

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- ASEAN. (2019, Juli). *ASEAN-India Dialogue Relations Overview*. Retrieved from ASEAN: <https://asean.org/storage/2012/05/Overview-ASEAN-India-as-of-July-2019-fn.pdf>
- Baruah, D. M. (2018). *India's Answer to the Belt and Road: A Road Map for South Asia (Working Paper)*. New Delhi: Carnegie India.
- Bhogal, P. (2018, Januari). *India-ASEAN Economic Relations: Examining Future Possibilities (ORF Issue Brief No. 221)*. Retrieved from Observer Research Foundation: [https://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/ORF\\_Issue\\_Brief\\_221\\_India\\_ASEAN.pdf](https://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/ORF_Issue_Brief_221_India_ASEAN.pdf)
- Bronk, J. (2018). *Next Generation Combat Aircraft: Threat Outlook and Potential Solutions*. Royal United Services Institute: London.
- Burke, E. J., & Cevallos, A. S. (2017). *In Line or Out of Order? China's Approach to ADIZ in Theory and Practice*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- Chang, A., & Dotson, J. (2012, April 5). *Indigenous Weapons Development in China's Military Modernization*. Retrieved from U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Staff Research Report: <https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Research/China-Indigenous-Military-Developments-Final-Draft-03-April2012.pdf>
- Chanlett-Avery, E., Manyin, M. E., Nikitin, M. B., Campbell, C. E., & Mackey, W. (2018). *North Korea: U.S. Relations, Nuclear Diplomacy, and Internal Situation*

(CRS Report R41259). Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.

Chapman, G. (2003). *An Introduction to the Revolution in Military Affairs*. Paper presented at the XV Amaldi Conference on Problems in Global Security, Helsinki. Retrieved from

<http://home.sogang.ac.kr/sites/jaechun/courses/Lists/b7/Attachments/78/11.%20G.%20Chapman%20-%20An%20Introduction%20to%20the%20Revolution%20in%20Military%20Affairs.pdf>

Cordesman, A. H. (2016). *Estimates of Chinese Military Spending*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic & International Studies.

Cordesman, A. H., Hess, A., & Yarosh, N. S. (2013). *Chinese Military Modernization and Force Development: A Western Perspective*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic & International Studies.

Derudder, B., Xingjian, L., & Kunaka, C. (2018). *Connectivity Along Overland Corridors of the Belt and Road Initiative*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Gin, C. M. (2015). *How China Wins: A Case Study of the 1979 Sino-Vietnamese War*. Fort Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

Gray, C. S. (2005). *Strategy for Chaos: Revolutions in Military Affairs and the Evidence of History*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers.

Green, M., Hicks, K., Cooper, Z., Schaus, J., & Douglas, J. (2017). *Countering Coercion in Maritime Asia: The Theory and Practice of Gray Zone Deterrence*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic & International Studies.

Gunston, B. (1988). *Stealth Warplanes*. London: Osprey Publishing, Ltd.

- Hallion, R. P., Cliff, R., & Saunders, P. C. (2012). *The Chinese Air Force: Evolving Concepts, Roles, and Capabilities*. Washington, D.C.: NDU Press.
- Halperin, M. H. (1975, Maret 18). *The 1958 Taiwan Straits Crisis: A Documented History*. Retrieved from RAND Corporation: [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\\_memo-randa/2006/RM4900.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_memo-randa/2006/RM4900.pdf)
- Huang, J., & Billo, A. (2015). *Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea: Navigating Rough Waters*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Indraswari, N. (2018). *"Act East" Policy as India's Response to China Expansion*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.
- Japan Ministry of Defense. (2016). *Defense of Japan 2016*. Tokyo: Japan Ministry of Defense.
- Jatmika, S. (2016). *SKRIPSI: Metodologi dan Romantikanya*. Yogyakarta: Samudra Biru.
- Kaufman, A. A., & Mackenzie, P. W. (2009). *Field Guide: The Culture of the Chinese People's Liberation Army*. Alexandria, VA: The CNA Corporation.
- Kopp, C. (2011). *Chinese stealth and other fighters*. Retrieved from Air Power Australia: <https://www.ausairpower.net/SP/DT-PLA-Fighters-March-2011.pdf>
- Lai, B. (2012). *The Chinese People's Liberation Army since 1949: Ground Forces*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd.
- Le, H. H. (2019, April 8). *Vietnam's Position on the South China Sea Code of Conduct*. Retrieved from ISEAS-Yusuf Ishak Institute: [https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS\\_Perspective\\_2019\\_22.pdf](https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2019_22.pdf)
- Lee, D. R. (2019). *The Prospect and Trend of Military Spending and Strategy in Rising China*. Seoul: East Asia Institute.

- Lüthi, L. M. (2008). *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mas'ood, M. (1990). *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Morgenthau, H. J., & Thompson, K. W. (1985). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace (6th Edition)*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- National Air & Space Intelligence Center. (2010). *People's Liberation Army Air Force 2010*. Ohio: National Air & Space Intelligence Center Public Affairs Office.
- Ohnesorge, H. O. (2016). A Sea of Troubles: International Law and the Spitsbergen Plus Approach to Conflict Management in the South China Sea. In T.-M. V. Enrico Fels, *Power Politics in Asia's Contested Waters: Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea* (pp. 25-55). Zurich: Springer International Publishing.
- O'Rourke, R. (2019). *China Naval Modernization: Implications for U.S. Navy Capabilities*. Congressional Research Service: Washington, D.C.
- Shen, P.-L. (2012). China's Aviation Industry: Past, Present, and Future. In R. P. Hallion, R. Cliff, & P. C. Saunders, *The Chinese Air Force: Evolving Concepts, Roles, and Capabilities* (pp. 257-270). Washington, D.C.: NDU Press.
- Shlapak, D. (2012). Equipping the PLAAF: The Long March to Modernity. In R. P. Hallion, R. Cliff, & P. C. Saunders, *The Chinese Air Force: Evolving Concepts, Roles, and Capabilities* (pp. 191-211). Washington, D.C.: NDU Press.
- Singh, P. (2017). *Re-Positioning Pakistan Occupied Kashmir on India's Policy Map: Geopolitical Drivers, Strategic Impact (Monograph No. 62)*. Retrieved from Institute

for Defence Studies and Analyses: <https://idsa.in/system/files/monograph/monograph62.pdf>

- Sloan, E. C. (2002). *The Revolution in Military Affairs: Implications for Canada and NATO*. Montreal: The Centre for Security and Foreign Policy Studies and The Raoul-Dandurand Chair of Strategic and Diplomatic Studies.
- United Nations. (1974). *Yearbook of the United Nations, 1971*. New York, NY: United Nations Office of Public Information.
- Wu, S. (2013). *Solving Disputes for Regional Cooperation and Development in the South China Sea: A Chinese Perspective*. Cambridge: Chandos Publishing.
- Yani, Y. M., Montratama, I., & Mahyudin, E. (2017). *Pengantar Studi Keamanan*. Malang: Intrans Publishing.

## **Jurnal**

- Bitzinger, R. (2011). Modernising China's Military, 1997-2012. *China Perspectives*, 7-15.
- Buszynski, L. (2003). ASEAN, the Declaration on Conduct, and the South China Sea. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 25(3), 343-362.
- Ghosh, S. K. (1977). A Setback for Chinese Air Force. *China Report*, 13(1), 3-5.
- Kompas Gramedia. (2009). The Forgotten War 1950-1953. *Angkasa Edisi Koleksi No. LVII*, 6-16.
- Kompas Gramedia. (2015). Kebangkitan Militer China. *Angkasa Koleksi Spesial No. 93*, 80-86.
- Kurniawan, Y. (2016). One Belt One Road (OBOR): Agenda Keamanan Liberal Tiongkok? *Politicia*, 7(2), 233-254.

- Liff, A. P., & Erickson, A. S. (2013). Demystifying China's Defence Spending: Less Mysterious in the Aggregate. *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 216, 805-830.
- Schaller, M. (1976). American Air Strategy in China, 1939-1941: The Origins of Clandestine Air Warfare. *American Quarterly*, 28(1), 3-19.
- Scobell, A., McMahon, M., & Cortez, A. C. (2015). China's Aircraft Carrier Program: Drivers, Developments, Implications. *Naval War College Review*, 68(4), 65-79.
- Thussu, D. (2018). BRI: Bridging or breaking BRICS? *Global Media and China*, 3(2), 117-122.
- Zhang, X. (2002). China, the Soviet Union, and the Korean War: From an Abortive Air War Plan to a Wartime Relationship. *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 22(1), Retrieved from <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/JCS/article/view/368>.

## Website

- Alexander, D. (2013, Juni 20). *Theft of F-35 design data is helping U.S. adversaries -Pentagon*. Retrieved from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/usa-fighter-hacking/theft-of-f-35-design-data-is-helping-u-s-adversaries-pentagon-idUSL2N0EV0T320130619>
- ASEAN. (2012, Oktober 17). *Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea*. Retrieved from ASEAN: [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)
- BBC. (2016, Juli 12). *Why is the South China Sea contentious?* Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-13748349>
- BBC. (2016, November 1). *Zhuhai air show: China J-20 fighter jet in public debut*. Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-37831714>
- BBC. (2019, Juli 15). *China's economy grows at slowest pace since 1990s*. Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-48985789>
- Bitzinger, R. (2013, Desember 2). *China's ADIZ: South China Sea Next?* Retrieved from RSIS: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/idss/2107-chinas-adiz-south-china-sea/>
- Chan, M. (2018, Agustus 30). *Why China's first stealth fighter was rushed into service with inferior engines*. Retrieved from South China Morning Post: <https://www.scmp.com/print/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2130718/why-chinas-first-stealth-fighter-was-rushed-service>
- China Power Team. (2019, Januari 3). *Does China's J-20 rival other stealth fighters?* Retrieved from China Power: <https://chinapower.csis.org/china-chengdu-j-20/>

- Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2013, Juli 22). *Paracel Islands*. Retrieved from Encyclopaedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Paracel-Islands>
- Farricker, C. M. (2003, December). *Chinese military modernization and the future of Taiwan*. Retrieved from Naval Postgraduate School Dudley Knox Library: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/6203>
- Gerber, C. J. (2016). *Containment: A Failed American Policy and How the Truman Doctrine Led to the Rise in Islamic Extremism in the Muslim World*. Retrieved from University of South Florida Scholar Commons, Graduate Theses and Dissertations: <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/6087>
- Global Firepower. (n.d.). *Total Aircraft Strength by Country*. Retrieved from Global Firepower: <https://www.globalfirepower.com/aircraft-total.asp>
- GlobalSecurity.org. (2016, Februari 11). *J-9 (Jian-9 Fighter aircraft 9)*. Retrieved from GlobalSecurity.org: <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/j-9.htm>
- GlobalSecurity.org. (2019, Maret 6). *China's Defense Budget*. Retrieved from GlobalSecurity.org: <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/budget.htm>
- GlobalSecurity.org. (2019, September 5). *CVA 002 aircraft carrier*. Retrieved from GlobalSecurity.org: <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/cv-002.htm>
- Hsieh, M. (2019, April 21). *One China "Policy" vs "Principle": How Language is Used to Obscure Discussion on Taiwan*. Retrieved from New Bloom: <https://newbloommag.net/2019/04/21/one-china-policy-principle/>
- Johnson, J. (2019, Maret 5). *Chinese defense spending to grow 7.5% in 2019 as Beijing seeks 'world-class' military*.



Retrieved from Japan Times: <https://www.japan-times.co.jp/news/2019/03/05/asia-pacific/politics-diplomacy-asia-pacific/chinese-defense-spending-grow-7-5-2019-beijing-seeks-world-class-military/#.XXTiKygzblV>

Kim, J. Y. (2018, November 5). *World Bank Group President Jim Yong Kim's Remarks at the Opening Ceremony of the First China International Import Expo*. Retrieved from World Bank:

<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/speech/2018/11/05/world-bank-group-president-jim-yong-kims-remarks-at-the-opening-ceremony-of-the-first-china-international-import-expo>

Korea Herald. (2014, Januari 14). *U.S. military reinforcements target North Korea, China*. Retrieved from Korea Herald: <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20140114000854>

Lieberthal, K. G. (2019, April 5). *Cultural Revolution*. Retrieved from Encyclopaedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Cultural-Revolution>

Mohan, C. R. (2015, Juni 18). *Modi and the Indian Ocean: Restoring India's Sphere of Influence*. Retrieved from Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative: <https://amti.csis.org/modi-and-the-indian-ocean-restoring-indias-sphere-of-influence/>

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *Occupation and Reconstruction of Japan, 1945–52*. Retrieved from Office of the Historian, US Department of State: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/japan-reconstruction>

People's Daily Online. (2019, Januari 9). *Chronicle of reform and opening-up in China*. Retrieved from Telegraph: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/peoples-daily-online/business/chronicle-reform-opening-up-china/>

- Pletcher, K. (2015, Oktober 27). *Spratly Islands*. Retrieved from Encyclopaedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Spratly-Islands>
- Political Science. (n.d.). *Elements of National Power*. Retrieved from Political Science: <https://www.politicalscienceview.com/elements-of-national-power/>
- Rhoads, E. J. (2018, December 1). *Lin Biao*. Retrieved from Encyclopaedia Britannica : <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Lin-Biao>
- Snow, S. (2016, September 19). *Analysis: Why Kashmir Matters*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2016/09/analysis-why-kashmir-matters/>
- Szczepanski, K. (2019, Mei 17). *The Sino-Soviet Split*. Retrieved from ThoughtCo: <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-sino-soviet-split-195455>
- Times of India. (2018, September 2018). *China irons out engine problems of stealth fighter jets: Report*. Retrieved from Times of India: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/china/china-irons-out-engine-problems-of-stealth-fighter-jets-report/articleshowprint/65685666.cms>
- U.S. Forces, Japan. (n.d.). *About USFJ*. Retrieved from U.S. Forces, Japan: <https://www.usfj.mil/About-USFJ/>
- U.S. Forces, Korea. (n.d.). *Combined Forces Command*. Retrieved from U.S. Forces, Korea: <https://www.usfk.mil/About/Combined-Forces-Command/>
- UNESCO. (n.d.). *About the Silk Road*. Retrieved from UNESCO: <https://en.unesco.org/silkroad/about-silk-road>
- Xu, T. (2012, November 12). *Stealth fighter, attack helicopters to be featured at Airshow China 2012*. Retrieved

from Global Times: <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/743700.shtml>

Yao, J. (2015, Mei 27). *Overview of all China's white papers on national defense*. Retrieved from Ministry of National Defense The People's Republic of China: [http://eng.mod.gov.cn/TopNews/2015-05/27/content\\_4587121.htm](http://eng.mod.gov.cn/TopNews/2015-05/27/content_4587121.htm)