

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Anand, A., 2021. How Does China's Military View India?. [online] *TheDiplomat.com*. Available at: <<https://thediplomat.com/2021/10/how-does-chinas-military-view-india/>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].
- Attanayake, C. and Haiqi, Z., 2021. China's Pandemic Diplomacy in South Asia. [online] *Isas.nus.edu.sg*. Available at: <<https://www.isas.nus.edu.sg/papers/chinas-pandemic-diplomacy-in-south-asia/>> [Accessed 20 April 2022].
- Basrur, R., 2017. Modi's foreign policy fundamentals: a trajectory unchanged. *International Affairs*, 93(1), pp.7-26.
- Bureau of Economic and Agricultural Affairs of U.S, 1998. Fact Sheet: India and Pakistan Sanctions. [online] Available at: <[https://1997-2001.state.gov/regions/sa/fs\\_980618\\_india\\_pak.html](https://1997-2001.state.gov/regions/sa/fs_980618_india_pak.html)> [Accessed 22 April 2022].
- Cabestan, J., 2010. Introduction: China's new diplomacy: old wine in a new bottle?. In: S. Breslin, ed., *Hanbook of China International Relations*, 1st ed. London: Routledge, pp.1-10.
- Carrying Forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in the Promotion of Peace and Development (2022). Available at: <<https://www.mfa.gov.cn/ce/cetur/eng/xwdt/t140777.htm>> [Accessed: 24 February 2022].
- Chow, G., 2018. China's Economic Transformation. In: R. Garnaut, L. Song and C. Fang, ed., *China's 40 Years of Reform and Development: 1978–2018*, 1st ed. Canberra: ANU Press, pp.93-116.
- Chowdhury, D.R, 2013. Border dispute an obstacle to building trust between China and India. [online] *South China Morning Post*. Available at: <<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1239192/border-dispute-obstacle-building-trust-between-china-and-india>> [Accessed 1 March 2022].
- Das, B., 2013. Chinese Premier Li Keqiang's visit to India (19-21 May 2013).
- Detsch, J., 2021. Pentagon Worries About Chinese Buildup Near India. [online] *Foreign Policy*. Available at: <<https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/12/15/pentagon-india-china-border-buildup/>> [Accessed 22 April 2022].
- Elmer, K., 2020. China 'has scope to hit back' at any Indian economic sanctions. [online] *South China Morning Post*. Available at:

<<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3091074/china-has-scope-hit-back-any-indian-economic-sanctions>> [Accessed 18 April 2022].

Embassy of People's Republic of China in the Republic of India, 2013. A Handshake Across the Himalayas. [online] Available at: <[http://in.chineseembassy.org/eng/zt/likeqiang2013/201305/t20130522\\_2376533.htm](http://in.chineseembassy.org/eng/zt/likeqiang2013/201305/t20130522_2376533.htm)> [Accessed 23 April 2022].

Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India, 2020. China and India hold the Meeting of the Working Mechanism for Consultation and Coordination on China-India Border affairs. [online] Available at: <[http://in.chineseembassy.org/eng/zywl/202006/t20200624\\_2148042.htm](http://in.chineseembassy.org/eng/zywl/202006/t20200624_2148042.htm)> [Accessed 18 April 2022].

Evans, R., 1997. Deng Xiaoping and The Making of Modern China. 1st ed. London: Penguin.

Ganapathi, M., 2017. Contours of India's Foreign Policy. Indian Foreign Affairs Journal, [online] 12(1), pp.42-59. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/45342147>> [Accessed 19 April 2022].

Gartzke, E. and Weisiger, A., 2013. Permanent Friends? Dynamic Difference and the Democratic Peace. International Studies Quarterly, [online] 57(1), pp.171-185. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41804856>> [Accessed 19 April 2022].

Gauttam, P., Singh, B. and Kaur, J., 2020. COVID-19 and Chinese Global Health Diplomacy: Geopolitical Opportunity for China's Hegemony?. Sage Journals, 11(3), pp.322-327.

Ghosh, R., 2021. China's LAC Aggression: It is as much about Tibet and internal restructuring as it is about sending India a message. [online] Times of India. Available at: <<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/talkingturkey/chinas-lac-aggression-it-is-as-much-about-tibet-and-internal-restructuring-as-it-is-about-sending-india-a-message/>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].

Globaltimes.cn. 2021. Trade between China, India continues to grow, despite cold bilateral ties - Global Times. [online] Available at: <<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202109/1233562.shtml>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].

Goldman, R., 2020. India-China Border Dispute: A Conflict Explained (Published 2020). [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: <<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/world/asia/india-china-border-clashes.html>> [Accessed 18 April 2022].

India Today. 2022. Explained: How Covid-19 battered Indian economy during 2nd wave. [online] Available at: <<https://www.indiatoday.in/business/story/explained-how-covid-19-battered-indian-economy-during-2nd-wave-1810532-2021-06-03>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].



Diplomatic Relations: A Perspective (2020). Available at:

<<https://www.mfa.gov.cn/ce/cgkolkata/eng/zlgxw/t1915624.htm>> [Accessed: 24 February 2022].

The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), T., 2021. *The Military Balance 2022*. Milton: Taylor & Francis Group.

Iwanek, K., 2022. In Trade, China Has a Sharp Edge Over India, and Sharp Things Can Be Weaponized. [online] [TheDiplomat.com](https://thedi diplomat.com). Available at: <<https://thedi diplomat.com/2022/03/in-trade-china-has-a-sharp-edge-over-india-and-sharp-things-can-be-weaponized/>> [Accessed 20 April 2022].

Jain, R., 2018. China's Economic Expansion in South Asia: Strengths, Challenges and Opportunities. *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs*, [online] 31(1), pp.21-36. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26608821>> [Accessed 20 February 2022].

Jisi, W., 2011. China's Search for a Grand Strategy: A Rising Great Power Finds Its Way. *Foreign Affairs*, [online] 90(02), pp.68-79. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/25800458>> [Accessed 24 February 2022].

Kennedy, R., 2013. *The Nature and Demands of Smart Power. Conflict Management and Peacebuilding: Pillars of a New American Grand Strategy*. [online] Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, pp.41-87. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep11973.7>> [Accessed 20 February 2022].

Krishnan, A., 2020. India's trade with China falls in 2020, deficit at five-year low. [online] [Thehindu.com](https://www.thehindu.com/business/Economy/indias-trade-with-china-falls-in-2020-deficit-at-five-year-low/article33581648.ece). Available at: <<https://www.thehindu.com/business/Economy/indias-trade-with-china-falls-in-2020-deficit-at-five-year-low/article33581648.ece>> [Accessed 18 April 2022].

Kumar, N., 2009. Engaging China's Nuclear and Missile Threat. *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, 65(1), pp.37-53.

Lama, J., 2013. *China and its Peripheries: Securing Nepal in South Asia*. 1st ed. [ebook] New Delhi: Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, pp.1-8. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep09181>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].

Levi, W., 1963. The Sino-Indian Border War. *Current History*, [online] 45(265), pp.136-143. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/45310978>> [Accessed 24 February 2022].

Li, Z., 2010. *China-India Relations Strategic Engagement and Challenges*. 1st ed. [pdf] Paris: Ifri Center of Asian Studies, pp.6-33. Available at: <<https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/asievisions34zhangli.pdf>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].



- Mahanty, J., 1996. SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA. The Indian Journal of Political Science, [online] 57(1/4), pp.88-102. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41855739>> [Accessed 19 April 2022].
- McClam, R., 2016. A Nuclear Republic: Maintaining the Asia Balance Using India. Balancing on the Pivot: How China's Rise and Offshore Balancing Affect Japan's and India's Roles as Balancers in the Twenty-First Century. Alabama: Air University Press, pp.57-78.
- Mehra, P., 1956. India, China and Tibet, 1950–54. India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs, 12(1), pp.3-22.
- Ministry of External Affairs Government of India, 2018. India-China Informal Summit at Wuhan. [online] Available at: <[https://mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/29853/IndiaChina\\_Informal\\_Summit\\_at\\_Wuhan](https://mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/29853/IndiaChina_Informal_Summit_at_Wuhan)> [Accessed 18 April 2022].
- Ministry of External Affairs Government of India, 2019. 2nd India-China Informal Summit. [online] Available at: <[https://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/31938/2nd\\_IndiaChina\\_Informal\\_Summit#:~:text=They%20reiterated%20the%20consensus%20reached,any%20issue%20to%20become%20disputes.](https://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/31938/2nd_IndiaChina_Informal_Summit#:~:text=They%20reiterated%20the%20consensus%20reached,any%20issue%20to%20become%20disputes.)> [Accessed 18 April 2022].
- Ministry of External Affairs Government of India, 2020. India-SAARC. [online] New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs Government of India, pp.1-3. Available at: <[https://mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India\\_SAARC\\_2020.pdf](https://mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India_SAARC_2020.pdf)> [Accessed 23 April 2022].
- Ministry of External Affairs Government of India, 2020. Joint Press Statement - Meeting of External Affairs Minister and the Foreign Minister of China. [online] Available at: <[https://mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/32962/Joint\\_Press\\_Statement\\_\\_Meeting\\_of\\_External\\_Affairs\\_Minister\\_and\\_the\\_Foreign\\_Minister\\_of\\_China\\_September\\_10\\_2020](https://mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/32962/Joint_Press_Statement__Meeting_of_External_Affairs_Minister_and_the_Foreign_Minister_of_China_September_10_2020)> [Accessed 19 April 2022].
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China, 2022. Wang Yi Meets with National Security Advisor Ajit Doval of India. [online] Available at: <[https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjb\\_663304/wjbz\\_663308/activities\\_663312/202203/t20220326\\_10656099.html](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/wjbz_663308/activities_663312/202203/t20220326_10656099.html)> [Accessed 23 April 2022].
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China, 2022. Wang Yi Holds Talks with Indian External Affairs Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar. [online] Available at: <[https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjb\\_663304/wjbz\\_663308/activities\\_663312/202203/t20220326\\_10656097.html](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/wjbz_663308/activities_663312/202203/t20220326_10656097.html)> [Accessed 23 April 2022].



- Mohanty, M., 2012. 'Harmonious Society': Hu Jintao's Vision and the Chinese Party Congress. *Economic and Political Weekly*, [online] 47(50), pp.12-16. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41720457>> [Accessed 18 April 2022].
- Morrow, D. and Carriere, M., 2000. THE ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF THE 1998 SANCTIONS ON INDIA AND PAKISTAN. In: J. Cirincione, ed., *Repairing the Regime*, 1st ed. London: Routledge, pp.1-16.
- Nye, J., 2008. *The powers to lead*. 1st ed. New York: Oxford University Press, pp.85- 108
- Nye, J., 2020. Perspectives for a China Strategy. *PRISM*, [online] 8(4), pp.121-130. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26918238>> [Accessed 20 February 2022].
- Nye, Jr., J., 2009. Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power. *Foreign Affairs*, [online] 88(04), pp.160- 163. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20699631>> [Accessed 9 June 2021].
- Nye Jr., J., 2020. Countering the Authoritarian Challenge: Public Diplomacy, Soft Power, and Sharp Power. *SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE: The Populism Issue*, [online] Winter 2020(15), pp.94-109. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/48573639>> [Accessed 25 May 2022].
- Panda, J. and Baruah, A., 2019. Foreseeing India-China Relations: The 'Compromised Context' of Rapprochement. *Analysis from the East-West Center*. [online] Hawaii: East-West Center, pp.1-8. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep21072>> [Accessed 13 May 2022].
- Pandit, R. and Dutta, S., 2013. People's Liberation Army: Chinese incursion 19km, but 750 sq km at stake for India | *India News - Times of India*. [online] *The Times of India*. Available at: <<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/chinese-incursion-19km-but-750-sq-km-at-stake-for-india/articleshow/19826487.cms>> [Accessed 18 April 2022].
- Pant, H. and Kapoor, N., 2020. With China as backdrop, New Delhi's Moscow watch. [online] *The Hindu*. Available at: <<https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/with-china-as-backdrop-new-delhis-moscow-watch/article32663538.ece>> [Accessed 19 April 2022].
- Patranobis, S. and Laskar, R., 2022. China's new claim on PLA disengagement in eastern Ladakh's Hot Spring area. [online] *Hindustan Times*. Available at: <<https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/border-dispute-working-for-solution-as-soon-as-possible-says-china-101647366769533.html>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].
- People's Daily. 2013. Xi Jinping stressed at the 3rd study session of the Politburo the need for coordinating domestic and international strategic situation, building a solid foundation for walking on the peaceful development road.



PHD Research Bureau, 2018. *The Trade Giants of Past, Present and Future. India- China Trade Relations*. New Delhi: PHD Chamber, p.4.

Press Counsellor Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India, 2020. *China-India@70 Scaling New Heights*. [online] Available at: <http://in.china-embassy.org/xwfw/zgxw/202007/P020210622223439628282.pdf> [Accessed 18 April 2022].

Pubby, M., 2020. India requests quick delivery of missiles, ammo from Russia; Amethi factory to launch before summit. [online] *The Economic Times*. Available at: <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/india-requests-quick-delivery-of-missiles-ammo-from-russia-amethi-factory-to-launch-before-summit/articleshow/76620736.cms> [Accessed 19 April 2022].

Raghavan, P., 2017. *The Making of India's Foreign Policy: From Non-Alignment to Multi-Alignment*. *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, [online] 12(4), pp.326-341. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45342011> [Accessed 19 April 2022].

Sarki, A., 2019. PARADIPLOMACY, DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS AND NEW DELHI'S PREROGATIVE. *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, [online] 23(4), pp.138-151. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48566203> [Accessed 23 April 2022].

Sen, G., 2016. THEORETICAL MOORINGS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICYMAKING: Nehru to Modi. *India International Centre Quarterly*, [online] 43(2), pp.9-21. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26317415> [Accessed 23 April 2022].

Singh, K., 2021. India's economy, slammed by COVID-19, needs its lost growth. [online] *The Economic Times*. Available at: <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/indicators/indias-economy-slammed-by-covid-19-needs-its-lost-growth/articleshow/85813389.cms?from=mdr> [Accessed 23 April 2022].

SIPRI Arms Transfers Database. 2021. *Trade Registers*. [online] Available at: [https://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade\\_register.php](https://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade_register.php) [Accessed 10 September 2021].

Sitaraman, S., 2020. ARE INDIA AND CHINA DESTINED FOR WAR?: THREE FUTURE SCENARIOS. *HINDSIGHT, INSIGHT, FORESIGHT: Thinking About Security in the Indo-Pacific*. [online] Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, pp.283-306. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep26667.24> [Accessed 20 February 2022].

South China Morning Post. 2020. India bans 59 Chinese apps, including TikTok and WeChat. [online] Available at: <https://www.scmp.com/news/asia/south-asia/article/3091106/india-bans-59-chinese-apps-including-tiktok-and-wechat-after> [Accessed 18 April 2022].



- South China Morning Post. 2021. India says China ‘biggest security threat’, troops to stay put at border. [online] Available at: <<https://www.scmp.com/news/asia/south-asia/article/3155841/china-india-border-dispute-defence-chief-says-beijing-new>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].
- Suneja, K., 2021. India’s trade deficit with China narrows to \$45.9 billion in 2020. [online] The Economic Times. Available at: <<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/foreign-trade/indias-trade-deficit-with-china-narrows-to-45-9-billion-in-2020/articleshow/81178022.cms?from=mdr>> [Accessed 18 April 2022].
- Taneja, P., 2020. Bilateral economic relations amid trade and trust deficits. In: K. Bajpai, S. Ho and M. Miller, ed., Routledge Handbook of China–India Relations, 1st ed. London: Routledge, pp.87-101.
- TARAPORE, A., 2021. The Crisis after the Crisis: How Ladakh will Shape India’s Competition with China. [online] Lowy Institute for International Policy, pp.5-32. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep33508>> [Accessed 20 February 2022].
- The Economic Times. 2020. What's driving the military standoff between India, China in Ladakh. [online] Available at: <<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/whats-driving-the-military-standoff-between-india-and-china-in-ladakh/articleshow/78044003.cms>> [Accessed 18 April 2022].
- The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2012. The Military Balance 2012. The annual assessment of global military capabilities and defence economics. London: Routledge, pp.211- 219.
- The Times of India. 2021. China biggest security threat, says General Bipin Rawat | India News - Times of India. [online] Available at: <<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/china-biggest-security-threat-says-general-bipin-rawat/articleshow/87675595.cms>> [Accessed 20 April 2022].
- Times, G., 2022. China-India trade hits record high of \$126 billion, up 43.3% y-o-y despite tension - Global Times. [online] Globaltimes.cn. Available at: <<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202201/1245968.shtml>> [Accessed 20 April 2022].
- Topychkanov, D., 2020. New trends and developments in border tensions between China and India | SIPRI. [online] Sipri.org. Available at: <<https://www.sipri.org/commentary/blog/2020/new-trends-and-developments-border-tensions-between-china-and-india>> [Accessed 18 April 2022].



- Upreti, B., 2016. India-Nepal Relations: Complexities, Misperceptions and Irritants. *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, [online] 11(2), pp.107-113. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/45341089>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].
- US Institute of Peace, 2020. China- India Relations. China's Influence on Conflict Dynamics in South Asia. [online] US Institute of Peace, pp.35-37. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep27534.8>> [Accessed 20 February 2022].
- Wang, A., 2021. China and Bhutan reach deal on border talks 'in test for India'. [online] *South China Morning Post*. Available at: <<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3152529/china-and-bhutan-reach-deal-border-talks-test-india>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].
- White House, 2020. This is the letter sent to Dr. Tedros of the World Health Organization. It is self-explanatory!. [image] Available at: <<https://www.instagram.com/p/CAWoLE-BPYO/>> [Accessed 20 April 2021].
- World Bank. 2022. AT A GLANCE. [online] Available at: <<https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/india/overview#1>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].
- Xiaowen, H., 2020. The 1950s in China- India Relations. In: K. Bajpai, S. Ho and M. Miller, ed., *Routledge Handbook of China- India Relations*, 1st ed. London and New York: Routledge, pp.87-101.
- Xijin, H., 2020. China-Russia relations gift to peace and humanity - Global Times. [online] *Globaltimes.cn*. Available at: <<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202009/1200945.shtml>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].
- Xuetong, Y., 2014. From Keeping a Low Profile to Striving for Achievement. *The Chinese Journals of International Politics*, 7(2), pp.153-184.
- Yang, J., 2021. Bhutan-China Border Negotiations in Context. [online] *The Diplomat.com*. Available at: <<https://thediplomat.com/2021/11/bhutan-china-border-negotiations-in-context/>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].
- Yuliantoro, N., 2021. Prinsip- prinsip dasar hubungan internasional Cina Kontemporer.
- Zhang, J., 2015. China's new foreign policy under Xi Jinping: towards 'Peaceful Rise 2.0'? *Global Change, Peace, & Security*, 27(1), pp.5-19.
- Zhang, Y., 2016. Introduction: Dynamism and contention: understanding Chinese foreign policy under Xi Jinping. *International Affairs*, [online] 92(4), pp.1-4. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24757674>> [Accessed 23 April 2022].
- Zheng, C., 2016. China Debates the Non-Interference Principle. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 9(3), pp.349-374.



Zheng, S., Zhen, L. and Huang, K., 2017. China 'halts road building' to end India border stand-off. [online] South China Morning Post. Available at: <<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2108686/china-halted-road-building-end-india-border-standoff>> [Accessed 1 March 2022].

Zhengyi, W., 2010. From security to international political economy. In: S. Breslin, ed., Hanbook of China International Relations, 1st ed. London: Routledge, pp.13-21.