

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Asian Development Bank. "ADB Provides Additional Assistance to Bhutan to Combat Covid-19." *Asian Development Bank*. Diakses pada 8 Oktober 2023, <https://www.adb.org/news/adb-provides-additional-assistance-bhutan-combat-covid-19>
- Associated Press. "In 16 Days, Tiny Bhutan Vaccinates 93% of its Adults." *Los Angeles Times*. Diakses pada 8 September 2023, <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2021-04-12/bhutan-rapid-covid-vaccination-campaign>
- Attanayake, Chulanee dan Zheng Haiqi. "China's Pandemic Diplomacy in South Asia." *Internasional Affairs* 96, No. 5 (2020)
- Banister Peter, et.al. *Qualitative Methods in Psychology: A Research Guide*. (United Kingdom: Open University Press, 1997)
- Barnett, Robert. "China is Building Entire Villages in Another Country's Territory." *Foreign Policy*. Diakses pada 27 Agustus 2023, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/05/07/china-bhutan-border-villages-security-forces/>
- Bhattarai, Hemlal. "Strategic Response On Combatting Covid-19 Pandemic in Bhutan." *IOER International Multidisciplinary Research Journal* 3, No.2 (2021)
- Bing, Ngeow Chow. *Covid-19, Belt and Road Initiative and the Health Silk Road: Implication for Southeast Asia*. (Jakarta: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Indonesia, 2020)
- Bourne, P. "A Partnership for Internasional Health Care." *Public Health Reports* 93, No.2 (1978)
- Centre for Bhutan Studies and Japan External Trade Organisation. "*Economic and Political Relations Between Bhutan and Neighbouring Countries*." *Monograph*, 12, (2012).
- China International Development Cooperation Agency. "China's Foreign Aid and International Development Cooperation in a COVID-19 Pandemic World." CIDCA News. Diakses pada 26 Mei 2023, [http://en.cidca.gov.cn/2022-06/14/c\\_770501.htm](http://en.cidca.gov.cn/2022-06/14/c_770501.htm)
- China International Development Cooperation Agency. "China's Foreign Aid and International Development Cooperation in a COVID-19 Pandemic World."

*CIDCA News*. Diakses pada 26 Mei 2023, [http://en.cidca.gov.cn/2022-06/14/c\\_770501.htm](http://en.cidca.gov.cn/2022-06/14/c_770501.htm)

China International Development Cooperation Agency. "CIDCA, Bhutan's MOH Hold Virtual Handover Ceremony for China Donated Anti-Pandemic Materials." CIDCA Announcement. Diakses pada 19 Mei 2023, [http://en.cidca.gov.cn/2022-04/23/c\\_746634.htm](http://en.cidca.gov.cn/2022-04/23/c_746634.htm)

Creswell, John W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. California: SAGE Publication, 2014.

Dendup, Tshering. "Republic of Korea Provides a Grant Support of USD 400.000 to Bhutan." *Bhutan Broadcasting Service*. Diakses pada 8 September 2023, <http://www.bbs.bt/news/?p=132641>

Dias, Avani dan Som Patidar. "Nestled in the Himalayas, Bhutan is Stuck Between India and China as the Asian Superpowers Rise." *ABC News*. Diakses pada 10 Oktober 2023, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-05-18/bhutan-stuck-between-feuding-superpowers-india-and-china/102347598>

Drager, Nick dan David P. Fidler. "Foregin Policy, Trade, and Health: At the Cutting Edge of Global Health Diplomacy." *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 85, No. 3 (2007)

ESCAP. "Bhutan." *ESCAP Report*. Diakses pada 9 September 2023, [https://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/Bhutan\\_COVID%20Country%20profile%20310820.pdf](https://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/Bhutan_COVID%20Country%20profile%20310820.pdf)

Fazal, Tanisha M. "Health Diplomacy in Pandemical Times." *Internasional Organization* 74, No. 1 (2020)

Gauttam, Priya, Bawa Singh dan Jaspal Kaur. "Covid-19 and Chinese Global Health Diplomacy: Geopolitical Opportunity for China's Hegemony?." *Millenial Asia* 11, No. 3 (2020)

Global Times Reporter. "GT Investigate: How Bhutanese Seek National Security via Independece Pursuit; What China Could do to Help." *Global Times*. Diakses pada 27 Agustus 2023, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202110/1236991.shtml>

Haidar, Suhasini. "Bhutan-China Ties Won't Harm India's Interest: Bhutan Foreign Minister." *The Hindu*. Diakses pada 10 September 2023, <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/interview/post-covid-necessary-for-neighbours-to-work-together-bhutan-fm-on-china-bhutan-boundary-talks/article65646740.ece>

- Holder, Josh. "Tracking Coronavirus Vaccinations Around the World." *The New York Times*. Diakses pada 10 September 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/world/covid-vaccinations-tracker.html>
- Hossain, Md. Farid. "Coronavirus (COVID-19) Pandemic: Pros and Cons of China's Soft Power Projection." *Asian Politics and Policy* 13, No. 14 (2021)
- Huang, Yanzhong. "The Covid-19 Pandemic and China's Global Health Leadership." *Council Special Report* No. 92 (2022)
- Jing, Xu, Liu Peilong, dan Guo yan. "Health Diplomacy in China." *Global Health Governance* 4, No.2 (2011)
- Kannan, Saikiran. "China Sees Bhutan as the Final Piece in this South Asian Conquest." *India Today News*. Diakses pada 31 Mei 2023, <https://www.indiatoday.in/world/story/china-sees-bhutan-as-the-final-piece-in-its-south-asian-conquests-1878343-2021-11-18>
- Kaul, Nitasha. "Beyond India and China: Bhutan as a Small State in Internasional Relations." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 22 (2022)
- Kickbusch, Ilona et al. *A Guide to Global Health Diplomacy*. (Geneva: Graduate Intitute of Internasional and Development Studies, 2021)
- Kickbush, Ilona, Gaudenz Silberschmidt, dan Paulo Buss. "Global Health Diplomacy : The Need for New Perspectives, Strategic Approaches and Skills in Global Health." *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 85, No. 3 (2007)
- Kim, Hyung Jin. "Fears of New Virus Trigger Anti-China Sentiment Worldwide." *AP News*, 2 Februari, 2020, <https://apnews.com/article/japan-indonesia-vietnam-south-korea-virus-outbreak-04f18aafe1074a1c06b4203edcbdc661>
- Krishnan, Ananthi. "China, Bhutan Officials Meet in Kunming, Agree to 'Push Forward' Boundary Talks." *The Hindu*. Diakses pada 10 September 2023, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/china-bhutan-officials-meet-in-kunming-agree-to-push-forward-boundary-talks/article66377014.ece>
- Kumar, Pranav. "Sino-Bhutanese Relations: Under the Shadow of India-Bhutan Friendship." *China Report* 46, No.3 (2010)
- Lamsang, Tenzing. "Druk Gyalpo's Relief Kidu Granted Around Nu 6 bn in Kidu to Around 100,000 People." *The Bhutanese*. Diakses pada 9 September

2023, <https://thebhutanese.bt/druk-gyalpos-relief-kidu-granted-around-nu-6-bn-in-kidu-to-around-100000-people/>

Lee, Kelley dan Richard Smith. “What is Global Health Diplomacy? A Conceptual Review.” *Global Health Governance* 5, No. 1 (2011)

Liu, Yen Chin, Rei-Lin Kuo, dan Shin-Ru Shih. “Covid-19: The First Documented Coronavirus Pandemic in History.” *Biomedical Journal* 43, No. 4 (2020): 328.

Malik, Arif Hussain dan Nazir A. Sheikh. “Changing Dynamics of Indo-Bhutan Relations: Implications for India.” *International Journal of Political Science and Development* 4, No.2 (2016)

Massachusetts Emergency Management Agency. “Public Health Emergencies.” *Mass Gov*. Diakses pada 12 September 2023, <https://www.mass.gov/info-details/public-health-emergencies>

Measures for the Administration of Foreign Aid, Pasal 3, 2021. Diakses pada 5 Desember 2023, <https://asiasociety.org/id/policy-institute/navigating-belt-road-initiative-toolkit/laws/chinese/measures-administration-foreign-aid>

Measures for the Administration of Foreign Aid, Pasal 4, 2021. Diakses pada 5 Desember 2023, <https://asiasociety.org/id/policy-institute/navigating-belt-road-initiative-toolkit/laws/chinese/measures-administration-foreign-aid>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan. “Press Release.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan*. Diakses pada 27 Agustus 2023, <https://www.mfa.gov.bt/press-release-519/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan. “Joint Press Release.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan*. Diakses pada 8 Oktober 2023, <https://www.mfa.gov.bt/joint-press-release/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan. “Press Release.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan*. Diakses pada 21 September 2023, <https://www.mfa.gov.bt/press-release-519/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan.  
“Joint Press Release of the 11th Expert Group Meeting (EGM) On the Bhutan-China Boundary Issues.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan*. Diakses pada 21 Septembeer 2023, <https://www.mfa.gov.bt/joint-press-release-of-the-11th-expert-group-meeting-egm-on-the-bhutan-china-boundary-issues/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan.  
“Joint Press Release For The 12th Expert Group Meeting On Bhutan-China Boundary Issue.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan*. Diakses pada 21 September 2023, <https://www.mfa.gov.bt/joint-press-release-for-the-12th-expert-group-meeting-on-bhutan-china-boundary-issue/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan.  
“Joint Press Release of the 13th Expert Group Meeting (EGM) on the Bhutan-China Boundary Issues.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan*. Diakses pada 21 September 2023, <https://www.mfa.gov.bt/joint-press-release-of-the-13th-expert-group-meeting-egm-on-the-bhutan-china-boundary-issues/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan.  
“Press Release.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade Royal Government of Bhutan*. Diakses pada 27 Agustus 2023, <https://www.mfa.gov.bt/press-release-543/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Extrenal Trade Royal Government of Bhutan.  
“Search Results for China.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Extrenal Trade Royal Government of Bhutan*. Diakses pada 25 September 2023, <https://www.mfa.gov.bt/?s=china>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China. “Assistant Foreign Minister Nong Rong Meets with Secretary of the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources of Bhutan Karma Tshering.” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China. Diakses pada 20 Oktober 2023, [https://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjbxw/202310/t20231006\\_11155342.html](https://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjbxw/202310/t20231006_11155342.html)

Ministry of Health, Royal Government of Bhutan dan World Health Organization.  
*The People Pandemic: How the Himalayan Kingdom of Bhutan Staged a World-Class Response to Covid-19*. (New Delhi: Minister of Health Bhutan, 2022)

Ministry of Health, Royal Government of Bhutan dan World Health Organization.  
“Australia supports Bhutan in its COVID-19 preparedness, response and

recovery.” Ministry of Health, *Royal Government of Bhutan* dan *World Health Organization*. Diakses pada 12 Oktober 2023, <https://www.mfa.gov.bt/australia-supports-bhutan-in-its-covid-19-preparedness-response-and-recovery/>

Ministry of Health, Royal Government of Bhutan. “Announcement: Quarantine Period.” *Ministry of Health, Royal Government of Bhutan*. Diakses pada 9 September 2023, <https://www.moh.gov.bt/announcement-quarantine-period/>

Ministry of Health, Royal Government of Bhutan. “First Confirmed Covid-19 Case in Bhutan.” *Ministry of Health, Royal Government of Bhutan Reports*. Diakses pada 27 Agustus 2023, <https://www.moh.gov.bt/first-confirmed-covid-19-case-in-bhutan/#:~:text=We%20would%20like%20to%20inform,to%20Bhutan%20as%20a%20tourist.>

Mol, Rajani et.al. “India’s Health Diplomacy as a Soft Power Tool towards Africa: Humanitarian and Geopolitical Analysis.” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 57, No. 6 (2022)

MPPN. “Beyond GDP: Bhutan’s Pursuit of Wellbeing and Happiness Revealed in Latest GNH Results.” MPPN. Diakses pada 8 Oktober 2023, <https://www.mppn.org/beyond-gdp-bhutans-pursuit-of-wellbeing-and-happiness-revealed-in-latest-gnh-results/>

Nguyen, Thu T et.al. “Exploring U.S. Shift in Anti-Asian Sentiment with the Emergence of Covid-19.” *Internasional Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 17, No. 19 (2020): 4.

OECD. “China and Bhutan Trade.” *OECD profiles*. Diakses pada 24 September 2023, <https://oec.world/en/profile/bilateral-country/chn/partner/btn>

OPHI. “Bhutan’s Gross National Happiness Indeks.” *OPHI Policy and Impact*. Diakses pada 25 September 2023, <https://ophi.org.uk/policy/bhutan-gnh-index/>

Parashar, Sachin. “After India, Bhutan too Likely to Skip BRI Forum.” *Times of India*. Diakses pada 15 Oktober 2023, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/china/after-india-bhutan-too-likely-to-skip-bri-forum/articleshow/68869308.cms>

Peri, Dinakar dan Suhasini Haidar. “China Builds Ropeway, Roads Near Tri-Junction.” *The Hindu*. Diakses pada 27 Agustus 2023, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/china-builds-ropeway-near-tri->

junction-with-india-bhutan-as-part-of-infra-strengthening-in-eastern-sector/article66266807.ece

- Pulla, Venkat et.al. "Managing the Pandemic in the South Asian (SAARC) Countries." *Journal Space and Culture, India* 10, No.3 (2022)
- Rajan, Amit. "Chinese Aid to the South Asian Countries at the time of Covid-19 Pandemic: Norm or for Political Gains?." *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An Internasional Journal* 7, No. 3 (2021)
- Rakhmat, Muhammad Zulfikar dan Yeta Purnama. "China's Expanding Health Diplomacy in Indonesia." *The Diplomat*, 16 November, 2022. Diakses pada 06 Maret 2023. <https://thediplomat.com/2022/11/chinas-expanding-health-diplomacy-in-indonesia/>
- Royal Society for Protection of Nature Bhutan. "Geography of Bhutan," Royal Society for Protection of Nature Bhutan. Diakses pada 21 Mei 2023, <https://www.rspnbhutan.org/geography-of-bhutan-2/>
- Samaranayake, Nilanthi. *China's Engagement with Smaller South Asian Countries*. (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2019)
- Shalal, Andrea. "U.S. Shipping Covid-19 Vaccines to Indonesia, Bhutan, Nepal." *Reuters*. Diakses pada 8 Oktober 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/us-shipping-covid-19-vaccines-bhutan-nepal-friday-2021-07-09/>
- Shivamurthy, Aditya G. "Harrying the Himalayas: China's Land Borders Laws and its Implications for Nepal and Bhutan." *Observer Research Foundation*, Diakses pada 27 Agustus 2023, <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/chinas-land-borders-law-and-its-implications-for-nepal-and-bhutan/>
- Shivamurthy, Aditya G. "The Changing Countours of Bhutan Foreign Policy and the Implication for China and India." *ORF Occasional Paper*, No. 356 (2022)
- Szczygielski, Jan Jakub et.al. "The Impact and Role of Covid-19 Uncertainty: A Global Industry Analysis." *Internasional Review of Financial Analysis* 80, (2020): 2.
- Tamang, S.T, Karma Lhendup, dan Thinley Dorji. "Control of Travel-Related Covid-19 in Bhutan." *Journal of Travel Medicine* 28, No.7 (2021)

- Tamang, Saran Tenzin dan Thinley Dorji. "Covid-19 Vaccinations in Bhutan Mix and Match to Booster: An Experience." *Vaccine* 40, No.23 (2022)
- Tanwar, Priyanka, S. S Bindra, dan Nisarul Haq. "China Vaccine Diplomacy in South Asia: Geopolitical Perspective." *Asian Journal of Pharmaceutics* 17, No. 1 (2023)
- The World Bank. "Two Years of Bhutan's Pandemic Response." *The World Bank Brief*. Diakses pada 4 September 2023, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/bhutan/brief/two-years-of-bhutan-pandemic-response>
- Thierry, Mathou. "Bhutan-China Relations: Towards a New Step in Himalayan Politics." dalam *The Spider and Piglet: Proceedings of the First International Seminar on Bhutan Studies*. ed. Sonam Kinga dan Karma Ura (Bhutan: Centre for Bhutan Studies, 2004)
- Trading Economics. "China Exports to Bhutan-2023 Data 2024 Forecast 1992-2022 Historical." *Trading Economics*. Diakses pada 24 September 2023, <https://tradingeconomics.com/china/exports/bhutan>
- UNICEF. "Bhutan Receives 500,000 Doses of Covid-19 Vaccines Through COVAX." UNICEF. Diakses pada 8 Oktober 2023, <https://www.unicef.org/rosa/press-releases/bhutan-receives-500000-doses-covid-19-vaccines-through-covax>
- UNICEF. "UNICEF Hails Bhutan's Successful Completion of Full Covid-19 Vaccinations for 90% of the Population." UNICEF. Diakses pada 12 Oktober 2023, <https://www.unicef.org/bulgaria/en/stories/unicef-hails-bhutans-successful-completion-full-covid-19-vaccinations-90-population#:~:text=%E2%80%9CUNICEF%20and%20partners%20are%20honoured,and%20injection%20devices%20to%20Bhutan.>
- World Health Organization, "Bhutan: WHO Coronavirus Disease (Covid-19) Dashboard," *World Health Organization Overview*, Diakses pada 2 September 2023, <https://covid19.who.int/region/searo/country/bt>
- World Health Organization. "A Rapid and Coordinated Response to COVID-19 in Bhutan." *WHO Results Report*. Diakses pada 28 Agustus 2023, <https://www.who.int/about/accountability/results/who-results-report-2020-mtr/country-story/2021/bhutan>
- World Health Organization. "A Rapid and Coordinated Response to COVID-19 in Bhutan." *WHO Results Report*. Diakses pada 28 Agustus 2023,



<https://www.who.int/about/accountability/results/who-results-report-2020-mtr/country-story/2021/bhutan>

World Health Organization. "Health China 2030 (From Vision to Action)-Health Promotion." *WHO*. Diakses pada 10 September 2023, <https://www.who.int/teams/health-promotion/enhanced-wellbeing/ninth-global-conference/healthy-china#:~:text=President%20Xi%20Jinping%20has%20put,on%20health%20in%20twenty%20years.>

World Health Organization. "WHO Coronavirus (Covid-19) Dashboard." World Health Organization *Overview*. Diakses pada 25 Februari 2023, <https://covid19.who.int/>

Worldometer. "Bhutan Covid-Coronavirus Statistic." *Worldometer info*. Diakses pada 4 September 2023, <https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/country/bhutan/>

Worldometer. "Countries Where Covid-19 has Spread." *Worldometer*. Diakses pada 16 September 2023, <https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/countries-where-coronavirus-has-spread/>

Zhang, Zhixin. "The Belt and Road Initiative: China's New Geopolitical Strategy?." *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* 4, No.3 (2018)

