

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- “Agreement on the Establishment of the Regional Secretariat for the Implementation of the ASEAN Mutual Recognition Arrangement on Tourism Professionals”, 30 Desember 2015, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online, <http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20170217103704.pdf>.
- “Agreement on the Establishment of the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Animal Health and Zoonoses”, 7 Oktober 2016, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online, <http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20161108071810.pdf>.
- “Agreement on the Privileges and Immunities of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations”, 25 Oktober 2009, <http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20140416012939.pdf>.
- “ASEAN Agreement on the Movement of Natural Persons”, 19 November 2012, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online, <http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20140117162554.pdf>.
- “ASEAN Sectoral Mutual Recognition Arrangement for Inspection and Certification Systems on Food Hygiene for Prepared Foodstuff Products”, 27 April 2018, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online, <http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20180522045752.pdf>.
- “ASEAN Agreement on Medical Device Directive”, 21 November 2014, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online, <http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20141204115621.pdf>.
- “ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children”, 21 November 2015, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online, <http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20160303122945.pdf>.
- “ASEAN Framework Agreement on the Facilitation of Cross Border Transport of Passengers by Road Vehicles”, 13 Oktober 2017, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online, <http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20171208153146.pdf>.
- “ASEAN Mutual Recognition Arrangement for Bioequivalence Study Reports of Generic Medicinal Products”, 2 November 2017, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online, <http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20171122163335.pdf>.
- “Peraturan Menteri Keuangan Republik Indonesia Nomor 26/PMK.010/2017 Tentang Penetapan Tarif Bea Masuk Dalam Rangka ASEAN-China Free Trade Area”. 2017.
- “Pernyataan Pers Akhir Tahun 2000 Menteri Luar Negeri RI Dr. Alwi Shihab Departemen Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia”.
<https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/berita/siaran-pers/Pages/Pernyataan-Pers-Akhir-Tahun-2000-Menteri-Luar-Negeri-RI-Dr.-Alwi-Shihab-Departemen-Luar-Negeri-Rep-ub.aspx>. diakses 4 Februari 2019.

- “Protocol to Implement the Tenth Package of Commitments under the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services”, 11 November 2018, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20190215091942.pdf>.
- “Protocol to the ASEAN Charter on Dispute Settlement Mechanisms”, 8 April 2010, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20160829075723.pdf>.
- “Protocol to Implement the Eighth Package of Commitments on Air Transport Services under the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services”, 20 Desember 2013, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20180710041220.pdf>.
- “Protocol to Amend the ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement”, 26 Agustus 2014, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20141007110406.pdf>.
- “Protocol Amending the Revised Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of the ASEAN Foundation”, 2 Oktober 2015, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20171211163603.pdf>.
- “Protocol to Implement the Sixth Package of Commitments on Financial Services under the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services”, 20 Maret 2015, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20161228095506.pdf>.
- “ Protocol on the Legal Framework to Implement the ASEAN Single Window”, 4 September 2015, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20150915020056.pdf>.
- “Protocol To Implement The Ninth Package Of Commiments On Air Transport Services Under ASEAN Framework Agreement On Services”, 6 November 2015. <http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20160329160515.pdf>
- “Protocol to Implement the Seventh Package of Commitments on Financial Services under the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services”, 23 Juni 2016, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20160810102929.pdf>.
- “Protocol 3 on Domestic Code-Share Rights between Points within the Territory of any other ASEAN Member States”, 13 Oktober 2017, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20180223163623.pdf>.
- “Protocol to Implement the Tenth Package of Commitments on Air Transport Services under the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services”, 13 Oktober

2017, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20180321162551.pdf>

“Protocol 4 on Co-Terminal Rights between Points within the Territory of any other ASEAN Member State”, 9 November 2019, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20181115040239.pdf>.

“The Fifth Supplemental Memorandum of Understanding on the ASEAN Swap Agreement “, 17 November 2015, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20171218160519.pdf>

“The Sixth Supplemental Memorandum of Understanding on the ASEAN Swap Agreement “, 17 November 2017, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20171218160710.pdf>

A, Anna Maria. Role of Indonesia in the Evolution of ASEAN. *The Journal of East Asian Affairs*. ol. 31, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2017).

A., Haryanto. (2017). Prinsip Bebas Aktif Dalam Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia: Perspektif Teori Peran. *Jurnal Ilmu Politik dan Komunikasi*, 4(02).

A. L. Connelly. 2017. “Indonesia di Laut Tiongkok Selatan: Berjalan Sendiri”. Lowy Institute for International Policy.

A, Poole. (2015). The foreign policy nexus: national interests, political values and identity. In *Indonesia’s Ascent* (pp. 155-176). Palgrave Macmillan, London. 157.

A. Y., Hartati. (2016). Kebijakan Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia Dalam Sengketa Laut Tiongkok Selatan (Era Presiden Soeharto Sampai Presiden Jokowi). *Sosio Dialektika*, 1(2)

Air Force Tech. Sgt. Chuck Broadway. 26 Februari 2018. Exercise Cobra Gold Strengthens Interoperability, Regional Relationships. <https://dod.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/1450954/exercise-cobra-gold-strengthens-interoperability-regional-relationships/>. diakses 2 Mei 2019.

AHM. 18 September 2008. “Jangan Ikut Singapura”. <https://news.okezone.com/read/2008/09/18/64/147113/jangan-ikut-singapura>. diakses 2 Februari 2019.

Ahmad, Z. H., & Ghoshal, B. (1999). The political future of ASEAN after the Asian crisis. *International Affairs*, 75(4).

Ajay Singh, Sanjay Kapoor. 19 November 1999. ”His and ASEAN’s Way”. <http://edition.cnn.com/ASIANOW/asiaweek/magazine/99/1119/nat.Indonesia.html>. diakses February 2, 2019.

Anwar, Dewi Fortuna. ” Indonesia’s Foreign Policy Under President Jokowi”. RSIS Distinguished Public Lecture. Youtube video. Diakses 15 Desember 2018.

- Andika, Muhammad Tri. "The Role Of Indonesia In ASEAN Under Joko Widodo's Pro-People Diplomacy." In Prosiding Seminar Nasional INDOCOMPAC. 2016.
- Aplianta, D. (2015). Indonesia's Response in the South China Sea Disputes: A comparative analysis of the Soeharto and the post-Soeharto era. JAS (Journal of ASEAN Studies), 3(1).
- Aritonang, Margareth S. 15 November 2015. RI, Laos explore stronger defense cooperation.
<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/11/15/ri-laos-explore-stronger-defense-cooperation.html>. diakses 4 Mei 2019.
- ASEAN. ASEAN Security Outlook 2015.
<https://www.asean.org/storage/2015/12/ASEAN-SECURITY-OUTLOOK-2015.pdf>.
- ASEAN Legal Instrument. <http://agreement.asean.org/home/index/16.html>. diakses 13 Mei 2019.
- Bakar, Moh Abu. "Peran Indonesia Di ASEAN Pada Masa SBY Periode 2004-2011." PhD diss., University of Muhammadiyah Malang, 2013.
- BBC News. 21 Juli 2011. Sengketa Kepemilikan Laut Tiongkok Selatan.
https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan_khusus/2011/07/110719_spratlyconflict. diakses 13 Maret 2019.
- Beeson, M., & Lee, W. (2015). The Middle Power Moment: A New Basis for Cooperation between Indonesia and Australia?. In Indonesia's Ascent (pp. 224-243). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Bennett, A. (2004). Case study methods: Design, use, and comparative advantages. Models, numbers, and cases: Methods for studying international relations, 30.
- Berlianto. 19 Mei 2017. ASEAN - Tiongkok Sepakati Coc Framework Laut Tiongkok Selatan.
<https://international.sindonews.com/read/1206437/40/ASEAN-Tiongkok-sepakati-coc-framework-laut-Tiongkok-selatan-1495177700>. diakses 7 Maret 2019.
- Bernama. 8 Oktober 2017. Malaysia-Indonesia undergo joint military exercises to enhance cooperation.
<https://www.malaymail.com/news/malaysia/2017/10/08/malaysia-Indonesia-undergo-joint-military-exercises-to-enhance-cooperation/1482639>. diakses 22 April 2019.
- C. A. Thayer. (2013). ASEAN, Tiongkok and the code of conduct in the South China Sea. SAIS Review of International Affairs, 33(2), 75-84.
- Cambridge Dictionary.

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/harmonization>. diakses 8 April 2019.

Carl O. Schuster. June 2017. Battle for Paracel Island.

<https://www.historynet.com/battle-paracel-islands.htm>. diakses 13 Maret 2019.

Chandra, A. C. (2004). Indonesia's non-state actors in ASEAN: a new regionalism agenda for Southeast Asia?. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 166.

Chairman's Statement Of The 18TH ASEAN-China Summit Kuala Lumpur. 21 November 2015.

<https://www.asean.org/wp-content/uploads/images/2015/November/27th-summit/statement/Chairmans%20Statement%20of%20the%2018th%20ASEAN-China%20Summit%20Final.pdf>. 2-3.

ChinaPower. Raw Incident Data. <https://chinapower.csis.org/data/raw-incident-data/>.
<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1vhzrfGfqy3UOU8Cvf13Oqv16V7jim5px0B1J6AcDko/edit#gid=0>.

Chairman's Statement Of The 21st ASEAN-China Summit To Commemorate The 15th Anniversary Of ASEAN-China Strategic Partnership In Singapore, 14 November 2018. <https://asean.org/storage/2018/11/ASEANChinaSummitChairmansStatementFinal1.pdf>. 4.

Christopher Woody. 22 November 2018. These are the 25 most powerful militaries in the world in 2018. <https://www.businessinsider.sg/most-powerful-militaries-in-the-world-ranked-2018-11/?r=US&IR=T>. diakses 11 April 2019.

Christiastuti, .Novi. 15 Desember 2016. Citra Satelit Tunjukkan Tiongkok Pasang Sistem Senjata di Laut Tiongkok Selatan. <https://news.detik.com/internasional/d-3372307/citra-satelit-tunjukkan-Tiongkok-pasang-sistem-senjata-di-laut-Tiongkok-selatan>. diakses 14 Maret 2019.

CNN. 28 Juni 2008. Tiongkok and Vietnam: a timeline of conflict. <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/asiapcf/06/27/Tiongkok.Vietnam.timeline/index.html>. Diakses 13 Maret 2019.

CNN Indonesia. 16 Juli 2018. Bintang Kehormatan Tanda Hubungan Pertahanan RI-Brunei Kuat. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20180715234826-106-314287/bintang-kehormatan-tanda-hubungan-pertahanan-ri-brunei-kuat>. diakses 4 Mei 2019.

Cobus, Pete. Konflik dan Diplomasi di Laut.

<https://projects.voanews.com/south-Tiongkok-sea/indonesian/>. diakses 13 Maret 2019.

Collier, D. (2011). Understanding process tracing. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44(4).

- Darini, R., & HUM, M. (2010). Garis Besar Sejarah Tiongkok Era Mao. Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, diakses dalam [http://staff.uny.ac.id/sites/default/files/Garis% 20Besar% 20Sej% 20Tiongkok% 20Era% 20Mao.pdf](http://staff.uny.ac.id/sites/default/files/Garis%20Besar%20Sej%20Tiongkok%20Era%20Mao.pdf) (6/5/2016, 13: 49 WIB). 20.
- Deputi Bidang Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial dan Kemanusiaan.ASEAN dan Isu Laut Tiongkok Selatan
<http://lipi.go.id/risetunggulan/single/ASEAN-dan-isu-laut-Tiongkok-selatan/14>.
Diakses 14 Maret 2019.
- Diskusi“China & Far East”. 22 Oktober 2015. Singapore, Indonesia Conduct Joint Military Exercise
<https://defence.pk/pdf/threads/singapore-indonesia-conduct-joint-military-exercise.404595/>. diakses 2 Mei 2019.
- Desker, B. (2010). Is Indonesia Outgrowing ASEAN?.2.
- Djalal, D. P. (2008). Harus bisa!: seni memimpin ala SBY: catatan harian Dino Patti Djalal. Red & White Pub.
- Dwinanda, Reiny. 19 Juli 2017. Indonesia, Singapore Hold Joint Military Exercise in Riau.
<https://www.republika.co.id/berita/en/national-politics/17/07/19/otc9fp414-Indonesia-singapore-hold-joint-military-exercise-in-riau>. diakses 22 April 2019.
- Energy Information America. 7 Februari 2013. South Tiongkok Sea Overview.
https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis_includes/regions_of_interest/South_Tiongkok_Sea/south_Tiongkok_sea.pdf. diakses 13 Maret 2019.
- Declaration For A Decade Of Coastal And Marine Environmental Protection In The South China Sea (2017-2027) .
<https://asean.org/storage/2017/11/Declaration-for-a-Decade-of-Coastal-and-Marine-Environmental-Protection-in-the-South-China-Sea-2017-2027.pdf>. 1-2.
- Dipanjana Roy Chaudhury. 12 Juli 2018. Vietnam Invites India to Explore Resources in disputes South China Sea Region.
<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/vietnam-invites-india-to-explore-resources-in-disputed-south-china-sea-region/articleshow/51123742.cms>.
diakses 19 April 2019.
- Dwiyantoro, I. (2017). Pergeseran Orientasi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Filipina Pada Era Presiden Duterte (Doctoral dissertation, University of Muhammadiyah Malang).
- Exercise Cobra Gold 2016 Media Events .
<https://th.usembassy.gov/exercise-cobra-gold-2016-media-events/>.

- Exercise Cobra Gold 2015 to begin February 9, 2015.
<https://th.usembassy.gov/exercise-cobra-gold-2015-to-begin-february-9-2015/>.
 diakses 2 Mei 2019.
- Fitriani dan Panduwinata, Vidochandra. 2018. Analisis Kinerja Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia (2015-2018).
https://www.csis.or.id/uploaded_file/publications/analisis_kinerja_kementerian_luar_negeri__2015-2018_.pdf. diakses 11 April 2019.
- Ferdinando, Lisa. 14 Februari 2017. Annual 'Cobra Gold' Exercise Commences In Thailand.
<https://dod.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/1083001/annual-cobra-gold-exercise-commences-in-thailand/>. diakses 2 Mei 2019.
- Former Secretaries-General of ASEAN.
<https://ASEAN.org/ASEAN/ASEAN-secretariat/former-secretaries-general-of-ASEAN/> . diakses 12 Maret 2019.
- Fook,Lye Liang and Hop,Ha Hoang . (2018). Vietnam's Response to Tiongkok's Maritime Assertiveness in the South Tiongkok Sea. ISEAS Perspective, 50(2018).10.
- Francisco, Carmelito Q.10 April 2018. PHL, Indonesia launch 32nd joint sea patrol exercises.
<https://www.bworldonline.com/phl-indonesia-launch-32nd-joint-sea-patrol-exercises/>. diakses 4 Mei 2019.
- Fravel, M. Taylor. 1 Juli 2014. U.S. Policy in the South China Sea.
<https://taylorfravel.com/2014/07/u-s-policy-in-the-south-china-sea-since-1995/>, diakses 19 April 2019.
- Gindarsah, I., & Priamarizki, A. (2015). Politics, Security and Defense in Indonesia: The Pursuit of Strategic Autonomy. In *Indonesia's Ascent* (pp. 130-154). Palgrave Macmillan, London.144.
- Global Fire Power. China Military Strength.
https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=china. diakses 13 Mei 2019.
- Gunawan, Rizki. 12 Mei 2014. SBY : Indonesia Terdepan Damaikan Konflik Laut Tiongkok Selatan.
<https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/2048913/sby-Indonesia-terdepan-damaikan-konflik-laut-Tiongkok-selatan>. diakses 6 Maret 2019.
- Gutierrez, Natashya. 28 April 2017. Indonesia's Jokowi: ASEAN must have common stand on South China Sea.
<https://www.rappler.com/world/regions/asia-pacific/Indonesia/bahasa/englishedition/168215-south-china-sea-jokowi-ASEAN>. diakses 18 April 2019.

- H, Rizki Akbar. 11 Desember 2018. Kemlu: Negosiasi ASEAN-Tiongkok Soal Laut Tiongkok Selatan Selesai 3 Tahun Lagi. <https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/3805254/kemlu-negosiasi-asean-tiongkok-soal-laut-Tiongkok-selatan-selesai-3-tahun-lagi>. diakses 8 Maret 2019.
- Hakim Hayat. 22 Oktober 2018. Brunei-Malaysia joint exercise strengthens military cooperation. <https://borneobulletin.com.bn/brunei-malaysia-joint-exercise-strengthens-military-cooperation/>. diakses 13 Mei 2019.
- Hasil Pertemuan Komisi Traktat Kawasan Bebas Senjata Nuklir Asia Tenggara, Bali, Indonesia, 15 November 2011. 15 November 2011. <https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/berita/siaran-pers/pages/Hasil-Pertemuan-Komisi-Traktat-Kawasan-Bebas-Senjata-Nuklir-Asia-Tenggara-Bali-Indonesia-15-November.aspx>. diakses 4 Desember 2018.
- Haryanto, A., & Darmawan, A. B. (2017). Sengketa Laut Tiongkok Selatan: Ancaman Bagi Komunitas Keamanan ASEAN?. *Jurnal Global & Strategis*, 9(2).
- Hayton, Bill. 25 April 2018. China's intimidation in the South China Sea poses an economic threat to Vietnam. <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2018/04/25/chinas-intimidation-in-the-south-china-sea-poses-an-economic-threat-to-vietnam/>. diakses 20 April 2019.
- He, K. (2007). Indonesia's foreign policy after Soeharto: international pressure, democratization, and policy change. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 8(1).
- Heiduk, Felix. (2016). Indonesia in ASEAN: Regional leadership between ambition and ambiguity.
- Heydarian, Richard Javad . 26 Oktober 2017. Philippine-Vietnamese Relations Challenged by Regional Shifts. <https://amti.csis.org/philippine-vietnamese-relations-challenged-regional-shifts/>. diakses 23 Maret 2019.
- Hongying Wang. 8 Maret 2016. A Deeper Look at China's "Going Out" Policy. <https://www.cigionline.org/publications/deeper-look-chinas-going-out-policy>. diakses 18 April 2019.
- Humas. 27 September 2016. Pengantar Presiden Joko Widodo pada Rapat Terbatas mengenai Strategi Peningkatan Citra Indonesia di Dunia, 27 September 2016, di Kantor Presiden, Jakarta. <https://setkab.go.id/pengantar-presiden-pada-rapat-terbatas-mengenai-strategi-peningkatan-citra-Indonesia-di-dunia-27-september-2016-di-kantor-presiden-jakarta/>. diakses 10 April 2019.

- Indonesian Defence White Paper. 2015.
<https://www.kemhan.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/BPPI-ENGLISH-2015.pdf>. diakses 22 April 2019. 82.
- Indonesia's Foreign Policy Priorities in 5 Year Ahead, (Sekab Kabinet : September, 2015).
<http://setkab.go.id/en/Indonesias-foreign-policy-priorities-in-5-years-ahead/>. diakses 10 September 2018.
- Irvan Dwi P. Tiongkok Kirimkan Rudal Permukaan-ke-Udara Ke Pulau yang Disengketakan .
<https://www.radarmiliter.com/2016/02/Tiongkok-kirimkan-rudal-permukaan-ke.html>.diakses 14 Maret 2019
- Itasari, E. R. (2015). Memaksimalkan Peran Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia 1976 (TAC) dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa di ASEAN. Jurnal Komunikasi Hukum (JKH), 1(1).
- Jaeger, R. G., & Halliday, T. R. (1998). On confirmatory versus exploratory research. *Herpetologica*, S64-S66.
- JakartaGreater. 19 Oktober 2018. AU Filipina Pererat Bubungan dengan TNI AU.
<https://jakartagreater.com/au-filipina-pererat-bubungan-dengan-tni-au/>. diakses 4 Mei 2019.
- Jayanti. 21 November 2018. Dilarang China, AS Tetap Kirim Pesawat Tempur ke Laut China Selatan.
<https://www.merdeka.com/dunia/dilarang-china-as-tetap-kirim-pesawat-tempur-ke-laut-china-selatan.html>. diakses 26 April 2019.
 Indonesia In The South China Sea Dispute: Balancing The US And China, Workshop And Zero Draft. 5934
- Jarryd de Haan. 25 Oktober 2017.Future Challenges for Indonesia as ASEAN Leader.<http://www.futuredirections.org.au/publication/future-challenges-Indonesia-as-ASEAN-leader/>. diakses 10 April 2019.
- Joint Press Briefing on 11th ASEAN-China Senior Officials' Meeting on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (SOM-DOC) and 22nd ASEAN-China Senior Officials' Consultations(ACSOC).
<https://www.asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Joint-press-briefing-on-11th-ACSOM-DOC-and-22nd-AC-SOC.pdf>. 2.
- Joint Statement Of The Foreign Ministers Of ASEAN Member States And China On The Full And Effective Implementation Of The Delaration On The Conduct Of Parties In The South China Sea .
<https://asean.org/storage/2016/07/Joint-Statement-on-the-full-and-effective-implementation-of-the-DOC-FINAL.pdf>. 1-2.

Joint Statement On The Application Of The Code For Unplanned Encounters At Sea In The South China Sea.

<https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Joint-Statement-on-the-Application-of-CUES-in-the-SCS-Final.pdf.1-2>.

Joint Press Briefing on the 14 th ASEAN-China Senior Officials' Meeting on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea(SOM-DOC) 18 May 2017,Guiyang,GuizhouProvince,China.

<https://asean.org/storage/2017/05/14th-SOM-DOC-Co-Chairs-Joint-Press-Briefing-Remarks-As-delivered-18-May-amen.pdf>. 1-3.

Joint Communique Of The 51st ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting Singapore, 2 August 2018 .

<https://asean.org/storage/2017/08/51st-AMM-Joint-Communique-Final.pdf>.

Kementrian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. 19 Mare 2016. Kementrian Luar Negeri Jelaskan Esensi Prinsip Bebas Aktif di Polugri RI.

<https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/berita/Pages/bebas-aktif.aspx>. diakses 4 Maret 2019.

Kementrian Luar Negeri RI. 28 Februari 2013. Laut Tiongkok Selatan.

<https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/kebijakan/isu-khusus/Pages/Laut-Tiongkok-Selatan.aspx>. diakses 6 Maret 2019.

Kertopati, Lesthia. 26 April 2017. Kawasan Memanas, Tiongkok Luncurkan Kapal Induk Mutakhir.

<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20170426110830-113-210179/kawasan-memanas-Tiongkok-luncurkan-kapal-induk-mutakhir>. diakses 14 Maret 2019.

Khmer Times. 24 Juni 2016. Cambodia-Indonesia Militaries Meet.

<https://www.khmertimeskh.com/25142/cambodia-indonesia-militaries-meet/>. diakses 4 Mei 2019.

Kosasih, Felix Utama. "Indonesia and ASEAN : Where are We Going?". 30 Juli 2015.

<http://www.globalindonesianvoices.com/21846/indonesia-and-asean-where-are-we-going/>. diakses 13 Desember 2018.

Kompas.com. 5 September 2012.Hillary Clinton Puji Indonesia.

<https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2012/09/05/04411953/hillary.clinton.puji.indonesia?page=all>. diakses 14 Mei 2019.

Kusumatmadja, Muchtar. Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia dan Pelaksanaannya Dewasa ini(Bandung: Alumni, 1983), h. 7.Kompas.com. 17 Februari 2014. AS Puji Cara Indonesia Tangani Isu laut China Selatan.

<https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2014/02/17/1757324/AS.Puji.Cara.Indonesia.Tangani.Isu.Laut.China.Selatan>. diakses 14 Mei 2019.

M., Apriandhini. (2015). Keberadaan Asean Way Dalam Menghadapi Komunitas Asean 2015.431.

- Madu, Ludiro . (2014). Reorientasi Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia Pada Pemerintahan Joko Widodo, 2014–2019. Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Budi Luhur, 9(2).
- Mangku, D. G. S. (2012). Suatu Kajian Umum tentang Penyelesaian Sengketa Internasional Termasuk di Dalam Tubuh ASEAN. *Perspektif*, 17(3), 159.
- Mogato, Manuel. 13 April 2016. Exclusive: Philippines, Vietnam to explore joint patrols in South China Sea - sources.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southchinasea-philippines-vietnam-idUSKCN0XA0N2>. diakses 13 Mei 2019.
- Mas'ood, Mochtar. Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi (Jakarta: PT. Pustaka LP3ES Indonesia, 1994).
- Maulana, Victor. 1 Februari 2018. Menlu Indonesia dan Kamboja Bakal Bahas Kerja Sama Pertahanan.
<https://international.sindonews.com/read/1278580/40/menlu-indonesia-dan-kamboja-bakal-bahas-kerja-sama-pertahanan-1517476976>. diakses 4 Mei 2019.
- Maulana, Victor. 12 November 2015. Inilah Posisi Resmi Indonesia Soal Konflik Laut Tiongkok Selatan.
<https://international.sindonews.com/read/1060987/40/inilah-posisi-resmi-indonesia-soal-konflik-laut-tiongkok-selatan-1447314808>. diakses 15 Maret 2019.
- MOU on ASEAN Cooperation Mechanism for Joint Oil Spill Preparedness and Response”, 28 November 2014, ASEAN Legal Instrument Online,
<http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20180815044412.pdf>.
- Miles, Matthew B. dan Huberman, A. Michael. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Sage Publication. 1994.
- MINDEF Singapore. 17 November 2015. Singapore and Malaysian Armies Conclude Bilateral Military Exercise.
https://www.mindef.gov.sg/web/portal/mindef/news-and-events/latest-releases/article-detail/2015/november/2015nov17-news-releases-01713!/ut/p/z1/vVJJUsMwEHwLBx8VjXebm1mKpWLCEiDWhVKc8QK2FGwRw--ZJHCgikBxQbce9bS6Z8QFn3Gh5Koupam1kg3hTAQP4eTo8BQ852LiT21I7qbTsX9wcXYbBvyOCy5yZZam4llbqwUWLNfKoDIWVLPFCxQOPZNqwXBF1d6CRhrsDeuwQdkjFRywfeLpFbZz7LaYkB2yTe8nkYEd2u76wWVeL3jm5k4ceGizOPcd5slgzLkawl3CiAMlcCA7_WwJB17DjJED9YkOZXHkntgfOeJJe-6QX9EULh04CT8IP2hk5CHc7SHk96saB36rdNfs0G_-GPEU-PnGwg8paZF0lx6mJSILU7FaFzRp1oPms8_Bb_HuwZNG_fj8LBLA-HrFr4bP_mflFK9s9Hz7IRM1dyPK0WGBHXajl47KITHLft8CC4ZhGJVAlw2Oct1a8F1LpXvy_pXJl20buW_sqUiPXU9kl-MiNX6W7L0DOWk7QA!!/dz/d5/L2dBISevZ0FBIS9nQSEh/?uril=wcm%3Apath%3A%2Fmindef-content%2Fhome%2Fnews-and-events%2Flatest-releases%2F2015%2Fnovember%2F2015Nov17-News-Releases-01713. diakses 2 Mei 2019.

MINDEF SINGAPORE. 29 November 2018. Singapore and Malaysian Armies Conclude Bilateral Military Exercise .
https://www.mindef.gov.sg/web/portal/mindef/news-and-events/latest-releases/article-detail/2018/november/28nov18_nr2

MINDEF SINGAPORE. 29 Oktober 2018. Singapore and Brunei Navies Conclude Bilateral Exercise Pelican.
https://www.mindef.gov.sg/web/portal/mindef/news-and-events/latest-releases/article-detail/2018/october/29oct18_nr. diakses 13 Mei 2019. Ministry of External Affairs. 1 September 2011. Incident involving INS Airavat in South China Sea.
<https://www.mea.gov.in/media-briefings.htm?dtl/3040>. diakses 11 April 2019.

MINDEF SINGAPORE. 9 Mei 2018. Singapore and Thai Armies Conclude Exercise Kocha Singa 2018.
https://www.mindef.gov.sg/web/portal/mindef/news-and-events/latest-releases/article-detail/2018/may/09may18_nr2. diakses 13 Mei 2019.

MINDEF Singapore. 23 September 2016. Singapore and Indonesian Armies Conduct Bilateral Exercise.
https://www.mindef.gov.sg/web/portal/mindef/news-and-events/latest-releases/article-detail/2016/september/23sep16_nr!/ut/p/z1/tVLLUtwwEPwWDj5qNfJ7c3NICKJhFpIF1rpQsnf8CLZkZLFm_z6zQCWVqkAqh-g2remZbrW45Bsutdp1jXKd0aqnupDxXbL6dHwKoX-xitYCspv1-jz6ePHIOon5DZdcVtqNruXF00kt1qwy2qF2HrRmQA80zhNTestwR-jkQa8cTo5Z7FFNSIAPivZgwtHhUKIIIKBCxHfaHsaPVbflhR_5Ig6UYCmoJQtTTJgCVbGqVAISIZZbFfLbv-mVdA1vnAyIL59bVlfiQjBP1_IXyOasFyma7j04SR5bXhnRkEakrc1JPx21-HMr7WxAz3xt3-0eAr87FnCOy4ptu77w4PMKJtDGE-Ob_5HOLTHt_lx3pAD5VrW6drwzYHBNz8ZBPxikPSmN-XL18p0GaTEtVijRbt4tAS3zo3TBw88mOd50RjT9LiozODBnyitmcjb7518HIY02LP7Ov8chLLcz3XuoiI7-gFsf63R/dz/d5/L2dBISEvZ0FBIS9nQSEh/?urile=wcm%3Apath%3A%2Fmindef-content%2Fhome%2Fnews-and-events%2Flatest-releases%2F2016%2Fseptember%2F23sep16_nr. Diakses 2 Mei 2019.

MINDEF Singapore. 20 November 2017. Singapore and Indonesia Armies Commemorate 50 Years of Bilateral Relations at Closing Ceremony of Exercise Safkar Indopura.
https://www.mindef.gov.sg/web/portal/mindef/news-and-events/latest-releases/article-detail/2017/november/20nov17-nr!/ut/p/z1/tVJNU9swEP0tHHxUtLbIKO7N0A6UwaSUKMS6MHa8_ii2FGQ1Lv-eNf2Y6QwfwGdtKv3Vu_piSu-5Urn7bOXWt03lGdqfmtXH4-OQMRXC6jlQ_JerW6iI4vv97IOV9zxdVOu71reNa3usSK7Yx2qJ0HjenRA43jwHJdMjxQd_Cgyx00jlnsMB-QGgH4knDmgH2Bdpp70um7TR9v2tLnsUIYjGfA0MhkYmoDFgsAsmCsgghLOM8Fj7fvCVX0TG8sBIgvnqCLK_EqS8guFim3yOaEMeLFXwL4FT-AbwyIyMN8mUNkm8OLY78Rhvb0wtfv9PiGfDzJwmvuKTU2h_39yqhaKYsfjm-_YBs6JrApidpTQZy17BWV4ZvJwLf_iVM9T8CCa87U_z-V4kuwgVRLVZo0c5-Wmo3zu2HTx54MI7jrDam7nC2M70Hz1EaM5Cz_5F83_eL8IHdVemXUKjiYaxSF2XJ0SN7Izrx/dz/d5/L2dBISEvZ0FBIS9nQSEh/?urile=wcm%3Apath%3A%2Fmindef-content%2Fhome%2Fnews-and-events%2Flatest-releases%2F2017%2Fnovember%2F20nov17-NR. Diakses 2 Mei 2019.

- MINDEF Singapore. 21 November 2018. Singapore and Indonesian Armies Conduct 30th Edition of Exercise Safkar Indopura. https://www.mindef.gov.sg/web/portal/mindef/news-and-events/latest-releases/article-detail/2018/november/21nov18_nr2. diakses 2 Mei 2019.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Brunei Darussalam. The ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement. <http://www.mfa.gov.bn/SitePages/The%20ASEAN%20%E2%80%93%20China%20Free%20Trade%20Agreement.aspx>. . diakses 18 April 2019.
- Muhaimain. 12 Agustus 2014. Soal Konflik Laut China Selatan, Jepang Puji Ketegasan RI. <https://international.sindonews.com/read/890479/40/soal-konflik-laut-china-selatan-jepang-puji-ketegasan-ri-1407839448>. Diakses 14 Mei 2019.
- N. O. , Shabrina. (2017). Perubahan Respon Indonesia Terhadap Klaim Nine-Dash Line Tiongkok Yang Melewati Perairan Natuna. *Jurnal Analisis Hubungan Internasional*, 6(2), 134.
- Navaltoday.com. 27 April 2018. Singapore, Indonesia Hold Joint Naval Drill Eagle Indopura. <https://navaltoday.com/2018/04/23/singapore-Indonesia-hold-joint-naval-drill-eagle-indopura/>. diakses 22 April 2019.
- Nazir, M. Metode Penelitian. (Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia, 2003).
- Niklas L.P. Swanström dan Mikael S. Weissmann, *Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management and Beyond: A Conceptual Exploration*, (Uppsala: the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, 2005). Definisi konflik dari Wallenstein dan Swanström dikutip dari Awani Irewati dkk. 2011. *Sengketa Wilayah Perbatasan Thailand-Kamboja* Jakarta: P2P LIPI.
- Pernyataan Pers Tahunan Kementrian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia Tahun 2016.
- PANO. 12 Oktober 2017. Vietnam, Indonesia seek to enhance defense ties. <https://en.qdnd.vn/military/intl-relations-and-cooperation/vietnam-indonesia-seek-to-enhance-defense-ties-485667>. diakses 4 Mei 2019.
- Parameswaran, Prashanth. 9 Februari 2016. US, Thailand Launch 2016 Cobra Gold Military Exercises Amid Democracy Concerns. <https://thediplomat.com/2016/02/us-thailand-launch-2016-cobra-gold-military-exercises-amid-democracy-concerns/>. diakses 2 Mei 2019.
- Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia. 2015. http://ditjenppi.kemendag.go.id/assets/files/publikasi/doc_20180524_peraturan-presiden-no-50-tahun-2015-tentang-pengesahan-asean-china-dispute-settlement-mechanism-agreement.pdf. diakses 13 Mei 2019.

Perdana, Agni Vidya. 17 Agustus 2018. Janji Bantu Filipina “Hadapi” Tiongkok, AS Ingin Jadi Sekutu Yang Baik. <https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2018/08/17/18190121/janji-bantu-filipina-hadapi-Tiongkok-as-ingin-jadi-sekutu-yang-baik>. diakses 23 Maret 2019.

Pidato Kenegaraan Presiden Republik Indonesia. www.academia.edu/6862803/Teks_pidato_presiden_soeharto_PIDATO_KENEGARAAN_PRESIDEN_REPUBLIK_Indonesia. diakses 11 Maret 2019.

Perdana, Agni Vidya. 17 Agustus 2018. Janji Bantu Filipina “Hadapi” Tiongkok, AS Ingin Jadi Sekutu Yang Baik. <https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2018/08/17/18190121/janji-bantu-filipina-hadapi-Tiongkok-as-ingin-jadi-sekutu-yang-baik>. diakses 23 Maret 2019.

Pernyataan Pers Tahunan Menteri Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia R.M. Marty M. Natalegawa Tahun 2014.

Pernyataan Pers Tahunan Menteri Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia Retno L. P. Marsudi Tahun 2016.

Pernyataan Pers Tahunan Menteri Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia Retno L. P. Marsudi Tahun 2017.

Pidato Kenegaraan Presiden Republik Indonesia. www.academia.edu/6862803/Teks_pidato_presiden_soeharto_PIDATO_KENEGARAAN_PRESIDEN_REPUBLIK_Indonesia. diakses 11 Maret 2019.

Plan of Action to Implement the Joint Declaration on ASEAN-China Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity (2016-2020). <https://www.asean.org/storage/images/2015/November/27th-summit/ASEAN-China%20POA%20%202016-2020.pdf>. 2.

Pratiwi, Y. D. (2017). Posisi Indonesia Dalam Konflik Laut Tiongkok Selatan. *Defendonesia*, 2(2).

Pudjiastuti, T. N., & Prayoga, P. (2016). ASEAN Dan Isu Laut Tiongkok Selatan: Transformasi Konflik Menuju Tata Kelola Keamanan Regional Asia Timur. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 12(1). 104.

Publikasi Kementrian Luar Negeri Indonesia. 12 Januari 2001.

Putra, B. A. (2015). Indonesia’s Leadership Role in ASEAN: History and Future Prospects. *IJASOS-International E-Journal of Advances in Social Sciences*, 1(2), 192.

Putra, B. A. (2015). Indonesia’s Leadership Role in ASEAN: History and Future Prospects. *IJASOS-International E-Journal of Advances in Social Sciences*, 1(2), 191.

- Raharjo, S. N. I. (2016). Peran Indonesia dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa Laut Tiongkok Selatan. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 11(2). 68.
- Ramadhuan, R. I., & Kurniawati, D. E. 'Ganyang Malaysia' VS 'Indon': Konstruksi Sosial Media dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Proses Penyatuan Masyarakat ASEAN.
- Rizki Akbar H. 11 Desember 2018. Kemlu: Negosiasi ASEAN-Tiongkok Soal Laut Tiongkok Selatan Selesai 3 Tahun Lagi. <https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/3805254/kemlu-negosiasi-ASEAN-Tiongkok-soal-laut-Tiongkok-selatan-selesai-3-tahun-lagi>. diakses 8 Maret 2019.
- Roach, J. A. (2014). Malaysia and Brunei: An analysis of their claims in the South Tiongkok Sea. CNA Corporation.
- Rüland, Jürgen . "Democratizing Foreign-Policy Making in Indonesia and the Democratization of ASEAN: A Role Theory Analysis." *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and-National Studies of Southeast Asia* 5, no. 1 (2017)
- Ruslinawa Soemantri, Gumilar. Memahami Metode Kualitatif. *Journal Social Humaniora*, Vol 9. 2005. 58.
- Salikha, Adelaida . 10 Agustus 2018. LATEST: 2018 Economies & Ranking of GDP Per Capita of Southeast Asian Countries. <https://seasia.co/2018/08/10/latest-2018-economies-ranking-of-gdp-per-capita-of-southeast-asian-countries>. diakses 19 April 2019.
- Santi, Natalia. 2 Juni 2018. Sempat Terhenti, RI-Kamboja Lanjutkan Kerja Sama Paspampres.
- Satyawan, I. A. The Development of Track Two Diplomacy in Indonesia Led Workshop on Managing Conflict in the South China Sea, 1990–2002. *Indonesia's Response in the South China Sea Disputes*.
- SCMP Events & Conferences. 8 Agustus 2018. How Trade Links between Southeast Asia and China have thrived for more than 1000 years. <https://www.scmp.com/presented/news/asia/topics/china-and-southeast-asia/article/2158635/how-trade-links-between>. diakses 18 April 2019.
- Sea Power Centre - Australia. Maret 2018. Vietnam's Maritime Security Challenges and Regional Defence and Security Cooperation. http://www.navy.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/CMDR_Anh_Duc_Ton_Vietnams_Maritime_Security_Challenges_0.pdf. diakses 4 Mei 2019. 21.
- Sejarah dan Latar Pembentukan ASEAN. Selasa, 17 Maret 2015. <https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/kebijakan/ASEAN/Pages/Sejarah-dan-Latar-Pembentukan-ASEAN.aspx>. diakses 29 November 2018

- Sgt. 1st Class Jason Kriess, III Marine Expeditionary Force. 15 Februari 2018. Cobra Gold 18: Exercise Cobra Gold opening ceremony. <https://www.marines.mil/News/News-Display/Article/1442710/cobra-gold-18-exercise-cobra-gold-opening-ceremony/>. diakses 2 Mei 2019.
- Shabrina, N. O. (2017). Perubahan Respon Indonesia Terhadap Klaim Nine-Dash Line Tiongkok Yang Melewati Perairan Natuna. *Jurnal Analisis Hubungan Internasional*, 6(2),14.
- Smith, A. L. (2003). *From Latent Threat to Possible Partner: Indonesia's China Debate*. ASIA-PACIFIC CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES HONOLULU HI.
- Smith, A. L. (2003). *Indonesia in 2002: Megawati's Way*. Southeast Asian Affairs.
- Simon, Sheldon W. 12 Agustus 2011. *Diplomacy in the South China Sea*. <https://www.e-ir.info/2011/08/12/diplomacy-in-the-south-china-sea/>. diakses 10 April 2019
- Sofia Trisni, Poppy Irawan. "Strategi Indonesia dalam Merespon Kebangkitan Tiongkok pada Masa Kepemimpinan Presiden SBY (Studi Kasus: Konflik Laut Tiongkok Selatan)." *Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS)* 5, no. 2 (2016): 129-150.
- Suastha, Riva Dessthania. 25 September 2017. Dua Nelayan Vietnam Tewas dalam Pengejaran Filipina. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20170925171806-106-243938/dua-nelayan-vietnam-tewas-dalam-pengejaran-filipina>. diakses 23 Maret 2019.
- Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Pidato dalam The Council on World Affairs (ICWA)". Jakarta, 19 Mei 2005. <http://www.presidentri.go.id/index.php/pidato/2005/05/19/332.html>
- Tempo.co. 12 Juli 2016. Ini Perjalanan Sengketa Kawasan Laut Tiongkok Selatan. <https://dunia.tempo.co/read/787130/ini-perjalanan-sengketa-kawasan-laut-Tiongkok-selatan/full&view=ok>. diakses 6 Maret 2019.
- Thayer, C. A. (2013). ASEAN, China and the code of conduct in the South China Sea. *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 33(2),76.
- Thontowi, J. (2018). Konflik Wilayah Laut Tiongkok Selatan dan Kejahatan Lintas Negara serta Implikasinya terhadap Ketahanan Nasional. *Media Hukum*, 25(2), 126.
- Thao-Nguyen, H. O. N. G. Vietnam's Position on the Sovereignty over the Paracels & the Spratlys: Its Maritime Claims.189.

The Founding of ASEAN. <https://ASEAN.org/ASEAN/about-ASEAN/history/>. diakses 11 Maret 2019.

The Philippines' Illegal Claims in the Spratlys (Spratly Islands)-The Lies and the Groundless Invasion into Tiongkok's Spratly Islands of South Tiongkok Sea. <https://www.spratlys.org/collection/claims/philippines/>. diakses 13 Maret 2019.

Transindonesia.co. 18 September 2015. TNI dan AB Thailand Gelar Sidang ke-9 Thainesia HLC. <https://transindonesia.co/2015/09/tni-dan-ab-thailand-gelar-sidang-ke-9-thainesia-hlc/>. diakses 2 Mei 2019.

UNAIR NEWS. 1 Juni 2016. Peran Indonesia dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa Laut Cina Selatan. <http://news.unair.ac.id/2016/06/01/peran-indonesia-penyelesaian-sengketa-laut-cina-selatan/>. diakses 15 Maret 2019.

Urdaningsih, Dwi. 14 Juli 2018. Indonesia Resmikan Penggunaan Nama Laut Natuna Utara. <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/17/07/14/ot2hbc368-indonesia-resmikan-penggunaan-nama-laut-natuna-utara>. diakses 7 Maret 2019.

UUD 1945, P-4 dan GBHN (Jakarta: Depdiknas, 1997), h. 1.

Vietnam. NET. 24 Juni 2011. Historical documents on Vietnam's sovereignty over Paracel and Spratly islands. <https://english.Vietnamnet.vn/fms/special-reports/9481/historical-documents-on-Vietnam-s-sovereignty-over-paracel-and-spratly-islands.html>. diakses 13 Maret.2019.

Vinayak HV, Fraser Thompson, and Oliver Tonby. Mei 2014. Understanding ASEAN: Seven things you need to know. <https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/public-sector/our-insights/understanding-asean-seven-things-you-need-to-know>. diakses 19 April 2019.

VOA. Laut Tiongkok Selatan. <https://projects.voanews.com/south-Tiongkok-sea/indonesian/philippines/>. diakses 13 Maret 2019.

VOA. Laut Tiongkok Selatan. <https://project.s.voanews.com/south-Tiongkok-sea/indonesian/philippines/>. diakses 13 Maret 2019.

VOA. Laut Tiongkok Selatan. <https://projects.voanews.com/south-Tiongkok-sea/indonesian/Vietnam/>. diakses 13 Maret 2019.

VOA. Laut Tiongkok Selatan.

<https://projects.voanews.com/south-Tiongkok-sea/indonesian/recent/>. diakses 13 Maret 2019.

Wardah, Fatiyah. 5 Oktober 2016. Indonesia: Military Exercise Near South China Sea is No Provocation.

<https://www.voanews.com/a/Indonesia-military-exercise-near-south-china-sea-is-no-provocation/3538538.html>. diakses 22 April 2019.

Wardaya, B. T. (2008). Indonesia Melawan Amerika Serikat Konflik PD 1953-1963. Galangpress Publisher.

Weck, W. (2011). ASEAN and G20–Indonesia’s Foreign Policy Perspectives. KAS International Report, 2.

Weatherbee, D. E. (2016). Re-Assessing Indonesia’s Role in the South China Sea. ISEAS Perspective, 18(2016).

Xie, Yanmei. 8 Juli 2016. The South China Sea Needs ASEAN More Than Ever. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/south-china-sea-needs-asean-more-ever>. diakses 18 April 2019.

