## REFERENCES

- Acharya, A. (2011). Whose ideas matter?: Agency and power in Asian regionalism. Cornell University Press.
- Anderson, K. B. (2021, January). *Looking back at maoism and the global left*.

  IMHO Journal. https://imhojournal.org/articles/looking-back-at-maoism-and-the-global-left/
- As, B. (2018). The Study of Foreign Policy in International Relations. *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs*.
- Associated Press. (2018, May 20). US criticizes China's militarization of disputed waters. *AP News*. https://apnews.com/general-news-1f784f7598b8441f9c87ac6f486a1ba9
- Associated Press. (2024, April 7). China says it patrolled the South China Sea in apparent response to US drills. *AP News*.

  https://apnews.com/article/china-us-south-china-sea-philippines-0a3ac0c6d02bd467724b76f6d86b230a
- BBC News. (2012). Vietnam Puts Paracel Row on Summit Agenda. Vietnam

  Puts Paracel Row on Summit Agenda.

  http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/mobile/asia-pacific/8609120.stm

- BBC News. (2021, June 2). South China Sea dispute: Malaysia accuses China of breaching airspace. BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-57328868
- Beech, H. (2020, April 21). U.S. warships enter disputed waters of South
  China Sea as tensions with China escalate. *The New York Times*.

  <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/world/asia/coronavirus-south-china-sea-warships.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/world/asia/coronavirus-south-china-sea-warships.html</a>
- Bijendra De Gurung, A. S. (2018). *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs* (1/2 ed., Vol. 31, pp. 0–1). Manju Jain. https://www-jstor-org.proxy.undip.ac.id/stable/pdf/26608820.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A78084ea002c00af3c771a3c720fd9d54&ab\_segments=0%2 Fbasic\_search\_gsv2%2Fcontrol&origin=&initiator=search-results&acceptTC=1
- Biography. (2021, April 21). Ho Chi Minh. *Biography*. https://www.biography.com/political-figure/ho-chi-minh
- Bjerre-Poulsen, N. (2016). "Here, we see the future": The obama administration's pivot to Asia. In *The Obama Presidency and the Politics of Change* (pp. 307–327). Springer International Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-41033-3\_14
- Botto, K. (2021). South korea beyond northeast asia: How seoul is deepening ties with india and ASEAN. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/10/19/south-korea-

- beyond-northeast-asia-how-seoul-is-deepening-ties-with-india-and-asean-pub-85572
- Burford, L. (2016). National Identity and Nuclear Disarmament advocacy by Canada and New Zealand. *Semantic Scholar*, *1*(1).
- Buzan, B., Buzan, B. G., W'ver, O., Waever, O., & Buzan, R. P. of I. S. C. for the S. of D. B. (2003). *Regions and powers: The structure of international security*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chang, Y.-C. (2021). Routledge Handbook of The South China Sea.

  Routledge
- Chen, S. (2016, October 11). Could China build the world's smallest nuclear power plant and send it to the South China Sea? *South China Morning Post*. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2026821/could-china-build-worlds-smallest-nuclear-power-plant
- Chen, S. M. (2024, May 7). Interview with Mr. Chen Regarding The South

  China Sea [Interview].
- Chi, D. V. (2020). Ho Chi Minh's thought on human rights. *International Journal of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education*, 7(3). https://doi.org/10.20431/2349-0381.0703009
- Claeys, G. (2013). Encyclopedia of modern political thought (set). CQ Press.

- CNBC. (2016, April 6). South China Sea: Is Beijing making a new "strategic strait"? *CNBC*. https://www.cnbc.com/2016/04/06/south-china-sea-is-beijing-making-a-new-strategic-strait.html
- Coleman, W. L. (1965). *U.S. battling peasant revolt in Vietnam*. The Harvard Crimson. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1965/2/19/us-battling-peasant-revolt-in-vietnam/
- Communist Party of Vietnam. (2001). *Documents of the 9th National Congress*. National Political Publishing House.
- Communist Party of Vietnam. (2011, March 20). The Organization of the Practice of the Ho Chi Minh Movement and the Learning of its Moral Codes. Communist Party of Vietnam.

  https://web.archive.org/web/20110320012632/http://www.haugiang.gov.vn/Portal/DATA/sites/10/chuyende/HOCTAPGUONGDAODUCHOCHIMINH/
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. SAGE Publications.
- CSIS . (2015, December 28). What Does China Really Spend on its Military?

  ChinaPower Project. https://chinapower.csis.org/military-spending/
- CSIS. (2017, June 12). Counter-Coercion series: China-Vietnam oil rig standoff. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative.

  https://amti.csis.org/counter-co-oil-rig-standoff/

- Demin, V. F., & Kuznetsov, V. P. (2014, April 15). Issues of insurance of civil liability for nuclear damage from nuclear low power plants.

  \*\*ASME 2014 Small Modular Reactors Symposium.\*\*

  http://dx.doi.org/10.1115/smr2014-3348
- Dieu, T. (2020). Ho Chi Minh's Ideology on National Unity in Vietnam's Revolution. *The Indonesian Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 4(1).
- Do Thi Ngoc Quy, V. K. D. (2021). Ho Chi Minh's thought about cultural diplomacy. *Turkish Journal of Computer and Mathematics Education* (TURCOMAT), 12(6), 2538–2546.

  <a href="https://doi.org/10.17762/turcomat.v12i6.5700">https://doi.org/10.17762/turcomat.v12i6.5700</a>
- Doyo, Ma. C. P. (2015, June 25). The old man and the sea. *INQUIRER.Net*. https://opinion.inquirer.net/86123/the-old-man-and-the-sea
- Duiker, W. J. (2012). Ho Chi Minh: A life. Hachette UK.
- Dung, P. X. (2022). "No one can force Vietnam to choose sides": Vietnam as a self-reliant middle power. *Asia Policy*, 29(4), 151–179. https://doi.org/10.1353/asp.2022.0061
- Dupuy, R. J., & Vignes, D. (1991). A handbook on the new law of the sea. 2 (1991). Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

- Elliot, R. E., & Timulak, L. (2021). Essentials of descriptive-interpretive qualitative research: A generic approach. American Psychological Association.
- Embassy of The Socialist Republic of Vietnam in The United States of America. (2018). *Constitution of 1992*. Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the United States. https://vietnamembassy-usa.org/vietnam/politics/constitution
- Farran, K. (2021, December 2). How are social norms created? *Living By Example*. https://www.livingbyexample.org/how-are-social-norms-created/
- Finnemore, M. (1996). National Interests in International Society.
- Ford, M. J., Abdulla, A., & Morgan, M. G. (2017). Evaluating the cost, safety, and proliferation risks of small floating nuclear reactors. *Risk Analysis*, 37(11), 2191–2211. https://doi.org/10.1111/risa.12756
- France 24. (2023, September 11). US, Vietnam warn against "threat or use of force" in South China Sea. *FRANCE 24*.

  https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20230911-us-vietnam-warnagainst-threat-or-use-of-force-in-south-china-sea
- Frankel, J. (1963). *The making of foreign policy: An analysis of decisionmaking*. London; New York: Oxford University Press.

- Fulcrum. (2023, February 10). What to expect from the Vietnam–South Korea comprehensive strategic partnership. Fulcrum: Analysis on Southeast Asia; Fulcrum. <a href="https://fulcrum.sg/what-to-expect-from-the-vietnam-south-korea-comprehensive-strategic-partnership/">https://fulcrum.sg/what-to-expect-from-the-vietnam-south-korea-comprehensive-strategic-partnership/</a>
- Giang, N. K. (2023). Vietnam Seeks Intimate Ties with Cambodia and Laos. *ISEAS YUSOF ISHAK INSTITUTE*.
- Grossman, D. (2019). Military build-up in the South China Sea. *RAND*Corporations.
- Guinto, B. J. (2023, October 26). South China Sea: Biden says US will defend the Philippines if China attacks. BBC News.

  https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-67224782
- Hamzah, B. (2021). Routledge Handbook of The South China Sea. Routledge.
- Hayton, B. (2024, May 9). Vietnam's political turmoil reveals a turn towards

  China and away from the West. Chatham House International

  Affairs Think Tank.
  - https://www.chathamhouse.org/2024/05/vietnams-political-turmoil-reveals-turn-towards-china-and-away-west
- Heath, T. (2016, March 28). Beijing ups the ante in south china sea dispute with HQ-9 deployment. Jamestown.
  - https://jamestown.org/program/beijing-ups-the-ante-in-south-china-sea-dispute-with-hq-9-deployment/

- Heydarian, R. J. (2023, April 3). US cranking pressure on China in South China Sea. *Asia Times*. https://asiatimes.com/2023/04/us-cranking-pressure-on-china-in-south-china-sea/
- Hiep, L. H., & Tsvetov, A. (2018). *Vietnam's Foreign Policy under Doi Moi*. ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Hoa, T. (2021). Ho Chi Minh Thought on socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam. THE VOICE OF VIETNAM. https://vovworld.vn/en-US/current-affairs/ho-chi-minh-thought-on-socialism-and-the-path-to-socialism-in-vietnam-983957.vov
- Holley, D. (1991, November 6). China and Vietnam normalize relations. *Los Angeles Times*. https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-11-06-mn-954-story.html
- Holmes, J. R. (2014). Strategic Features of The South China Sea: A Tough Neighborhood for Hegemons. *Naval War College Review*, 67(2).
- Hongbin, D., & Ullah, I. (2022). THE SOUTH CHINA SEA'S NINE DASH

  LINE: KEY DISPUTES AND CHINA'S HISTORICAL RIGHTS

  CLAIMS. *Journal of Pakistan-China Studies (JPCS)*, 3(1), 67–86.

  https://doi.org/10.55733/jpcs.v3i1.53
- Ip, C. (2022, November 2). China reassured by Vietnam's vow to reject military alliances: Analysts. South China Morning Post.
  https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3198034/china-

- vietnam-ties-beijing-reassured-hanois-vow-reject-all-militaryalliances-say-analysts
- Japan's Ministry of Defense. (2018). *China's Activities in the South China Sea*.
- Jazeera, A. (2023, August 9). What's behind rising China-Philippines tensions in the South China Sea? *Al Jazeera*.
  https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/8/9/whats-behind-rising-china
  - philippines-tensions-in-the-south-china-sea
- Jiangang, L. (2021). *Intense US visits cannot shake Vietnam's '4-nos' policy*. Global Times.

Jenner, C. J. (2021). Routledge Handbook of The South China Sea. Routledge

https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202108/1230190.shtml

- Keyuan, Z. (2021). Routledge handbook of the south china sea. Routledge.
- Kuik, C.-C., & Razak Ahmad, A. (2021). Malaysia's resilient (but ambiguous) partnership with the united states: The dilemmas of smaller states in the indo-pacific era. *Asia Policy*, *16*(4), 86–95. https://doi.org/10.1353/asp.2021.0056
- Kuok, L. (2016). The U.S. FON Program in The South China Sea. Brookings
  Center for East Asia Policy Studies; Brookings.
  https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/The-US-FON-Program-in-the-South-China-Sea.pdf

- Kurlantzick, J. (2011, October 7). *Growing U.S. role in south china sea*.

  Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/expertbrief/growing-us-role-south-china-sea
- LaGrone, S. (2017, January 3). *Beijing confirms Chinese carrier launched fighters in South China Sea*. USNI News.

  https://news.usni.org/2017/01/03/chinese-carrier-launches-aircraft-south-china-sea-wide-ranging-deployment
- Li, M., & Atmakuri, A. (2021). Routledge Handbook of The South China Sea.

  Routledge.
- Le, C. (2022, April 10). *The doi moi reforms modernizing Vietnam's trade*economy. Braumiller Law Group. https://www.braumillerlaw.com/doimoi-reforms-modernizing-nietnams-trade-economy/
- Le Thu, H. (2018). *Vietnam's Persistent Foreign Policy Dilemma*. National Bureau of Asian Research.
- Linh, H. T., & Van, V. H. (2021). Ho chi minh thought of "keeping calm is to cope with multi unexpected changes" and the value of that thought to vietnam's foreign policy today. *Journal of Natural Remedies*, 21(9).
- Lowe, A. (2015). *Philippines' Aquino welcomes US warship's development in disputed sea*. Channel News Asia.

  http://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asiapacific/philippines-

aquino/2221382.html

- Macias, A. (2018, May 2). China quietly installed missile systems on strategic Spratly Islands in hotly contested South China Sea. *CNBC*. https://www.cnbc.com/2018/05/02/china-added-missile-systems-on-spratly-islands-in-south-china-sea.html
- Maitem, J. (2024, May 8). Floating power plants could deepen South China Sea militarisation: Philippines. *South China Morning Post*.

  https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3261887/south-china-sea-philippine-fears-beijings-floating-nuclear-plants-could-further-militarise-disputed
- Malaysia's Ministry of Defense. (2020). *Defense White Paper*. Malaysia Nasional Library.
- Mandsager, D. (1997). The U.S. Freedom of Navigation Program: Policy, procedure, and future. *International Law Studies*, 113–127.
- Marsetio, Amarulla Octavian, Rudiyanto, Gibson, J. D. E., Gunawan, K., & Ritonga, R. (2017). The South China Sea Dispute and Regional Maritime Security: Indonesia's Perspective. *International Journal of U- and e- Service, Science and Technology*, 10(8).
- Mas'ud, M. (1990). Ilmu hubungan internasional: Disiplin dan metodologi.
- Mastro, O. S. (2020, May 20). *Military confrontation in the south china sea*.

  Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/report/military-confrontation-south-china-sea

- McDorman, T. (2021). Routledge Handbook of The South China Sea.

  Routledge.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). Mind, self, and society: From the standpoint of a social behaviorist.
- Mei, W., & Xie, S.-P. (2016). Intensification of landfalling typhoons over the northwest Pacific since the late 1970s. *Nature Geoscience*, *9*(10), 753–757. https://doi.org/10.1038/ngeo2792
- Mi, T. (2015, October 29). Vietnam gives noncommittal response to US patrol in S. China sea. *Voice of America (VOA News)*. https://www.voanews.com/a/vietnam-gives-noncomittal-response-to-us-patrol-in-south-china-sea/3028642.html
- Michalski, A., & Pan, Z. (2017). Europe, China, and the diffusion of norms. In *Governing China in the 21st Century* (pp. 71–96). Springer Singapore. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-3141-0 4
- Michigan Institute of Technology. (2024, January). How many wind turbines would it take to equal the energy output of one typical nuclear reactor? MIT Climate Portal. https://climate.mit.edu/ask-mit/how-many-wind-turbines-would-it-take-equal-energy-output-one-typical-nuclear-reactor
- Minh, H. C. (1921a, September 30). The Crimes of Colonialism. *La Vie Ouvrière*.

- Minh, H. C. (1921b, October 7). "Love France, Who Protects You." *Le Libertaire*.
- Minh, H. C. (2011). *Ho Chi Minh Full Volume* (Vol. 8). Truth National Political Publishing House.
- Minh, H. C. (2021). Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh. Foreign Languages

  Press.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Malaysia. (2009). *Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia*. Portal. https://www.kln.gov.my/
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Malaysia. (2023). *MALAYSIA'S POSITION ON*THE SOUTH CHINA SEA Press releases. Portal.

  https://www.kln.gov.my/web/guest/-/malaysia-s-position-on-the-south-china-sea
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China. (2015).

  Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Lu Kang's remarks on USS Lassen's entry into waters near relevant islands and reefs of China's Nansha Islands. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China.

  http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\_eng/xwfw\_665399/s2510\_665401/t130
- Mitchell, L. E. (1999). Understanding norms. *The University of Toronto Law Journal*, 49(2), 177. https://doi.org/10.2307/826018

9567.shtml

- Mitchell, M. (2016). The South China Sea: A Geopolitical Analysis. *Journal* of Geography and Geology, 8(3).
- Modelski, G. (1962). A theory of foreign policy.
- Nakashima, E., Chiang, V., & Warrick, J. (2024, May 2). U.S. officials wary of Chinese plans for floating nuclear plants. *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/05/02/chinafloating-nuclear-reactor-military/
- Nam Hyun-woo. (2022, December 5). Korea, Vietnam elevate ties to comprehensive, strategic partnership. *The Koreatimes Times*. https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2022/12/113\_341172.html
- Nguyen, H. T. (2012). Vietnam's position on sovereignty over the Paracels & the Spratlys: Its maritime claim. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <a href="https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2123861">https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2123861</a>
- Nguyen, V. P. (2018). China's Planned Floating Nuclear Power Facilities in South China Sea: Technical and Political Challanges. *The Maritime Issues*.
- Nien, N. D. (2008). Ho Chi Minh's Diplomatic Memorial. *Hanoi: National Politics*.
- People's Daily Online. (2014). *Construction of airstrip completed on Yongxing Island (2)*. People's Daily Online. http://en.people.cn/n/2014/1009/c90882-8792271-2.html

- Pham, L. (2019, November 26). Vietnam releases defense white paper, reaffirming no military alliance. *Hanoi Times*.

  https://hanoitimes.vn/vietnam-releases-defense-white-paper-reaffirming-no-military-alliance-300279.html
- Pike, D. (1992). Vietnam in 1991: The turning point. *Asian Survey*, *32*(1), 74–81. https://doi.org/10.2307/2645201
- Poling, G. (2015, September 15). Spratly airstrip update: Is mischief reef

  next? Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. https://amti.csis.org/newimagery-release/
- Pompeo, M. R. (2020, July 13). *U.S. position on maritime claims in the south china sea*. United States Department of State. https://2017-2021.state.gov/u-s-position-on-maritime-claims-in-the-south-chinasea/
- Putra, B. A. (2024a). Brunei's silent claims in the South China Sea: a case for the theory of trade expectations. Cogent Social Sciences; Routledge. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23311886.2024.231753
- Putra, B. A. (2024b). Tread with caution: Vietnam's retaliatory and deference measures vis-à-vis assertiveness at sea. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, *1*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2024.2351390

- Quang, P. N. (1993). The Extent of Ho Chi Minh's Wisdom. *Communist Review*.
- Queirós, A., Faria, D., & Almeida, F. (2017). Strengths and Limitations of Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods. *European Journal of Education Studies*, *3*(9).
- Reuters. (2016, October 13). Vietnam says no to foreign military base on its soil. *Reuters*. https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-vietnam-russia-military-idUKKCN12D15Y/
- Reuters. (2018, April 12). China's Xi presides over large-scale naval display in South China Sea. *Reuters*. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-military-xi/chinas-xi-presides-over-large-scale-naval-display-in-south-china-sea-idUSKBN1HJ27M/
- Rita, J. (2024, April 22). PH, US start 'biggest' Balikatan exercise. *GMA News Online*.
  - https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/topstories/nation/904356/ph-us-start-biggest-balikatan-exercise/story/
- Rogers, D. (2023, May 31). China halts floating nuclear power plan over security fears. Global Construction Review.

  https://www.globalconstructionreview.com/china-halts-floating-

nuclear-power-plan-over-security-fears/

- Sang, H. T. (2022, April 26). *Vietnam's "Four No's" of defence policy are being tested*. Lowy Institute. <a href="https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/vietnam-s-four-no-s-defence-policy-are-being-tested">https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/vietnam-s-four-no-s-defence-policy-are-being-tested</a>
- Sang, H. T. (2023). What to Expect from the Vietnam-South Korea Comprehensive Strategic Partnership. *ISEAS*, 2023(4).
- Schrag, J. (2017, August 2). *How much trade transits the south china sea?*ChinaPower Project. https://chinapower.csis.org/much-trade-transits-south-china-sea/
- Snyder, H. (2019). Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines. *Journal of Business Research*, *104*, 333–339. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2019.07.039
- South China Morning Post. (2021, April 19). Is Southeast Asia waking up to need for unity in South China Sea? *South China Morning Post*.

  https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3129538/southeast-asia-waking-need-unity-south-china-sea
- South China Morning Post. (2024a, February 6). "Show our swords": Beijing must harden its stance against rival challenges in the South China Sea, experts say. *Yahoo Finance*. https://sg.finance.yahoo.com/news/showswords-beijing-must-harden-093000275.html
- South China Morning Post. (2024b, February 15). *MSN*. South China Morning Post. https://www.msn.com/en-xl/news/other/philippines-south-chinasea-gambit-is-high-on-effort-low-on-results/ar-BB1ihZzG

- Storey, I. (2009). Maritime Security in Southeast Asia: Two Cheers for Regional Cooperation. In *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2009 (pp. 36–58).ISEAS Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1355/9789812309471-006
- TaiwanPlus News. (2023). Vietnam protests Taiwan's drills in south china sea [Video]. In *YouTube*. https://youtu.be/h9ZVjnNNgcc
- Task Force 71/Destroyer Squadron 15 Public Affairs. (2022). *United states*naval forces participate in cooperation afloat readiness and training

  (CARAT. United States Navy. https://www.navy.mil/PressOffice/News-Stories/Article/3227178/united-states-naval-forcesparticipate-in-cooperation-afloat-readiness-and-trai/
- Thao, N. H. (2005). Maritime delimitation and fishery cooperation in the tonkin gulf. *Ocean Development & Eamp; International Law*, 36(1), 25–44. https://doi.org/10.1080/00908320590904939
- Thao, Nguyen Hong. (2021). Vietnam's South China Sea Policy in The Routledge Handbook of the South China Sea. Routledge.
- Thayer, C. A. (2023, October 11). *Xi Jinping to Visit Vietnam*. Thayer Consultancy Background Brief. https://lnkd.in/gPnyRhws
- The Associated Press. (2023, February 13). US holds drills in South China Sea amid tensions with China. *AP News*.
  - https://apnews.com/article/politics-united-states-government-south-china-sea-beijing-084fbd1d64120859467b7f9157c4a797

- The Diplomat. (2016, July 12). International court issues unanimous award in philippines v. China case on south china sea. *The Diplomat*.

  <a href="https://thediplomat.com/2016/07/international-court-issues-unanimous-award-in-philippines-v-china-case-on-south-china-sea/">https://thediplomat.com/2016/07/international-court-issues-unanimous-award-in-philippines-v-china-case-on-south-china-sea/</a>
- The Guardian. (2022a, March 21). China has fully militarized three islands in South China Sea, US admiral says. *The Guardian*.

  https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/21/china-has-fully-militarized-three-islands-in-south-china-sea-us-admiral-says
- The Guardian. (2022b, December 15). Vietnam carries out 'substantial' expansion in South China Sea, US thinktank finds. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/dec/15/vietnam-carries-out-substantial-expansion-in-south-china-sea-us-thinktank-finds
- The History Place. (1999). *The history place Genocide in the 20th century:*Pol Pot in Cambodia 1975-1979. The History Place.

  https://historyplace.com/worldhistory/genocide/pol-pot.htm
- The Straits Times. (2019, August 25). *US, Asean to hold first joint maritime exercises*. The Straits Times. https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/usasean-to-hold-first-joint-maritime-exercises
- The White House. (2023, September 10). FACT SHEET: President joseph R.

  Biden and general secretary nguyen phu trong announce the u.s.
  vietnam comprehensive strategic partnership. The White House.

  https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-

- releases/2023/09/10/fact-sheet-president-joseph-r-biden-and-general-secretary-nguyen-phu-trong-announce-the-u-s-vietnam-comprehensive-strategic-partnership/
- Theys, S. (2018). Introducing constructivism in international relations theory. *E-International Relations*, 2(1).
- Thi Hoa, V. (2022). The value of ho chi minh's diplomatic ideology to the vietnamese revolution. *International Journal of All Research Writings*, 3(8).
- Thuong, N. L. T., & Oanh, N. T. (2021). Vietnam in the Indo-Pacific Region: Perception, position and perspectives. *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, 097492842110050. https://doi.org/10.1177/09749284211005036
- Tonnesson, S. (2021). *Routledge Handbook of The South China Sea*.

  Routledge .
- Tuan Linh, H. (2020). Ho Chi Minh's thought on Foreign and Its Implications for Vietnam's Foreign Policy Today. *Journal of Advances in Education and Philosophy*, 4(7), 324–328. https://doi.org/10.36348/jaep.2020.v04i07.003
- UNCTAD. (2015). Review of Maritime Transport. *United Nations*Conference on Trade and Development.

  https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/rmt2015\_en.pdf

- United Nations. (1951). United States of America and Philippines Mutual

  Defense Treaty. In *United Nations Treaty Series*. United Nations.
- United Nations. (2009a). Communications Received with Regard to the Submission Made by Viet Nam to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf by China. United Nations.

https://www.un.org/Depts/los/clcs\_new/submissions files/vnm37 09/chn 2009re vnm.pdf.

- United Nations. (2009b). Continental shelf. Joint Submission to the

  Commission by Malaysia and Viet Nam.

  https://www.un.org/Depts/los/clcs\_new/submissions\_files/submission\_
  mysvnm\_33\_2009.htm
- United Nations. (2011). "The Philippines' 2011 Note Verbale to the UN.

  United Nations. https://www.un.org/depts/
  los/clcs new/submissions files/vnm37 09/phl re chn 2011.pdf
- United States Senate. (2015). Hearing to Receive Testimony on Maritime

  Security Strategy in The Asia-Pacific Region.
- US 7th Fleet Public Affairs. (2024). *U.S. Navy destroyer conducts freedom of navigation operation in the South China Sea*. United States Navy. https://www.navy.mil/Press-Office/News-Stories/Article/3771407/us-navy-destroyer-conducts-freedom-of-navigation-operation-in-the-south-china-s/

- US Department of Defense. (2018). Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2018.
- US Department of Defense. (2019). Military and Security Developments

  Involving the People's Republic of China 2019. In *Annual Report to*Congress. https://media.defense.gov/2019/May/02/2002127082/-1/1/1/2019 CHINA MILITARY POWER REPORT.pdf
- US Department of State. (2020, July 27). *U.S. security cooperation with Vietnam*. United States Department of State. https://2017-2021.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-vietnam-2/
- US Department of State. (2022, August 4). *The united states-asean*relationship. United States Department of State.

  https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-asean-relationship/
- US Embassy and Consulate in Vietnam. (2023, September 11). Fact sheet:

  U.S.-Vietnam comprehensive strategic partnership US Embassy and

  Consulate in Vietnam. https://vn.usembassy.gov/fact-sheet-presidentjoseph-r-biden-and-general-secretary-nguyen-phu-trong-announce-theu-s-vietnam-comprehensive-strategic-partnership/
- US Energy Information Administration. (2019). South China Sea. U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA).
  - https://www.eia.gov/international/analysis/regions-of-interest/SouthChinaSea

- Valencia, M. J., van Dyke, J. M., & Ludwig, N. A. (1997). Analyzing the South China Sea claims under international law. In *Sharing the Resources of the South China Sea* (pp. 17–76). Brill | Nijhoff. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/9789004481718 005
- Vietnam Communist Party. (2007, November 7). The Organization of the Practice of the Ho Chi Minh Movement and the Learning of its Moral Codes. Central Executive Committe of Vietnam. https://web.archive.org/web/20110320012632/http://www.haugiang.gov.vn/Portal/DATA/sites/10/chuyende/HOCTAPGUONGDAODUCHOCHIMINH/
- Vietnamese National Defense Magazine. (2022, June 19). "Four Nos" A policy of peace. National Defence Journal.

  <a href="http://tapchiqptd.vn/en/theory-and-practice/four-nos-a-policy-of-peace/18841.html">http://tapchiqptd.vn/en/theory-and-practice/four-nos-a-policy-of-peace/18841.html</a>
- Vietnam News. (2023, December 25). Việt Nam vows to promote strong,

  effective and sustainable Mekong-Lancang cooperation.

  Vietnamnews.Vn. https://vietnamnews.vn/politics-laws/1638516/vietnam-vows-to-promote-strong-effective-and-sustainable-mekong-lancang-cooperation.html

Vietnam's 2019 White Defense Paper, (2019).

Vu, K. (2023, December 13). Vietnam and china announce major upgrade in relations during xi visit. *The Diplomat*.

- https://thediplomat.com/2023/12/vietnam-and-china-announce-major-upgrade-in-relations-during-xi-visit/
- Vu, K. (2024, February 14). Why Vietnam cannot copy the Philippines' China policy. *The Diplomat*. https://thediplomat.com/2024/02/why-vietnam-cannot-copy-the-philippines-china-policy/
- Vu, K., Guarascio, F., & Pollard, M. Q. (2023, October 7). Vietnam and China prepare for possible Xi visit to Hanoi in next month, say sources. *The Star*. https://www.thestar.com.my/aseanplus/aseanplus-news/2023/10/07/vietnam-and-china-prepare-for-possible-xi-visit-to-hanoi-in-next-month-say-sources
- Wendt, A. (1995). Constructing international politics. *International Security*, 20(1), 71. https://doi.org/10.2307/2539217
- Xiaobo, L. (2019, March 1). How china can resolve the FONOP deadlock in the south china sea. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative.

  https://amti.csis.org/how-china-can-resolve-fonop-deadlock/
- Zeberlein, J. (2023b, October 20). Vietnam's four nos policy and implications for Vietnam-China relations. Jamestown.

  https://jamestown.org/program/vietnams-four-nos-policy-and-implications-for-vietnam-china-relations/
- Zedong, M. (1927). Report on an Investigation of The Peasant Movement in Hunan. Central Committee Periodical.

Zhen, L. (2019, October 17). Satellite images show China expanding shipyard 'to build more carriers.' *South China Morning Post*.

https://www.scmp.com/news/china/military/article/3033434/satellite-images-show-china-expanding-shipyard-build-more

Zhu, F., & Li, L. (2021). China's South China Sea Policies. Routledge.