

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

BUKU

- Adam, W. (1984). *The Dialogues Between States*. Methuem.
- Hermann, Charles. F., Kegley, Charles. W., & Rosenau, James. N. (1987). *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy*. Allen & Unwin.
- Hudson, Valerie. M. (2013). *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. Rowman & Littlefield Publisher.
- Kautalya, & Shamasastri, R. (1967). *Kautilya's Arthasastra*. Mysore Publishing and Printing House.
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1948). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Knopf.
- Nye, J. S. (2002). *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone*. Oxford University Press.
- Nye, J. S. (2004). *Soft Power : the Means to Success in World Politics*. Public Affairs.
- Roy, S. (1995). *Diplomasi*. Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Roza, R. (2013). *Konflik Laut China Selatan dan Implikasinya Terhadap Kawasan*. P3DI.
- Russet, B., Starr, H., & Kinsella, D. (2009). *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*. Wadsworth.
- Satow, E. (2011). *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sugiyono. (2019). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D* (Sutopo, Ed.). Alfabeta.
- Yu, H. (2024). *Understanding China's Belt and Road Initiative*. Springer.

JURNAL PENELITIAN

- Alfi, R., Muawati, Fakhari. S., & Ismail, Galih. A. (2023). Hubungan Tiongkok dan ASEAN: Upaya Tiongkok menjadi Kekuatan Hegemon di Asia Tenggara. *Jurnal Transborders*, 7(1). <https://journal.unpas.ac.id/index.php/transborders/article/download/10650/6012/57591>
- Ariansah, F., Malik, Firda. A., Saphira, M., Erviana, V., & Antoni, H. (2023). Konflik antara China dengan Vietnam atas Laut China Selatan Berdasarkan

- Perspektif Hukum Laut Internasional. *Jurnal Justita*, 6(2), 518–528.
<http://jurnal.um-tapsel.ac.id/index.php/Justitia/article/view/10825/0>
- Danby, N. (2022). China’s False Promise: Gunboat Diplomacy, Not Win-win Outcomes, Will Shape the South China Sea. *Journal of Indo-Pasific Affairs*.
<https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/3172464/chinas-false-promise-gunboat-diplomacy-not-win-win-outcomes-will-shape-the-sout/>
- Fathia, Shamira. T., Rosyidin, M., & Alfian, Muhammad. F. (2022). Perjuangan Menyelamatkan Muka: Strateg-strategi Tiongkok dalam Memulihkan Citra Akibat Covid-19. *Journal of International Relations*, 8(4), 881–894.
<https://ejournal3.undip.ac.id/index.php/jihi/article/view/36124>
- Gill, B. (2020). Tiongkok’s Global Influence: PostCovid Prospects for Soft Power. *The Washington Quarterly*, 43(2), 97–115.
<https://researchers.mq.edu.au/en/publications/chinas-global-influence-post-covid-prospects-for-soft-power>
- Hambalie, W. (2017). Kebijakan Luar Negeri Sebagai Manifestasi Eksistensi Negara. *Sentris Foreign Policy*, 2(2).
<https://journal.unpar.ac.id/index.php/Sentris/article/view/4138>
- Iskandar, R., Ambarwati, & Putra, Muhammed. I. T. (2022). Analisis Strategi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia dalam Belt and Road Initiative. *Jurnal Dinamika Global*, 7(1). <https://ejournal.fisip.unjani.ac.id/index.php/jurnal-dinamika-global/article/view/961>
- ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute. (2022). *The State of Southeast Asia 2022 “Survey Report.”*. <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/centres/asean-studies-centre/state-of-southeast-asia-survey/the-state-of-southeast-asia-2022-survey-report/>
- Kobierecka, A. (2023). Post-covid Tiongkok: ‘vaccine diplomacy’ and the new developments of Chinese foreign policy. *Springer: Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 19, 280–293.
<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41254-022-00266-2>
- Kochhar, R. (2021). In the pandemic, India’s middle class shrinks and poverty spreads while China sees smaller changes. *Pew Research Center*.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2021/03/18/in-the-pandemic-indias-middle-class-shrinks-and-poverty-spreads-while-china-sees-smaller-changes/>
- Lee, S. T. (2023). Vaccine diplomacy: *Nation Branding* and China’s COVID-19 soft power play. *Place Brand Public Diplomacy*, 19(1), 64–78.
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC8259554/>

- Ndouk, O. (1981). Penyerbuan RRC ke Vietnam: Suatu Pelajaran?. CSIS No 4, 337 – 364. <https://journals.csis.or.id/index.php/analisis/article/view/475>.
- Nguyen, N. H., Dao, Trung. K., Duong, Thanh. T., Nguyen, Van. K., & Dao, Thi. L. (2023). Role of consumer ethnocentrism on purchase intention toward foreign products: Evidence from data of Vietnamese consumers with Chinese products. *National Library of Medicine*, 9(2). <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2405844023002761>
- Onnis, B. (2021). COVID-19 and Tiongkok's global image. *European University Institute*, 57. <https://www.cfr.org/report/chinas-collapsing-global-image>
- Shoji, T. (2016). Vietnam's Omnidirectional Military Diplomacy: Focusing on the South China Sea. *NIDS: Journal of Defense and Security*, 17. https://www.nids.mod.go.jp/english/publication/kiyo/pdf/2016/bulletin_e2016_4.pdf
- Turcsányi, Ri. Q., Šimalčík, M., Kironská, K., & Sedláková, R. (2020). European public opinion on China in the age of COVID-19: Differences and common ground across the continent. *Central European Institute of Asian Studies & French Institute of International Relations Palacký University Olomouc*, 32. https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/european_public_opinion_on_china_in_the_age_of_covid-19.pdf
- van Dijk, R. J. L., & Lo, C. Y. ping. (2023). The effect of Chinese vaccine diplomacy during COVID-19 in the Philippines and Vietnam: a multiple case study from a soft power perspective. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 10(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-02073-3>
- Wang, G., & Shao, M. (2021). The development of China's vaccine industry in the past decade: the perspective from drug regulatory science. *Human Vaccines and Immunotherapeutics*, 17(12), 5666–5672. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21645515.2021.2002640>
- Yew, L. K. (2023). China-India Brief. *Centre on Asia dan Globalisation*, 221. <https://lkyspp.nus.edu.sg/cag/publications?publicationtype=china-india-brief>
- Zhao, W., & Li, M. (2022). China's COVID-19 Vaccine Cooperation with Southeast Asia: A Boost for the Health Silk Road Initiative. *East Asian Affairs*, 02(02), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1142/s2737557922500097>

WEBSITE

- AA.com. (2021). Vietnam Setujui Penggunaan Darurat Vaksin Sinopharm. *AA.com*. <https://www.aa.com.tr/id/regional/vietnam-setujui-penggunaan-darurat-vaksin-sinopharm/2263694>

- ANI. (2021). Vietnam Remains Outlier to China's COVID-19 Vaccine Diplomacy. *South Asia's Leading Multimedia News Agency*. <https://www.aninews.in/news/world/asia/vietnam-remains-outlier-to-chinas-covid-19-vaccine-diplomacy20210328213313/>
- Bernama. (2021). Lagi bantuan Vaksin China Tiba di Vietnam. *Bernama*. <https://www.bernama.com/bm/news.php?id=1974220>
- Bridge.(2022). China Covid-19 Vaccine Tracker. *Bridgebeijing.com*. <https://bridgebeijing.com/our-publications/our-publications-1/china-covid-19-vaccines-tracker/>
- CNN Indonesia. (2020a). Diplomasi Vaksin dan Strategi Tiongkok Tingkatkan Pengaruh. *CNN Indonesia*. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20201210145534-113-580548/diplomasi-vaksin-dan-strategi-china-tingkatkan-pengaruh>
- CNN Indonesia. (2020b). Setahun Lalu Pasien Pertama Covid-19 Ditemukan di Wuhan. *CNN Indonesia*. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20201204124554-113-577951/setahun-lalu-pasien-pertama-covid-19-ditemukan-di-wuhan>
- Corre, Philippe. L., & Brattberg, E. (2020). *How Coronavirus Pandemic Shattered Europe's Illusions of China*. *Carnegie*. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/07/09/how-coronavirus-pandemic-shattered-europe-s-illusions-of-china-pub-82265>
- Covid19- Vaccine Tracker. (2024). *CHINA: 8 Vaccines Approved for Use in China*. Viper Group. <https://covid19.trackvaccines.org/country/china/>
- Dong, V. (2014). *Vietnamese Businesses Urge Boycott on Low-End Chinese Products*. VOA. <https://www.voanews.com/a/vietnamese-businesses-urge-boycott-on-low-end-chinese-products/2486553.html>
- Folarin, S. (2017). *Student Feature – Foreign Policy*. E-International Relations. <https://www.e-ir.info/2017/12/20/student-feature-foreign-policy/>
- Global Times. (2022). *How has China managed to host “safest” Olympics amid pandemic?* *Global Times*. <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202202/1252263.shtml>
- Grajewski, M. (2020). *China: From Partner to Rival*. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2020/659261/EPRS_BRI\(2020\)659261_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2020/659261/EPRS_BRI(2020)659261_EN.pdf)
- ICG. (2021). *Vietnam Tacks Between Cooperation and Struggle in the South China Sea*. International Crisis Group. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/north-east->

[asia/china/318-vietnam-tacks-between-cooperation-and-struggle-south-china-sea](https://www.ucsf.edu/news/2021/03/420081/trumps-chinese-virus-tweet-linked-rise-anti-asian-hashtags-twitter)

Kurtzman, L. (2021). *Trump's 'Chinese Virus' Tweet Linked to Rise of Anti-Asian Hashtags on Twitter*. UCSF. <https://www.ucsf.edu/news/2021/03/420081/trumps-chinese-virus-tweet-linked-rise-anti-asian-hashtags-twitter>

Mitchell, T. (2020, April). Tiongkok to Give WHO an Extra \$30m to Fight Coronavirus. *Financial Times*. <https://www.ft.com/content/054c0575-fa10-4d3e-a2a5-bd5ef388e4af>

Myers, Steven. L. (2021). China, Seeking a Friend in Europe, Finds Rising Anger and Frustration. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/17/world/asia/china-europe-xi-jinping.html>

OED. (2023). *Diplomacy*. Oxford English Dictionary. <https://www.oed.com/search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=DIPLOMACY>

Teslik, L. H. (2007). *Nation Branding Explained*. Council Foreign Relationship. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/nation-branding-explained>

Vietnamese Republic Wiki. (2024). *Republic of Vietnam Military Forces*. VRW. https://vietnameserepublic.fandom.com/wiki/Republic_of_Vietnam_Military_Forces

Vock, I. (2020). How European views on China are hardening in the wake of Covid-19. *The New Statesman*. <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2020/08/how-european-views-on-china-are-hardening-in-the-wake-of-covid-19>

VOV World. (2021). Tiongkok Sumbangkan 200.000 Dosis Vaksin COVID-19 kepada Vietnam. *VOV World-Radio Suara Vietnam*. <https://vovworld.vn/id-ID/berita/tiongkok-sumbangkan-200000-dosis-vaksin-covid19-kepada-vietnam-1018568.vov>

Widodo, W. S. (2021). 5 negara yang rawan Rentimen Anti Asia Selain Amerika. *Detiktravel*. <https://travel.detik.com/international-destination/d-5507212/5-negara-yang-rawan-sentimen-anti-asia-selain-amerika>

Worldmeter. (2024). *Vietnam Population*. Worldmeter. <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/vietnam-population/>