south-china-sea-dispute-a-potential-rift-richina-ties-envoy.html>, diakses 24 September 2016

Center for a New American Security, “Timeline: 1955-Present”, *Flashpoints, Security in the East and South China Sea*, 2016, <http://www.cnas.org/flashpoints/timeline>, diakses 27 September 2016



Chang, Felix K., “Getting Tougher: Vietnam’s Responses to China’s South China Sea Bases,” *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, 2016, <http://www.fpri.org/2016/08/getting-tougher-vietnams-response-chinas-south-china-sea-bases/>, diakses 30 Oktober 2016

Currie, Kelley, “Why is China Picking Up Fights with Indonesia?,” *The Weekly Standard*, 2010, <http://www.weeklystandard.com/article/489430>, diakses 24 September 2016

Dancel, Raul, “Philippines versus China in the South China Sea: Timelines of dispute so far”, *Straits Times*, 2016, <http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/philippines-vs-china-in-the-south-china-sea-the-dispute-so-far>, diakses 27 September 2016

Green, Michael, Glaser, Bonnie, & Cooper, Zack, “Seeing the Forest Through the SAMS on Woody Island,” *Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative*, 2016, <https://amti.csis.org/seeing-the-forest-through-the-sams-on-woody-island/>, diakses 1 Oktober 2016

Hardoko, Ervan, “Kapal Penjaga Pantai China Terobos Perairan Malaysia”, *Kompas Internasional*, 2015, <http://internasional.kompas.com/read/2015/06/09/17542731/Kapal.Penjaga.Pantai.China.Terobos.Perairan.Malaysia>, diakses 29 September 2016

Hendrajit, “Laut Cina Selatan: Medan Tempur AS-Cina di Asia Tenggara,” 2012, [http://www.theglobal-review.com/content\\_detail.php?lang=id&id=7457&type=99](http://www.theglobal-review.com/content_detail.php?lang=id&id=7457&type=99), diakses 13 September 2016

Hunt, Katie, “South China Sea: Court Rules in Favor of Philipines over China,” *CNN*, 2016, <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/07/12/asia/china-philippines-south-china-sea/>, diakses 7 Oktober 2016

Kamal, Mustafa, “Passport Baru China Memasukkan Natuna sebagai Wilayahnya”, *Kompasiana*, 2014, [http://www.kompasiana.com/alchemist/pasport-baru-china-memasukkan-natuna-sebagai-wilayahnya\\_54f8224aa333112e1f8b4fe7](http://www.kompasiana.com/alchemist/pasport-baru-china-memasukkan-natuna-sebagai-wilayahnya_54f8224aa333112e1f8b4fe7), diakses 29 September 2016

Kaplan, Robert D., “The South China Sea is the Future of Conflict,” *Foreign Policy*, 2011, [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/08/15/the\\_south\\_china\\_sea\\_is\\_the\\_future\\_of\\_conflict?page=0,0](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/08/15/the_south_china_sea_is_the_future_of_conflict?page=0,0), diakses 17 September 2016



Lee, Victor Robert, “Satellite Images: China Manufactures Land at New Sites in the Paracel Islands,” *The Diplomat*, 2016, <http://thediplomat.com/2016/02/satellite-images-china-manufactures-land-at-new-sites-in-the-paracel-islands/>, diakses 30 September 2016

Lee, Victor Robert, “South China Sea: China is Building on the Paracels As Well,” *The Diplomat*, 2015, <http://thediplomat.com/2015/04/south-china-sea-china-is-building-on-the-paracels-as-well/>, diakses 30 September 2016

Liddy, Matthew, Spragon, Ben, “Before and After: China builds artificial islands in South China Sea,” *ABC News*, 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-09-22/south-china-sea-islands-before-and-after/6794076>, diakses 2 Oktober 2016

Lockett, Hudson, “Timeline: South China Sea Disputes, Longstanding tensions have been marked by sporadic confrontation,” *Financial Times*, 2016, <https://www.ft.com/content/aa32a224-480e-11e6-8d68-72e9211e86ab>, diakses 27 September 2016

Michael, J. Kelly, “The Bush Foreign Policy 2001-2003: Unilateralist Theory In A Multilateral World, And The Opportunity For Change Offered By Iraq,” [http://law.wustl.edu/wugslr/issues/Volume2\\_1/p221kelly.pdf](http://law.wustl.edu/wugslr/issues/Volume2_1/p221kelly.pdf), diakses 22 September 2016

Mogato, Manuel, Martina, Michael, & Blanchard, Ben, “ASEAN Deadlocked on South China Sea, Cambodia Blocks Statement,” *Reuters*, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-southchinasea-ruling-asean-idUSKCN1050F6>, diakses 7 Oktober 2016

Muhaimin, “Laut China Selatan Memanas, Beijing Bangun Kapal Induk Ketiga,” *SindoNews*, 2016, <http://international.sindonews.com/read/1129176/40/laut-china-selatan-memanas-beijing-bangun-kapal-induk-ketiga-1470446616>, diakses 16 Oktober 2016

Muhaimin, “Sebanyak 40 Jet China Manuver di Laut China Timur, Jepang Bereaksi,” *SindoNews*, 2016, <http://international.sindonews.com/read/1142232/40/sebanyak-40-jet-china-munuver-di-laut-china-timur-jepang-bereaksi-1474849988>, diakses 16 Oktober 2016

Padden, Brian, “South China Sea Disputes Top Regional Security Concerns,” *Voice of America*, 2011, <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/asia/South-China-Sea-Disputes->



[Top-Regional-Security-Concerns-135950433.html](#), diakses 24 September 2016

Perlez, Jane, Huang, Yufan, “China Promoting Tourism for Disputed Paracel Islands,” *The New York Times*, 2016, [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/29/world/asia/south-china-sea-tourism.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/29/world/asia/south-china-sea-tourism.html?_r=0), diakses 1 Oktober 2016

Phy, Sopheada, “Peace and Conflict Monitor Analysis II: The Management Of The Spratly Islands Conflict: Success Or Failure?,” 2009, [http://www.monitor.upeace.org/printer.cfm?id\\_article=623](http://www.monitor.upeace.org/printer.cfm?id_article=623), diakses 10 September 2016

Pike, John, “Military Clashes in the South China Sea”, *Global Security*, 2014, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/spratly-clash.htm>, diakses 24 September 2016

Poling, Gregory, “Potential New Runway Presents New Headaches,” *Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative CSIS*, 2015, <https://amti.csis.org/new-imagery-release/>, diakses 2 Oktober 2016

Puspaningtyas, Lida, “Forum Menlu ASEAN Bahasa Laut China Selatan,” *News Republika Internasional*, 2015, [http://internasional.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/global/15/08/05/nsl\\_grn366-forum-menlu-asean-bahas-laut-cina-selatan](http://internasional.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/global/15/08/05/nsl_grn366-forum-menlu-asean-bahas-laut-cina-selatan), diakses 6 Oktober 2016

Rufo, Aries, “In Photos: China’s creeping expansion,” *Rappler*, 2015, <http://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/investigative/96695-in-photos-china-creeping-expansion>, diakses 30 September 2016

Sari, Sri Mas, “Produksi Naik Hingga 400.000 Ton,” 2016, <http://koran.bisnis.com/read/20160727/452/569426/produksi-naik-hingga-400.000-ton>, diakses 12 September 2016

Sari, Amanda Puspita, “KTT ASEAN: ASEAN Tekan Tiongkok Selesaikan Isu Maritim,” *CNN Indonesia*, 2014, <http://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20141112182125-106-11110/asean-tekan-tiongkok-selesaikan-isu-maritim/>, diakses 6 Oktober 2016

Singh, Abhijit, “Reclaiming Scarborough Shoal, China’s South China Sea Strategy”, *Asia & the Pacific Policy Society, APPS Policy Forum*, 2016,



<http://www.policyforum.net/reclaiming-scarborough-shoal/>, diakses 29 September 2016

Townshend, Ashley, “The strategic significance of China’s Woody Island power play”, *the interpreter*, 2016,  
<http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2016/03/01/The-strategic-significance-of-Chinas-Woody-Island-power-play.aspx>, diakses 30 September 2016

Watkins, Derek, “What China Has Been Building in the South China Sea,” *The New York Times*,  
<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/07/30/world/asia/what-china-has-been-building-in-the-south-china-sea-2016.html>, diakses 1 Oktober 2016

“About The ASEAN Regional Forum,”  
[www.aseanregionalforum.asean.org/about.html](http://www.aseanregionalforum.asean.org/about.html), diakses 17 September 2016

“Airstrips Near Completion,” *Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative CSIS*, 2015,  
<https://amti.csis.org/airstrips-near-completion/>, diakses 3 Oktober 2016

“Another Piece of the Puzzle,” *Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative CSIS*, 2016, <https://amti.csis.org/another-piece-of-the-puzzle/>, diakses 1 Oktober 2016

“Asia & China,” *European Council On Foreign Relations*,  
<http://www.ecfr.eu/asia>, diakses pada 10 September 2016

“China opens new lighthouse on contested Subi Reef in the South China Sea,”  
*The Straits Times*, 2016, <http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/east-asia/china-opens-new-lighthouse-on-contested-subi-reef-in-the-south-china-sea>, diakses 3 Oktober 2016

“China to Phillipines: No Sea Feud Talk at APEC Summit,” *Associated Press*, 2015,  
<http://bigstory.ap.org/article/f7219e46eb484f70b9613430dd440398/chinas-top-diplomat-visits-manila-amid-sea-feud>, diakses 6 Oktober 2016

“Chinese Ships “harass” US Vessel”, *BBC News*, 2009,  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7933171.stm>, diakses 24 September 2016

“Chinese-Occupied Features,” *Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative CSIS*, 2016,  
<https://amti.csis.org/chinese-occupied-features/>, diakses 1 Oktober 2016



“Current military capabilities and available firepower for 2016 detailed: China Military Strength,” *Global Fire Power*, 2016, [http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country\\_id=china](http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=china), diakses 23 Oktober 2016

“Current military capabilities and available firepower for 2016 detailed: Vietnam Military Strength,” *Global Fire Power*, 2016, [http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country\\_id=vietnam](http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=vietnam), diakses 23 Oktober 2016

“Current military capabilities and available firepower for 2016 detailed: Philippines Military Strength,” *Global Fire Power*, 2016, [http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country\\_id=philippines](http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=philippines), diakses 23 Oktober 2016

“Explore Cuarteron Reef,” *Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative CSIS*, 2016, <https://amti.csis.org/cuarteron-reef-tracker/>, diakses 1 Oktober 2016

“Explore Hughes Reef,” *Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative CSIS*, 2016, <https://amti.csis.org/hughes-reef-tracker/>, diakses 2 Oktober 2016

“Explore Johnson Reef,” *Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative CSIS*, 2016, <https://amti.csis.org/johnson-reef-tracker/>, diakses 2 Oktober 2016

“International Energy Administration Country Brief: South China Sea,” *EIA*, [http://205.254.135.7/EMEU/cabs/South\\_China\\_Sea/pdf.pdf](http://205.254.135.7/EMEU/cabs/South_China_Sea/pdf.pdf), diakses 13 September 2016

“Jangan Lagi Ada “Kejutan” di KTT ASEAN Nanti,” *Kompas*, 2012, <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2012/09/23/0311223/Jangan.Lagi.Ada.Kejutan.di.KTT.ASEAN.Nanti>, diakses 6 Oktober 2016

“Military Expenditure (% of GDP),” *The World Bank*, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS>, diakses 21 Oktober 2016

“Protes resmi Vietnam atas rudal Cina di pulau sengketa,” *BBC Indonesia*, 2016, [http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2016/02/160219\\_dunia\\_cina\\_vietnam](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2016/02/160219_dunia_cina_vietnam), diakses 30 Oktober 2016

“Pro-Active Policies by China in Response to Asian Financial Crisis,” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China*, 2014, [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/ziliao\\_665539/3602\\_665543/3604\\_665547/t18037.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/ziliao_665539/3602_665543/3604_665547/t18037.shtml), diakses 20 Oktober 2016



“Report for Selected Countries and Subject, World Economic Outlook Database,”  
*International Monetary Fund*, 2016,  
<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2016/01/weodata/>, diakses 20 Oktober 2016

“Sengketa Kepemilikan Laut Tiongkok Selatan,” *BBC Indonesia*, 2011,  
[http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan\\_khusus/2011/07/110719\\_spratlyconflict](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan_khusus/2011/07/110719_spratlyconflict), diakses 27 November 2015

“Sinopec building fuel station in South China Sea”, *Graphic News*, 2015,  
<http://www.graphicnews.com/en/go/pages/33768/CHINA-Paracel-Islands-expansion>, diakses 30 September 2016

“South China Sea: Country Analysis Briefs,” *Energy Information Administration (EIA)* [http://www.eia.gov/cabs/South\\_China\\_Sea/pdf.pdf](http://www.eia.gov/cabs/South_China_Sea/pdf.pdf), diakses 1 September 2016

“South China Sea: Tribunal backs case against China brought by Philippines,” *BBC News*, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-36771749>, diakses 30 Oktober 2016

“South China Sea,” [http://www.bluebird-electric.net/oceanography/south\\_china\\_sea.htm](http://www.bluebird-electric.net/oceanography/south_china_sea.htm), diakses 13 September 2016

“Today in Energy, Daily Prices,” *Energy Information Administration (EIA)*, 2016, <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/prices.php>, diakses 21 Oktober 2016

*United Nations Treaties*,  
[http://untreaty.un.org/ilc/documentation/english/a\\_cn4\\_500.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/ilc/documentation/english/a_cn4_500.pdf), diakses 22 September 2016

“Vietnam Protes Aktivitas China di Laut China Selatan,” *VOA Indonesia*, 2016, <http://www.voaindonesia.com/a/vietnam-memprotes-aktivitas-china-di-laut-china-selatan/3418155.html>, diakses 30 Oktober 2016

“Vietnam sends rocket launchers to the South China Sea,” *theguardian*, *South China Sea*, 2016,  
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/10/vietnam-sends-rocket-launchers-to-the-south-china-sea>, diakses 30 Oktober 2016