

Bab IV

KESIMPULAN

Melalui pembahasan dari bab-bab sebelumnya yang telah diuraikan, dapat disimpulkan bahwa skripsi ini menemukan tiga hal utama. Pertama, aktor utama dalam pembuatan kebijakan di Filipina terkait hubungannya dengan China adalah Lembaga pemerintahan Filipina seperti, Departemen Pertahanan (DND), Pasukan bersenjata Filipina (AFP), Departemen Luar Negeri (DFA) dan Menteri Keuangan (DOF).

Kedua, masing-masing aktor tersebut memiliki posisi mereka masing-masing sesuai dengan tugas dan fungsi mereka, seperti halnya DND bertanggung jawab untuk menjaga negaranya dari ancaman eksternal dan internal yang mengganggu keamanan di negara itu, lalu AFP memiliki tugasnya dalam mengamankan kedaulatan negara dan keutuhan wilayahnya, selanjutnya DFA memiliki tugas untuk memajukan Filipina dalam hubungan luar negerinya dan dalam forum Internasional, terakhir DFA akan selalu mengedepankan pertumbuhan ekonomi Filipina demi kemakmuran negaranya.

Ketiga, ditemukan terdapatnya dinamika para aktor tersebut, terbagi menjadi Pro dan Kontra, atau dalam konteks ini terbagi menjadi dua kubu yaitu Pro-AS dan Pro-China. Namun kemudian mereka memiliki posisi masing-masing:

- DND yang menilai China sebagai ancaman, maka dari itu dalam menjalani tugasnya untuk menjaga negaranya dari gangguan tersebut, DND memilih untuk berpihak dengan AS.
- AFP berpihak kepada AS, karena hubungannya aliansi antara kedua pasukan militernya yang sudah cukup lama, oleh karena itu menimbulkan pandangan subjektif terhadap China.
- DFA yang ingin mempertahankan hubungan Filipina dengan negara adidaya seperti China dengan AS, namun melalui pertimbangannya China dilihat lebih dapat membuka peluang yang banyak daripada AS bagi kemajuan Filipina.
- DOF menilai China sebagai pintu yang dapat membawa Filipina lebih makmur dalam perekonomiannya, karena investasi asing melalui proyek BRI, peningkatan volume dagang yang dibawa China merupakan sebuah keuntungan besar baginya, ditambah lagi juga apabila konflik Filipina-China ini terus berlanjut, maka pastinya akan berdampak buruk dan merugikan perekonomian Filipina.
- PNP merupakan aktor yang berperan penting dalam pembentukkan kebijakan Duterte ini, karena sebagai aktor yang berurusan langsung dengan tuduhan pelanggaran HAM oleh AS, hal tersebut menjadikan pertimbangan bagi Duterte atas melihat tanggapan AS yang mengkritik kebijakannya itu membawa dampak dalam hubungan AS-Filipina.

Sehingga berdasarkan hal tersebut dapat dikatakan bahwa faktor yang membuat Duterte untuk lebih memilih untuk mendekatkan dirinya dengan China melalui

kebijakannya itu, walaupun pada akhirnya Duterte juga tidak melepas hubungannya dengan AS sepenuhnya dan tetap di akomodasi. Dengan itu Filipina dibawah Duterte dalam memposisikan dirinya diantara AS-China menjadi lebih adaptif dibanding konfrontatif khususnya dalam menanggapi tekanan China. **Jadi, alasan mengapa Duterte mengambil kebijakan tersebut berdasarkan hasil dari pertarungan antara birokrasi.**

Menurut penulis, Duterte mungkin bisa lebih bijak dalam mempertimbangkan terkait negaranya yang mengesampingkan hubungannya dengan AS itu, bahkan di satu titik dia mempertimbangkan untuk memutuskan sepenuhnya hubungannya dengan AS, walaupun AS sendiri juga bilang perjanjiannya dengan Filipina itu tidak akan tergoyah dan akan selalu menghormati pendapat dan tindakan yang Filipina ambil, namun tetap saja Duterte seharusnya lebih bisa melihat posisi negaranya secara luas. Karena menurut penulis, justru Filipina seharusnya lebih menjaga jarak dan tidak bersikap sangat terbuka terhadap China seperti yang selama itu pemerintahan Duterte lakukan. Karena apabila dilihat dari potensi ancaman oleh kedua negara tersebut, sepertinya China lebih memungkinkan untuk menjadi ancaman kedepannya bagi Filipina. Namun di sisi lain AS juga seharusnya dapat menunjukkan terhadap Filipina, bahwa negaranya dapat diandalkan, yaitu dengan lebih tegas dalam menanggapi China, karena dengan sikap AS juga yang berkesan seperti itu, menimbulkan pandangan Filipina, khususnya Duterte yang menganggap bahwa tidak dapat mengandalkan AS sepenuhnya.

Kekurangan yang terdapat dari penelitian ini adalah pengumpulan data yang kurang bisa digali lebih dalam, karena penelitian ini membahas dinamika antara para aktor, maka dari itu pastinya data terkait perdebatan, negosiasi dan diskusi yang mana terlihat jelas dinamikanya akan sangat membantu, namun sayangnya informasi terkait hal tersebut tidak disediakan secara publik. Sehingga penulis mengandalkan pernyataan resmi masing-masing aktor pemerintahan tersebut serta dokumen pemerintahan untuk dapat menganalisis dinamika dan posisi dari para aktor tersebut dalam pembuatan suatu kebijakan. Skripsi ini telah menyajikan analisis yang mana membahas salah satu pengaruh Duterte dalam membuat kebijakan yang cukup ekstrim tersebut, yaitu aspek birokrasi pemerintahan di Filipina sendiri. Namun menurut saya sebagai penulis, masih banyak lagi yang bisa diteliti dari penelitian yang serupa dengan skripsi ini, seperti dari pandangan mana lagi yang dapat mempengaruhi Duterte atau suatu Pemimpin Negara dalam membuat keputusan yang terkadang dipertanyakan, karena sangat berbeda dengan pendahulunya.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Allison, Graham T., and Morton H. Halperin. "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications." *World Politics* 24, no. S1 (1972): 40–79. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2010559>.
- Arbar, Thea Fathanah. "Laut China Selatan Panas Lagi, Filipina Ngamuk Ke China." CNBC Indonesia, October 1, 2021. <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20211001140653-4-280708/laut-china-selatan-panas-lagi-filipina-ngamuk-ke-china>.
- Associated Press. "China Has Fully Militarized Three Islands in South China Sea, US Admiral Says." The Guardian. The Guardian, March 21, 2022. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/21/china-has-fully-militarized-three-islands-in-south-china-sea-us-admiral-says>.
- Babb, Carla. "Philippines Says US Visiting Forces Agreement to Remain in Effect." VOA, July 30, 2021. https://www.voanews.com/a/east-asia-pacific_philippines-says-us-visiting-forces-agreement-remain-effect/6208923.html.
- Bryman, Alan. *Social Research Methods*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Buszynski, Leszek. "The South China Sea: Oil, Maritime Claims, and U.S.–China Strategic Rivalry." *The Washington Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (April 2012): 142. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660x.2012.666495>.
- Castro, Renato Cruz De. "Commentary: Facing 21st Century Security Challenges in Philippines." Philstar.com, December 26, 2020. <https://www.philstar.com/news-commentary/2020/12/26/2066372/commentary-facing-21st-century-security-challenges-philippines>.
- _____. "From Appeasement to Soft Balancing: The Duterte Administration's Shifting Policy on the South China Sea

- Imbroglio.” *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, September 10, 2020, 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00927678.2020.1818910>.
- Castro, Renato Cruz de. “Explaining the Duterte Administration’s Appeasement Policy on China: The Power of Fear.” *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 45, no. 3-4 (October 2, 2018): 165–91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00927678.2019.1589664>.
- “China’s Assertiveness in the South China Sea.” *Strategic Comments* 22, no. 9 (October 20, 2016): iii–iv. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13567888.2016.1260390>.
- CNN. “Duterte: PH Counts on China ‘as Friend, Partner for Peace and Development.’” CNN, July 7, 2021. <https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2021/7/7/Duterte-PH-China-relations-CPC-summit.html>.
- CNN, Juliet Perry and Will Ripley. “Philippine President Slams US; Backs Drug War.” CNN, December 16, 2016. <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/12/16/asia/duterte-speech-singapore/index.html>.
- COOK, Alistair D. B. “Unpacking the Scarborough Shoal Dispute.” *East Asian Policy* 04, no. 03 (July 2012): 46. <https://doi.org/10.1142/s1793930512000256>.
- De Castro, Renato Cruz. “China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the Duterte Administration’s Appeasement Policy: Examining the Connection between the Two National Strategies.” *East Asia* 36, no. 3 (August 21, 2019): 205–27. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-019-09315-9>.
- . “The Duterte Administration’s Foreign Policy: Unravelling the Aquino Administration’s Balancing Agenda on an Emergent China.” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 35, no. 3 (December 2016): 139–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/186810341603500307>.

- DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE. “DEPARTMENT of FINANCE FRAMEWORK.” Accessed November 11, 2021. <https://www.dbm.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/OPCCB/OPIF2012/DOF/dof.pdf>.
- DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. “DEPARTMENT of FOREIGN LOGICAL FRAMEWORK,” n.d. https://www.dbm.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/OPCCB/OPIF_2007/dfa.pdf.
- DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE. “XVII. DEPARTMENT of NATIONAL DEFENSE A. DND PROPER (OFFICE of the SECRETARY),” n.d. <https://www.dbm.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/NEP2016/DND/DND.pdf>.
- Dolven, Ben, Jennifer Elsea, Susan Lawrence, Ronald O’Rourke, and Ian E Rinehart. “Chinese Land Reclamation in the South China Sea: Implications and Policy Options.” *Chinese Land Reclamation in the South China Sea: Implications and Policy Options* 24 (June 16, 2015): 1.
- Durbin, Brent. “Bureaucratic Politics Approach | Definition & Facts.” In *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/bureaucratic-politics-approach>.
- BBC News. “Duterte in China: Xi Lauds ‘Milestone’ Duterte Visit,” October 20, 2016. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37700409>.
- Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of the Philippines. “Belt and Road Primer.” [http://ph.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/sgdt/201904/t20190411_1182334.htm](http://ph.china-embassy.gov.cn, April 11, 2019. http://ph.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/sgdt/201904/t20190411_1182334.htm).
- G. M. A. News. “Cayetano Says Warm Relations with China Won’t Affect Legal Victory.” GMA News Online, November 21, 2017. <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/topstories/nation/633920/caye>

[tano-says-warm-relations-with-china-won-t-affect-legal-victory/story/](#).

Gonzales, Cherry. “Finance Secretary Carlos Dominguez III with China Commerce Minister Zhong Shan.” Department of Finance, December 5, 2017. <https://www.dof.gov.ph/finance-secretary-carlos-dominguez-iii-with-china-commerce-minister-zhong-shan-2/>.

BBC News. “Google Maps Alters Disputed South China Sea Shoal Name,” July 14, 2015, sec. Asia. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-33518673>.

Grossman, Derek. “Duterte’s Dalliance with China Is Over.” www.rand.org, November 2, 2021. <https://www.rand.org/blog/2021/11/dutertes-dalliance-with-china-is-over.html>.

Gutierrez, Jason. “Philippines Backs off Threat to Terminate Military Pact with U.S.” The New York Times, June 2, 2020, sec. World. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/02/world/asia/philippines-military-pact-us-duterte.html>.

Hayton, Bill. “Denounce but Comply: China’s Response to the South China Sea Arbitration Ruling.” *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 18, no. 2 (2017): 104. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26396024>.

Heydarian, Richard. “Weary and Wary, Duterte Takes China to Task over South China Sea.” South China Morning Post, September 9, 2018. <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/2163415/weary-and-wary-philippine-president-rodrigo-duterte-takes-china>.

Heydarian, Richard Javad. “Pledge Trap: How Duterte Fell for China’s Bait and Switch.” Asia Times, April 1, 2022. <https://asiatimes.com/2022/04/how-duterte-fell-for-chinas-bait-and-switch/>.

- . “Tragedy of Small Power Politics: Duterte and the Shifting Sands of Philippine Foreign Policy.” *Asian Security* 13, no. 3 (August 4, 2017): 220–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14799855.2017.1354569>.
- Human Rights Watch. “‘License to Kill’ | Philippine Police Killings in Duterte’s ‘War on Drugs.’” Human Rights Watch, March 2, 2017. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2017/03/02/license-kill/philippine-police-killings-dutertes-war-drugs>.
- Lawder, David. “Philippines Finance Minister Eyes Chinese Investment, Dismisses U.S. Flap.” *Reuters*, October 8, 2016, sec. Business News. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-imf-g20-philippines-idINKCN1280ZD>.
- Lee, Yen Nee. “Philippine President Duterte’s China Pivot Hasn’t Reduced Tensions in the South China Sea.” *CNBC*, December 27, 2021. <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/12/27/philippine-president-dutertes-china-pivot-hasnt-reduced-south-china-sea-tensions.html>.
- Lu, Zehua . “Philippines Protest over South China Sea ‘Encroachment.’” South China Morning Post, April 2, 2019. <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3004308/philippine-defence-minister-delfin-lorenzana-protests-over>.
- Manantan, Mark Bryan F. “Pivot toward China: A Critical Analysis of the Philippines’ Policy Shift on the South China Sea Disputes.” *Asian Politics & Policy* 11, no. 4 (October 2019): 643–62. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12498>.
- Mensah, Thomas, Jean-Pierre Cot, Stanislaw Pawlak, Alfred Soons, and Wolfrum Registry. “PCA Case N° 2013-19 in the MATTER of the SOUTH CHINA SEA ARBITRATION -before - an ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL CONSTITUTED under ANNEX VII to the 1982 UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION on the LAW of the SEA - between - the REPUBLIC of the PHILIPPINES -and - the PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC of CHINA _AWARD_Arbitral Tribunal,”

2016. <https://docs.pca-cpa.org/2016/07/PH-CN-20160712-Award.pdf>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. "JOINT STATEMENT of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC of CHINA and the REPUBLIC of the PHILIPPINES." www.fmprc.gov.cn, October 21, 2016.
https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt_665385/2649_665393/201610/t20161021_679488.html.
- . "Wang Yi Meets with Former Foreign Secretary Alan Peter Cayetano of the Philippines." www.fmprc.gov.cn, October 29, 2018.
https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/gjhdq_665435/2675_665437/2762_663528/2764_663532/201810/t20181031_521344.html.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China . "Joint Statement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines." www.fmprc.gov.cn, November 16, 2017.
https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt_665385/2649_665393/201711/t20171116_679507.html.
- Mogato, Manuel. "Philippine Defense Minister Suspicious of Chinese Ship Activities." *Reuters*, March 9, 2017, sec. Emerging Markets.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-philippines-china-southchinasea-idUSKBN16G193>.
- Mogato, Manuel, and Benjamin K. Lim. "Duterte Visit to China May Lead to Changing Alliances in East Asia." *Reuters*, September 30, 2016, sec. Top News. <https://www.reuters.com/article/cnews-us-philippines-china-idCAKCN1201KJ>.
- Neil. "Dominguez Looking Forward to Expansion of China Ties." BusinessWorld Online, September 16, 2019.
<https://www.bworldonline.com/editors->

- picks/2019/09/16/253826/dominguez-looking-forward-to-expansion-of-china-ties/.
- Official Gazette. “PRRD Rallies Soldiers to Fight Corruption, Illegal Drugs | GOVPH.” Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, n.d. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/section/briefing-room/department-of-national-defense/armed-forces-of-the-philippines/>.
- Philstar.com. “Pag-Abuso Sa Kababayen-an Misaka,” March 9, 2018. <https://www.philstar.com/banat/balita/2018/03/09/1794962/pag-abuso-sa-kababayen-misaka>.
- Palanca, Ellen, and Austin Ong. “Philippines–China Relations: Interplay between Domestic Politics and Globalization.” *The Sociology of Chinese Capitalism in Southeast Asia*, July 11, 2018, 93–122. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-0065-3_5.
- Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines. “The Philippine National Police | GOVPH,” 2020. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/featured/about-the-pnp/>.
- Panda, Ankit. “Philippine Government Eyes Chinese Investment ahead of Duterte Visit to Beijing.” *thediplomat.com*, October 10, 2016. <https://thediplomat.com/2016/10/philippine-government-eyes-chinese-investment-ahead-of-duterte-visit-to-beijing/>.
- Pca-cpa.org. “PCA Press Release: The South China Sea Arbitration (the Republic of the Philippines v. the People’s Republic of China) | PCA-CPA,” 2016. <https://pca-cpa.org/en/news/pca-press-release-the-south-china-sea-arbitration-the-republic-of-the-philippines-v-the-peoples-republic-of-china/>.
- Permanent Court of Arbitration. “The South China Sea Arbitration (the Republic of Philippines v. the People’s Republic of China).” Pca-cpa.org, 2013. <https://pca-cpa.org/en/cases/7/>.

- Philippine Statistics Authority. "Foreign Trade Statistics of the Philippines: 2016 | Philippine Statistics Authority." psa.gov.ph, July 10, 2017. <https://psa.gov.ph/content/foreign-trade-statistics-philippines-2016>.
- Phillips, Tom, Oliver Holmes, and Owen Bowcott. "Beijing Rejects Tribunal's Ruling in South China Sea Case." *the Guardian*, November 28, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/12/philippines-wins-south-china-sea-case-against-china>.
- Poushter, Jacob, and Caldwell Bishop. "Philippines Public Supports America over China, but Gap Is Narrowing." Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project, September 21, 2017. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2017/09/21/people-in-the-philippines-still-favor-u-s-over-china-but-gap-is-narrowing/>.
- pro10.pnp.gov.ph. "PNP Organization." Accessed July 12, 2023. <https://pro10.pnp.gov.ph/pro10/index.php/layout/pnp-organization#:~:text=To%20enforce%20the%20law%2C%20to>.
- Qi, Huaigao, and Song Xue. *Cooperative Development in the South China Sea: Policies, Obstacles, and Prospects*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2021.
- Ramadani, Shintia, and Sofia Trisni. "Analisis Kebijakan Luar Negeri Filipina Terhadap Cina Terkait Sengketa Laut Tiongkok Selatan Pada Masa Duterte." *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies* 4, no. 1 (November 29, 2019): 46. <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v4n1.4>.
- Ranada, Pia . "2018: Year of China Military Deployments in South China Sea – U.S. Think Tank." RAPPLER, December 26, 2018. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/219458-gregory-poling-2018-chinese-military-deployments-south-china-sea/>.
- Regalado, Edith. "Alan Peter Cayetano: Duterte Wants Me to Become Speaker." *Philstar.com*, October 12, 2018.

- [https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2018/10/12/1859377/alan-peter-cayetano-duterte-wants-me-become-speaker.](https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2018/10/12/1859377/alan-peter-cayetano-duterte-wants-me-become-speaker)
- Reuters. “Philippines’ Duterte Says He Takes Full Responsibility for Drugs War.” Reuters, October 21, 2021, sec. Asia Pacific. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/philippines-duterte-says-he-takes-full-responsibility-drugs-war-2021-10-21/>.Ripley,
- Juliet Perry,Will. “Philippine President Slams US, Says Drug War Will Not Stop.” CNN, December 16, 2016. <https://www.cnn.com/2016/12/16/asia/duterte-speech-singapore/index.html>.
- Robles, Raissa. “Philippine Ex-Police Chief Cites China Threat to Justify Youth Military Training.” South China Morning Post, August 26, 2019. <https://www.scmp.com/news/article/3024390/when-china-attacks-us-philippine-senator-bato-blurts-out-reason-make-youth>.
- Santos, Eimor . “Dela Rosa Confirms His US Visa Has Been Canceled.” cnn, January 22, 2020. <https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2020/1/22/ronald-bato-dela-rosa-united-states-visa.html>.
- Sevilla, Jr., Henelito A. “The Philippines’ Foreign Policy Direction: An Assessment of the First Year of President Duterte.” *Journal of South Asian Studies* 6, no. 3 (March 16, 2019). <https://doi.org/10.33687/jsas.006.03.2558>.
- Strangio , Sebastian . “Kamala Harris Says US Commitment to Philippines ‘Unwavering.’” thediplomat.com, November 22, 2022. <https://thediplomat.com/2022/11/kamala-harris-says-us-commitment-to-philippines-unwavering/>.
- Tenorio, Christine B, Patrik K Meyer, and Achmad Nurmandi. “President Duterte’s Bicephalous Leadership: Populist at Home – Pragmatic Abroad.” *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, March 19, 2020, 205789112091200. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2057891120912008>.

<https://cesran.org/the-bureaucratic-politics-approach-its-application-its-limitations-and-its-strengths.html>. “The Bureaucratic Politics Approach: Its Application, Its Limitations, and Its Strengths – CESRAN International,” October 9, 2018. <https://cesran.org/the-bureaucratic-politics-approach-its-application-its-limitations-and-its-strengths.html>.

United States Department of State. “The United States-Philippines Relationship,” August 5, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-philippines-relationship/>.

U.S. Department of Defense, and Sgt. Erik Estrada. “Philippines, U.S. Start Exercise Balikatan 2016.” U.S. Department of Defense, April 7, 2016. <https://www.defense.gov/News/News-Stories/Article/Article/715540/philippines-us-start-exercise-balikatan-2016/>.

U.S. Embassy in the Philippines. “Assistant Secretary of Defense Randall Schriver Visits Manila, Underscores U.S. Commitment to the Philippines.” *U.S. Embassy in the Philippines News*, August 17, 2018, 1.

U.S. Embassy Manila. “Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) Fact Sheet.” U.S. Embassy in the Philippines, March 20, 2023. <https://ph.usembassy.gov/enhanced-defense-cooperation-agreement-edca-fact-sheet/>.

United States Department of State. “U.S. Security Cooperation with the Philippines,” October 7, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-the-philippines/>.

United Nations. “Overview - Convention & Related Agreements.” Un.org, 2012.

https://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/convention_overview_convention.htm.

Vaughn, Bruce . “U.S. Strategic and Defense Relationships in the Asia-Pacific Region.” *CSR Report for Congress* , January 22, 2007, 22.

- Wagner, Elizabeth. "Philippines." United States Department of State, 2021. <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/philippines/>.
- Wiranto, Surya, Hikmahanto Juwana, Sobar Sutisna, and Kresno Buntoro. "The Disputes of South China Sea from International Law Perspective." *The Southeast Asia Law Journal* 1, no. 1 (December 9, 2015): 1. <https://doi.org/10.31479/salj.v1i1.2>.
- Wong, Catherine . "Exclusive: Philippines 'Not Married to US, Can Still Pursue China.'" South China Morning Post, July 4, 2017. <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2101121/asean-mustnt-become-theatre-geopolitical-rivalry>.
- Xinhua. "Philippines, China Restore Direct Talks to Discuss Security, Trade Issues - Xinhua | English.news.cn." www.xinhuanet.com, April 4, 2017. http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-04/04/c_136182372.htm.
- Yamazaki, Amane, and Suguru Osawa. "Asymmetry Theory and China–Philippines Relations with the South China Sea as a Case." *East Asia*, June 22, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-021-09370-1>.