

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Comte, A. (1865). *A General View of Positivism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dunne, T., Kurki, M., & Smith, S. (2007). Neoliberalism. In *International Relations Theories* (pp. 114-130). Oxford University Press, USA.
- Keohane, R. & Nye, J. (2012). *Power and Interdependence: Fourth Edition*. Glenview: Pearson Education Inc.
- Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques, Second Revised Edition*. New Delhi: New Age International.
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches, Seventh Edition*. London: Pearson Education Limited.
- Ruffa, C. (2020). Chapter 59: Case Study Methods: Case Selection and Analysis. In *The SAGE Handbook of Research Methods in Political Science and International Relations*. (pp. 1133-1147). SAGE Publications, UK.
- Stake, R. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. New York: Sage Publications, Inc.

Artikel Jurnal :

- Alhammadi, A. (2021). The neorealism and neoliberalism behind international relations during Covid-19. *World Affairs*, 185 (1), 147-175. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00438200211065128>.
- Anwar, D. F. (2009). A Journey of Change: Indonesia's Foreign Policy. *Global Asia*, 4(3): 16-20.
- Balasubramaniam, A., C. Puah, C. & Mansor, S. (2012). Economic Interdependence: Evidence from China and ASEAN-5 Countries. *Modern Economy*, 3(1):122-125. doi: 10.4236/me.2012.31017.
- Bi, S. (2021). Cooperation between China and ASEAN under the building of ASEAN Economic Community. *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 10(1):83-107. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24761028.2021.1888410>.
- Blah, M. (2022). China's Rise and Pandemic's Side Effects. *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs*. 35(1): 23-42. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27146665>.
- Cheng, J. (2013). China-ASEAN Economic co-operation and the role of provinces. *Journal of Contemporary, Asia*: 43(2):314-337. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2012.757430>.
- Djalante, R., Lassa, J., Setiamarga, D., Mahfud, C., Sudjatma, A., Indrawan, M., ... Surtiari, I. G. A. (2020). Review and analysis of current responses to COVID-

- 19 in Indonesia: Period of January to March 2020. *Progress in Disaster Science*, 100091. doi:10.1016/j.pdisas.2020.100091
- Djalante, R., Nurhidayah, L., Minh, H.V., Phuong, N. T. N., Mahendradhata, Y., Trias A., Lassa, J., & Miller, M. A. (2020). COVID-19 and ASEAN responses: Comparative policy analysis. *Progress in Disaster Science*, 08:01-12. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pdisas.2020.100129>
- Erlangga, H., Sifatu, W., Wibisono, D., Siagian, A., Salam, R., Mas'adi, M., Oktarini, R., Manik, C., Nurhadi, A., Sunarsi, D., Purwanto, A. & Kusjono, G. (2020). Pharmaceutical Business Competition in Indonesia: A Review. *Systematic Reviews in Pharmacy*, 11(10): 617-623. 10. 617-623. 10.31838/srp.2020.10.92.
- Gathii, J. T. (2011). The Neo-Liberal Turn in Regional Trade Agreements. *Washington Law Review*, 83(3): 10-40. Albany Law School Research Paper No. 10-40, Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1775082>.
- Gauttam, P., Singh, B., & Kaur, J. (2020). COVID-19 and Chinese global health diplomacy: Geopolitical opportunity for China's hegemony? *Millennial Asia*, 11(3): 318-340. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0976399620959771>.
- Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E. *et al.* (2008). Of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups. *Br Dent J* **204**, 291–295. <https://doi.org/10.1038/bdj.2008.192>
- Hidayati, N., Almasdy, D. & Putra, A. S. (2020). Global trade and health: and Indonesian perspective on the ASEAN medical device directive policy. *Berita Kedokteran Masyarakat*: 37(1): 01-06. DOI: 10.22146/bkm.60819
- Hirschman, A. O. (1977). *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hossain, M. F. (2021). Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic: Pros and cons of China's soft power projection. *Asian Politics & Policy*, 13: 597-620. DOI: 10.1111/aspp.12610
- Hveem, H. & Pempel, T. J. (2016). *China's rise and economic interdependence*. Retrieved from ResearchGate: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319305134_China%27s_rise_and_economic_interdependence (13 December 2022).
- Keohane, R. O. & Nye Jr., J. S. (1974). Transgovernmental Relations and International Organizations. *World Politics*, 27(1): 39-62. doi:10.2307/2009925.
- Keohane, R. O. & Nye Jr., J. S. (2000). Globalization: What's New? What's Not? (And So What?). *Foreign Policy*, 118: 104-119. DOI:10.2307/1149673.
- Kobierecka, A. (2022). Post-covid China: 'vaccine diplomacy' and the new developments of Chinese foreign policy. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41254-022-00266-2>.

- Ku, S. C. Y. (2002). Indonesia's Relations with China and Taiwan: From Politics to Economics. *Asian Perspective*, 26(4): 227-256. 10.1353/apr.2002.0009.
- Lai-Ha, C., Lucy, C. & Xu, J. (2010). China's Engagement with Global Health Diplomacy: Was SARS a Watershed? *PLoS Medicine*, 7(4):1-6. doi: 10.1371/journal.pmed.1000266.
- Lovina, H. R., Jajia, G. & Chen, H. (2017). Review of "The Chinese Belt and Road Initiative": Indonesia-China Cooperation and Future Opportunities for Indonesia's Port Cities Development. *Journal of Regional and City Planning*, 28(3): 161-177. DOI: 10.5614/jrcp.2017.28.3.1.
- Malik, Y. I. (2022). Kerja sama Tiongkok dalam upaya pemulihan ekonomi nasional Indonesia pasca pandemi Covid-19. *Sentris*, 3(1): 74-89. <https://doi.org/10.26593/sentris.v3i1.5643.74-89>.
- Malik, Y. I. (2022). Kerjasama Indonesia-Tiongkok dalam upaya pemulihan ekonomi nasional Indonesia pasca pandemi COVID-19. *Kelompok Studi Mahasiswa Pengkaji Masalah Internasional, Katolik Parahyangan University*, 3(1): 74-89. <https://doi.org/10.26593/sentris.v3i1.5643.74-89>.
- Mietzner, M. (2021). Indonesia in 2020: COVID-19 and Jokowi's Neo-liberal turn. *Southeast Asian Affairs*: 107-121. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814951753-008>.
- Nye, J. S. (2020). Power and Interdependence with China. *The Washington Quarterly*, 43(1), 7-21. doi:10.1080/0163660x.2020.1734303
- Nye, Jr., J. (2008). Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616: 94-109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207311699>.
- Oatley, T. Toward a political economy of complex interdependence. *European Journal of International Relations*: 1-22. DOI: 10.1177/1354066119846553.
- Ophinni, Y., Maria, S., Widhani, A. & Koesnoe, S. (2020). COVID-19 Vaccines: Current Status and Implication for Use in Indonesia. *Acta medica Indonesiana*, 52: 388-412.
- Oratmangun, D. (2022). Indonesia-China Strategic Partnership Transformation: Building Cooperation, Synergy, and Solidarity. In: Wang, H., Miao, L. (eds) *China and the World in a Changing Context. China and Globalization*. Springer, Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-8086-1_21.
- Pamungkas, N.A. & Hussin, M. H. (2022). Influence of the Covid-19 Pandemic in Indonesian and China Trade Relations. *Advances in Economics, Business, and Management Research, Proceedings of the International Conference on Public Organization*. 209: 473-479.
- Rabena, A. J. (2018). The Complex Interdependence of China's Belt and Road Initiative in the Philippines. *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies*, 5(3): 683-697. doi:10.1002/app5.257

- Rakhmat, M. Z. & Purnama, Y. (2022). *China's Expanding Health Diplomacy in Indonesia*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2022/11/chinas-expanding-health-diplomacy-in-indonesia/> (13 December 2022).
- Rudolf, M. (2021). *China's health diplomacy during Covid-19*. Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik. <https://www.swp-berlin.org/10.18449/2021C09/>.
- Rudolf, M. (2022). *China's Global Health Diplomacy*. Retrieved from Peace and Security, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/19608.pdf> (13 December 2022).
- Susilowati, I., Affandi, A. N., Raihana, C. J. & Az-Zahra, E. I. (2023). Kerjasama Bilateral Indonesia-Tiongkok dalam Diplomasi Kesehatan di Masa Pandemi COVID-19. *Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya Syar'i*, 10(1): 125-140. DOI: 10.15408/sjsbs.v10i1.31116.
- Umagapi, J. L. (2017). The Rise of China-Indonesia Relationship: Soft Power, Resources, and Prospect in the Future. *Indonesian Perspective*, 2(2): 131-142. DOI:10.14710/ip.v2i2.18475.
- Wulandari, D. A. & Inayah, A. (2021). The Impact of China's Belt Road Initiative on Indonesia's Export to China. *Journal of World Trade Studies*, 6(1): 01-14. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jwts.v6i1.1038>.

Laporan dan Publikasi Pemerintah/Organisasi :

- ASEAN Secretariat Resource Center. (2012). *Memorandum of Understanding between The Governments of The Member States of ASEAN and The Government of The People's Republic of China on Health Cooperation*. Retrieved from Association of Southeast Asian Nations: <https://arc-agreement.asean.org/file/doc/2015/02/asean-china-memorandum-of-understanding-on-health-cooperation.pdf> (13 December 2022).
- ASEAN. (2016). *Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)*. Retrieved from The ASEAN Secretariat: <https://asean.org/regional-comprehensive-economic-partnership-rcep/> (21 June 2023).
- ASEAN. (2023). *RCEP Agreement enters into force for Indonesia*. Retrieved from The ASEAN Secretariat: <https://asean.org/rcep-agreement-enters-into-force-for-indonesia/> (21 June 2023).
- Badan Pusat Statistik. (2021). *Statistik Perdagangan Luar Negeri Indonesia Impor 2021 Jilid 1*. Retrieved from Badan Pusat Statistik: <https://www.bps.go.id/publication/2022/06/13/17d00ed4216164905607e830/statistik-perdagangan-luar-negeri-indonesia-impor-2021-jilid-i.html> (20 June 2023).
- Badan Pusat Statistik. (2022). *Statistik Perdagangan Luar Negeri Indonesia Impor 2022 Jilid 1*. Retrieved from Badan Pusat Statistik: <https://www.bps.go.id/publication/2023/06/14/c59944681f88800a968f96b0/>

- statistik-perdagangan-luar-negeri-indonesia-impor-2022-jilid-i.html (20 June 2023).
- Badan Pusat Statistik. (2022). Statistik Perdagangan Luar Negeri Indonesia Impor 2022 Jilid III. Retrieved from Badan Pusat Statistik: <https://www.bps.go.id/publication/2023/06/14/c59944681f88800a968f96b0/statistik-perdagangan-luar-negeri-indonesia-impor-2022-jilid-iii.html> (22 June 2023).
- BPOM. (2022). *Pengawasan Badan POM Bangun Akses Vaksin COVID-19*. Retrieved from Badan Pengawas Obat dan Makanan: <https://www.pom.go.id/new/view/more/pers/646/Pengawasan-Badan-POM-Bangun-Akses-Vaksin-COVID-19.html> (22 June 2023).
- Direktorat Pengelolaan Dukungan Pemerintah dan Pembiayaan Infrastruktur. (2021). *Health Sector: Final Sector Review Report*. Retrieved from: <https://kpbu.kemenu.go.id/backend/Upload/guideline/GUIDELINE21060317294227.pdf> (08 June 2023).
- Kementerian Kesehatan Republik Indonesia. *E-Info Alkes PKRT*. Retrieved from Kemenkes RI : <https://infoalkes.kemkes.go.id/#home/produk/1stAlkes/02> (22 June 2023).
- Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2017). *Memorandum Saling Pengertian antara Kementerian Kesehatan Republik Indonesia dan Komisi Kesehatan Nasional dan Keluarga Berencana Republik Rakyat Tiongkok di Bidang Kerja Sama Kesehatan*. Retrieved from: <https://treaty.kemlu.go.id/apisearch/pdf?filename=CHN-2017-0204.pdf> (13 June 2023).
- Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2021). *Memorandum Saling Pengertian antara Badan Pengawas Obat dan Makanan Republik Indonesia dan Administrasi Produk Obat-Obatan Nasional Republik Rakyat Tiongkok tentang Kerja Sama Regulatori di Bidang Produk Farmasi dan Kosmetik*. Retrieved from: <https://treaty.kemlu.go.id/apisearch/pdf?filename=CHN-2021-0236.pdf> (13 June 2023).
- Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia. (2023). *Neraca Perdagangan Indonesia dan Republik Rakyat Cina*. Retrieved from: <https://satudata.kemendag.go.id/data-informasi/perdagangan-luar-negeri/neraca-perdagangan-dengan-mitra-dagang> (17 June 2023).
- Kementerian Perindustrian Republik Indonesia. (2021). *Membangun Kemandirian Industri Farmasi Nasional: Buku Analisis Industri Farmasi, Edisi II*. Retrieved from Kementerian Perindustrian Republik Indonesia: <https://kemenperin.go.id/analisis> (22 June 2023).
- Satuan Tugas Penanganan COVID-19. (2021). *DAFTAR VAKSIN COVID-19 YANG DIGUNAKAN DI INDONESIA*. Retrieved from COVID-19 Hotline: <https://covid19.go.id/tentang-vaksin-covid19> (21 June 2023).

Media Daring :

- Ahsan, I. (2022). Top 10 *Perusahaan Farmasi Terbesar Indonesia Terbaru*. Retrieved from Farmasi Industri: <https://farmasiindustri.com/industri/top-10-perusahaan-farmasi-indonesia.html> (22 June 2023).
- Albert, E. (2020). *Indonesian special envoy visits China in show of cooperation*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2020/10/indonesian-special-envoy-visits-china-in-show-of-cooperation/> (20 June 2023).
- Ardilla, D. N. (2023). *Strong Ties between UNS and Xihua University Attract Interest of Chengdu Municipal Government: China Explores Collaboration with Solo Municipal Government*. Retrieved from Universitas Sebelas Maret: <https://uns.ac.id/en/strong-ties-between-uns-and-xihua-university-attract-interest-of-chengdu/> (19 June 2023).
- Bona, M. F. (2021). *Sinovac becomes Indonesia's most sought-after vaccine*. Retrieved from Jakarta Globe: <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/sinovac-becomes-indonesias-most-soughtafter-vaccine> (21 July 2023).
- Caixin Global. (2022). *How China helped build Indonesia's high-speed rail*. Retrieved from ThinkChina: <https://www.thinkchina.sg/how-china-helped-build-indonesias-high-speed-rail> (19 June 2023).
- Chriscaden, K. (2010). Impact of COVID-19 on people's livelihoods, their health and our food systems. Retrieved from *World Health Organizations*: <https://www.who.int/news/item/13-10-2020-impact-of-covid-19-on-people's-livelihoods-their-health-and-our-food-systems> (23 June 2023).
- CNN Indonesia. (2020). *Mengenal 3 Vaksin COVID-19 China yang Akan Dipakai RI*. Retrieved from CNN Indonesia: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20200825194153-185-539259/mengenal-3-vaksin-covid-19-china-yang-akan-dipakai-ri> (21 June 2023).
- Fitriani, E. (2022). *Indonesia's Wary Embrace of China*. Retrieved from Mercator Institute for China Studies: [//merics.org/en/indonesias-wary-embrace-china](https://merics.org/en/indonesias-wary-embrace-china) (19 June 2023).
- Fitriani. (2021). *Indonesia's Foreign Policy and the COVID-19 Pandemic*. Retrieved from Think Global Health: <https://www.thinkglobalhealth.org/article/indonesias-foreign-policy-and-covid-19-pandemic> (25 June 2023).
- Hakim, R. N. (2020). *Menlu Sebut Pengadaan Vaksin Covid-19 atas Kerja Sama dengan China dan UEA*. Retrieved from Kompas: <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/08/24/19340371/menlu-sebut-pengadaan-vaksin-covid-19-atas-kerja-sama-dengan-china-dan-uea> (22 June 2023).
- Indonesian Chinese Entrepreneur Association. (2018). *Opening Up the Southeast Asian Healthcare Market Platform China Medical Health (Indonesia) Brand Opening*. Retrieved from Indonesian Chinese Entrepreneur Association:

- <https://www.perpit.or.id/en/news-opening-up-the-southeast-asian-healthcare-market-platform-china-medical-health--indonesia--brand-opening.html> (12 December 2022).
- Javier, F. (2021). Indonesia Sudah Terima 217 Juta Vaksin Covid-19, Merek Sinovac Paling Banyak. Retrieved from *Tempo*: <https://data.tempo.co/data/1198/indonesia-sudah-terima-217-juta-vaksin-covid-19-merek-sinovac-paling-banyak> (23 June 2023).
- Kementerian Investasi Republik Indonesia. (2021). *Promising Potential in Indonesia's Pharmaceutical and Health Industry*. Retrieved from Ministry of Investment: <https://oss.go.id/en/baca/artikel/promising-potential-in-indonesia-s-pharmaceutical-and-health-industry> (08 June 2023).
- Lembaga Kerja Sama Ekonomi, Sosial, dan Budaya Indonesia-Tiongkok. (2021). *Sejarah Singkat Berdirinya Lembaga Kerjasama Ekonomi, Sosial dan Budaya Indonesia – Tiongkok (Lembaga Indonesia – Tiongkok)*. Retrieved from Lembaga Indonesia – Tiongkok: <https://www.lembagaindonesia.tiongkok.org/sejarah-singkat> (19 June 2023).
- Liulu, X., Yuqiao, J. & Kang, L. (2022). *China-Indonesia translation project promotes mutual understanding*. Retrieved from Global Times: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202211/1279470.shtml> (19 June 2023).
- Ng, T. & Zhou, L. (2020). Delayed South China Sea talks expose China's complex relationship with neighbours during pandemic Retrieved from *South China Morning Post*: <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3083304/delayed-south-china-sea-talks-expose-chinas-complex> (23 June 2023).
- Rakhmat, M. Z. (2020). Two reasons why China needs to expand its help to Indonesia to deal with COVID-19. Retrieved from *The Conversation*: <https://theconversation.com/two-reasons-why-china-needs-to-expand-its-help-to-indonesia-to-deal-with-covid-19-136245> (23 June 2023).
- Siqi, J. (2022). *China-Indonesia trade: how important is it, and what are the main exports?* Retrieved from *South China Morning Post*: <https://www.scmp.com/economy/china-economy/article/3186660/china-indonesia-trade-how-important-it-and-what-are-main> (20 June 2023).
- UNICEF. (2022). Socio-Economic Impact of COVID-19 on Households in Indonesia: Three Rounds of Monitoring Surveys. Retrieved from *UNICEF Indonesia*: <https://www.unicef.org/indonesia/reports/socio-economic-impact-covid-19-households-indonesia-three-rounds-monitoring-surveys> (25 June 2023)
- Universitas Islam Indonesia. (2020). *International Seminar related to Responding the COVID-19 from Multi-Perspective, in-Collaboration with BILALS*. Retrieved from Universitas Islam Indonesia: <https://law.uii.ac.id/en/international-seminar-related-to-responding-the-covid-19-from-multi-perspective-in-collaboration-with-bilals/> (23 June 2023).

- Universitas Pertahanan. (2021). *Unhan RI Bekerja Sama dengan (NDU) China Workshop bertajuk "China and Indonesia Cooperation in Handling Covid-19"*. Retrieved from Universitas Pertahanan: <https://www.idu.ac.id/berita/unhan-ri-bekerja-sama-dengan-ndu-china-workshop-bertajuk-china-and-indonesia-cooperation-in-handling-covid-19.html> (23 June 2023).
- Waseso, R. (2021). *Mulai didistribusikan, Biofarma ungkap isi kandungan vaksin Covid-19 Sinovac*. Retrieved from Kontan: <https://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/mulai-didistribusikan-biofarma-ungkap-isi-kandungan-vaksin-covid-19-sinovac> (22 June 2023).
- Wibowo, Y. C. (2020). *Belum Ada Vaksin Covid-19 yang Ampuh, Kenapa Vaksinasi Dimulai November?* Retrieved from Kompas: <https://www.kompas.com/sains/read/2020/10/19/120600523/belum-ada-vaksin-covid-19-yang-ampuh-kenapa-vaksinasi-dimulai-november-?page=all#page2> (21 July 2023).

