

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abrams, L. (2022, February 26). *Ukraine recruits "IT Army" to hack Russian entities, lists 31 targets*. <https://www.bleepingcomputer.com/news/security/ukraine-recruits-it-army-to-hack-russian-entities-lists-31-targets/>
- Adesina, O. S. (2017). Foreign policy in an era of digital diplomacy. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 3(1).
- Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (1987). *Membership Roles in Field Research*. Sage Publication.
- Agence France-Presse. (2022). *Tens of thousands join rallies around the world in support of Ukraine*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/06/tens-of-thousands-join-rallies-around-the-world-in-support-of-ukraine>
- Ajao, E. (2022, March 14). *AI and disinformation in the Russia-Ukraine war*. <https://www.techtarget.com/searchenterpriseai/feature/AI-and-disinformation-in-the-Russia-Ukraine-war>
- Al Jazeera. (2022). *Top US official urges China to pressure Russia to end Ukraine war*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/4/13/top-us-official-urges-china-to-pressure-russia-to-end-ukraine-war>
- Al-Aqidi, D. (2022, March 6). *How Zelensky used social media to his advantage*. <https://www.arabnews.com/node/2037236>
- Aljazeera. (2022, November 12). *Ukraine minister urges ASEAN bloc to stop Russia's 'hunger games'*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/11/12/ukraine-minister-urges-asean-bloc-to-stop-russias-hunger-games>
- Antoniuk, D. (2022, October 13). *How Ukraine's prodigy minister is innovating the battlefield*. <https://kyivindependent.com/national/how-ukraines-prodigy-minister-is-innovating-the-battlefield>
- Antoniuk, D., & Peterson, A. (2022, March 24). *A month into the Russian invasion, Ukraine is still mostly online*. https://therecord.media/ukraine-internet-russia-invasion/?_x_tr_sl=en&_x_tr_tl=id&_x_tr_hl=id&_x_tr_pto=sc
- Antunes, S., & Camisã, I. (2018). *Introducing Realism in International Relations Theory*. <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/02/27/introducing-realism-in-international-relations-theory/>
- APA. (2022, September 17). *Zelensky adviser blasts Mexico over UN peace proposal*. <https://apa.az/en/europe/zelensky-adviser-blasts-mexico-over-un-peace-proposal-385028>
- Arredondas, M. (2022). *Thousands of foreign fighters join the Ukrainian army in the war against Russia*. <https://atalayar.com/en/content/thousands-foreign-fighters-join-ukrainian-army-war-against-russia>

- Aten, J. (2022). *Ukraine Sent an Open Letter to Apple. Tim Cook Just Responded With an Email to His Team*. <https://www.inc.com/jason-aten/ukraine-sent-an-open-letter-to-apple-tim-cook-just-responded-with-an-email-to-his-team.html>
- Auerbach, J., & Castronovo, R. (2013). *The Oxford Handbook of Propaganda Studies*. Oxford University Press.
- Bakry, U. S. (2017). *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Bala, S. (2022, March 21). *Xi 'can't stomach doing something that might make Putin look bad,' says political analyst*. <https://www.cnbc.com/2022/03/21/xi-wont-take-a-position-on-ukraine-that-undermines-putin-analyst.html>
- Barragona, S. (2022, March 23). *Ukraine War Pushing Food Prices Even Higher*. <https://www.voanews.com/a/ukraine-war-pushing-food-prices-even-higher/6497951.html>
- Bateman, T. (2022). *No more iPhones: Apple stops product sales in Russia and removes RT and Sputnik from App Store*. <https://www.euronews.com/next/2022/03/02/no-more-iphones-apple-stops-product-sales-in-russia-and-removes-rt-and-sputnik>
- Berridge, G. R. (2010). *Diplomacy Theory and Practice*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bjola, C., & Holmes, M. (2015). *Digital Diplomacy Theory and Practice*. Routledge.
- Bousquette, I. (2022, March 9). *Ukraine Official Says Digital Battlefield Is Key to War With Russia*. https://www.wsj.com/articles/ukraine-official-says-digital-battlefield-is-key-to-war-with-russia-11646873316?mod=newsvviewer_click
- Brandt, J., & Wirtschafter, V. (2022). *The surprising performance of Kremlin propaganda on Google News Mar*. <https://www.brookings.edu/tech-stream/the-surprising-performance-of-kremlin-propaganda-on-google-news/>
- Brannen, J. (1997). *Mixing Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Research*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Brodkin, J. (2022). *Netflix to leave Russia after defying order to carry state-run channels*. <https://arstechnica.com/tech-policy/2022/03/netflix-halts-service-in-russia-after-refusing-to-carry-kremlin-backed-channels/>
- Cerdán, M. (2022, April 29). *Africa: a strategic support for Russia*. <https://atalayar.com/en/content/africa-strategic-support-russia>
- Collier, K., & Talmazan, Y. (2022). *Ukraine facing major regional internet outages as Russian invasion continues*. <https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/tech-news/ukraine-facing-major-regional-internet-outages-russian-invasion-contin-rcna18973>

- Cooper, R. (2003). *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*. Atlantic Books.
- Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. P. (2017). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Cull, N. J. (2013). The long road to public diplomacy 2.0: The Internet in US public diplomacy. *International Studies Review*, 15(1), 136.
- Cull, N. J., Culbert, D., & Welch, D. (2003). *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present*. ABC-CLIO.
- David, K. (2022, March 8). *Why did Russia invade Ukraine?*
- Deb, S. (2022, August 7). *Russia Ukraine conflict: Why Volodymyr Zelensky wants to talk to Xi Jinping*. <https://www.moneycontrol.com/news/world/russia-ukraine-conflict-why-volodymyr-zelensky-wants-to-talk-to-xi-jinping-8970941.html>
- Dharmaputra, R. (2022). *How will Indonesia deal with Russia and Ukraine at the G20?* <https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/how-will-indonesia-deal-with-russia-and-ukraine-at-the-g20/>
- Dillet, R. (2022, March 16). *Ukraine's Mykhailo Fedorov talks about corporate sanctions and running a government during wartime*. <https://techcrunch.com/2022/03/15/ukraines-mykhailo-fedorov-talks-about-corporate-sanctions-and-running-a-government-during-wartime/>
- Dorosh, L., & Kopey, Y. (2018). *TWITTER-DIPLOMACY: UKRAINIAN CONTEXT*. 4(2).
- Einhorn, S. (2022, March 30). *Ukraine-Russia war: On social media, Zelensky already won - opinion*. <https://www.jpost.com/opinion/article-702750>
- Engelbrecht, C. (2022, August 16). *Ukrainian Soldiers Train for the Frontlines on British Soil*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/16/world/europe/ukraine-military-britain.html>
- Exum, A. (2022, June 2). *Western Support for Ukraine Has Peaked*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/06/ukraine-western-support-concession-economic-cost/661155/>
- FE Online. (2022). *Ukraine leader urges Apple CEO Tim Cook to block Russian users from App Store*. <https://www.financialexpress.com/industry/technology/ukraine-leader-urges-apple-ceo-tim-cook-to-block-russian-users-from-app-store/2445358/>
- Feiner, L. (2022). *Why Russian people need tech companies to stay, not withdraw: It's terrifying 'how dark that place could become.'* <https://www.cnbc.com/2022/03/17/why-russian-people-need-tech-companies-to-stay.html>

- France 24. (2022, March 6). *Ukraine dominates social media info war with Russia*. <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20220306-ukraine-dominates-social-media-info-war-with-russia>
- Gallardo, C., & Caulcutt, C. (2022, September 16). *Ukraine's military recruits need training. Only one of Europe's giants is pulling its weight*. <https://www.politico.eu/article/uk-and-france-at-odds-over-military-training-for-ukrainians/>
- Gibson, K. (2022). *As war rages in Ukraine, Nestle suspends sales of KitKat and Nesquik in Russia*. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/ukraine-russia-volodymyr-zelenskyy-nestle-kitkat-nesquik/>
- Gilbert, D. (2022, February 22). *Russia's 'Idiotic' Disinformation Campaign Could Still Lead to War in Ukraine*. <https://www.vice.com/en/article/88gdj3/russia-disinformation-campaign-bombing-ukraine>
- Goldsmith, B. E., Horiuchi, Y., & Matush, K. (2021). Does Public Diplomacy Sway Foreign Public Opinion? Identifying the Effect of High-Level Visits. *American Political Science Review*, 115(4), 1342–1357.
- Graham, T., & Thompson, J. D. (2022, March 15). *Russian government accounts are using a Twitter loophole to spread disinformation*. <https://theconversation.com/russian-government-accounts-are-using-a-twitter-loophole-to-spread-disinformation-178001>
- Grant, R. (2004). *The Democratisation of Diplomacy: Negotiating with the Internet*.
- Gustin, S. (2011). *Digital Diplomacy*.
- Guyer, J. (2022, June 9). *Why some countries don't want to pick a side in Russia's war in Ukraine*. <https://www.vox.com/23156512/russia-ukraine-war-global-south-nonaligned-movement>
- Hasanah, H. (2016). TEKNIK-TEKNIK OBSERVASI. *Jurnal At-Taqaddum*, 8(1), 36.
- Heaton, J. (2004). *Reworking Qualitative Data*. Sage Publications.
- Holbrooke, R. (2001, October 28). *Get the Message Out*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2001/10/28/get-the-message-out/b298b3c9-45b8-45e2-9ec7-20503dd38802/>
- Holroyd, M. (2022, March 15). *Debunking the most viral misinformation about Russia's war in Ukraine*.
- Hutt, D. (2022, March 7). *Ukraine conflict: What's behind Southeast Asia's muted response?* <https://www.dw.com/en/ukraine-conflict-whats-behind-southeast-asias-muted-response/a-61039013>

- Hyunjin, S., & Ebrahim, H. (2016). Visual propaganda on Facebook: A comparative analysis of Syrian conflicts. *Media, War & Conflict*, 1–25. <https://scihub.hkvisanet/10.1177/1750635216661648>
- Inskeep, S. (2022, December 26). *Putin reiterates claims he's willing to negotiate but attacks on Ukraine continue*. <https://www.npr.org/2022/12/26/1145509209/putin-reiterates-claims-hes-willing-to-negotiate-but-attacks-on-ukraine-continue>
- Ivankova, N. v, Creswell, J. W., & Stick, S. L. (2016). Using Mixed-Methods Sequential Explanatory Design: From Theory to Practice. *Sage Journals*, 18(1).
- Jacob, J. V. (2022). “*Pretty successful in our digital war against Russia,*” says *Ukraine Deputy PM Fedorov* . <https://www.onmanorama.com/news/world/2022/03/14/interview-ukraine-deputy-prime-minister-mykhailo-fedorov.html>
- Jacobson, L. (2022, March 16). “*Make no mistake: The current spike in gas prices is largely the fault of Vladimir Putin.*” <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2022/mar/16/joe-biden/joe-biden-blame-putin-high-gasoline-prices/>
- Katwala, A. (2022). *Netflix Has Defied the Russian Government, for Now*. <https://www.wired.com/story/netflix-russia-ukraine/>
- Kellner, D. (2004). 9/11, SPECTACLES OF TERROR, AND MEDIA MANIPULATION: A critique of Jihadist and Bush mediapolitics. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 1(1), 41–64. <chrome-extension://dagcmkpagjlhakfdhnbomgmjdpkdklff/enhanced-reader.html?open-App&pdf=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.tandfonline.com%2Fdoi%2Fpdf%2F10.1080%2F17405900410001674515%3FneedAccess%3Dtrue>
- Klein, C. (2022, March 2). “*It's Not a Movie*”: *Ukraine's President Wants the World's Help, Not Its Memes*. <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2022/03/its-not-a-movie-ukraines-president-wants-the-worlds-help-not-its-memes>
- Knickmeyer, E. (2022, March 16). *What did Ukraine President Zelensky ask for during his call with Congress?* <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/what-did-ukraine-president-zelensky-ask-for-during-his-call-with-u-s-congress>
- Kumar, N., & Lisnych, K. (2022, May 30). *He's 31 and has one of the most important jobs in the war. Meet Ukraine's top 'digital general.'* <https://www.grid.news/story/global/2022/05/30/hes-31-and-has-one-of-the-most-important-jobs-in-the-war-meet-ukraines-top-digital-general/>
- Labott, E. (2022, March 8). *'We Are the First in the World to Introduce This New Warfare': Ukraine's Digital Battle Against Russia*.
- Lassin, J., & Channell-Justice, E. (2021, December 22). *Why Putin has such a hard time accepting Ukrainian sovereignty*.

<https://theconversation.com/why-putin-has-such-a-hard-time-accepting-ukrainian-sovereignty-174029>

- Lea, R. (2022, February 3). *Ukraine Sets up “Send Putin to Jupiter” Fundraiser to Help Rebuild Country*. https://www-newsweek-com.translate.googleusercontent.com/ukraine-send-vladimir-putin-jupiter-fundraiser-help-rebuild-country-1684016?_x_tr_sl=en&_x_tr_tl=id&_x_tr_hl=id&_x_tr_pto=sc
- Lee, E., & Frank, BrieAnna J. (2022, July 30). *Ukraine: Zelenskyy calls for Russia to be deemed a state sponsor of terrorism after attack*. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2022/07/30/ukraine-zelenskyy-russia-terrorist-state/10190986002/>
- Lee, G., & Ayhan, K. (2015). Why Do We Need Non-state Actors in Public Diplomacy?: Theoretical Discussion of Relational, Networked and Collaborative Public Diplomacy. *Journal of International and Area Studies*, 22(1), 57–77.
- Leonard, M. (2002). Diplomacy by Other Means. *Foreign Policy*, 132, 48–56. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3183455>
- Li, Z. (2022). *China’s Diplomatic Campaign Following Russia’s Ukraine Invasion*. <https://thediplomat.com/2022/06/chinas-diplomatic-campaign-following-russias-ukraine-invasion/>
- Lichtenstein, J. (2010). *Digital Diplomacy*.
- Lopatto, E. (2022). *If you’re a Russian YouTuber, how do you get paid now?* <https://www.theverge.com/2022/3/17/22982122/russia-youtube-crypto-creators-pay-ruble>
- Luqman, N. (2022, March 30). *The Russia-Ukraine crisis is a bitter pill for ASEAN*. <https://www.trtworld.com/opinion/the-russia-ukraine-crisis-is-a-bitter-pill-for-asean-55804>
- MacSwan, A. (2022, July 9). *Ukrainian soldiers arrive in UK for training with British forces*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/jul/09/ukrainian-soldiers-arrive-uk-training-british-forces>
- Manor, I. (2022). *How Ukraine Can Leverage its Digital Achievements*. <https://digdipblog.com/2022/06/29/how-ukraine-can-leverage-its-digital-achievements/>
- Manor, Ii. (2016). *What is Digital Diplomacy and how is it Practiced around the World? A brief Introduction*. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/310952363_What_is_Digital_Diplomacy_and_how_is_it_Practiced_around_the_World_A_brief_introduction#:~:text=Fergus%20Hanson%20defines%20it%20as,personal%20level%20\(Manor%202016\)%20](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/310952363_What_is_Digital_Diplomacy_and_how_is_it_Practiced_around_the_World_A_brief_introduction#:~:text=Fergus%20Hanson%20defines%20it%20as,personal%20level%20(Manor%202016)%20)

- Manor, Ii., & Crilley, R. (2018). Visually framing the Gaza War of 2014: The Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Twitter. *Sage Journals*, 11(4), 369–391.
- Manor, Ii., & Segev, E. (2015). AMERICA’S SELFIE How the US portrays itself on its social media accounts . In C. Bjola & M. Holmes (Eds.), *DIGITAL DIPLOMACY Theory and practice* (p. 92). Routledge.
- Mardalis. (1999). *METODE PENELITIAN SUATU PENDEKATAN PROPOSAL*. Bumi Aksara.
- Martinus, D. (2022, February 25). *Southeast Asia’s silence on the Russian invasion of Ukraine is deafening*. <https://sea.mashable.com/life/19457/southeast-asias-silence-on-the-russian-invasion-of-ukraine-is-deafening>
- Mashable SEA. (2022, September 28). *Facebook “influence operations” run by Russia and China were shut down by Meta*. <https://sea.mashable.com/tech/21478/facebook-influence-operations-run-by-russia-and-china-were-shut-down-by-meta>
- Matchuk, Y. (2018). Digital Diplomacy of Ukraine as a Foreign Affairs Influence Factor. *European Political and Law Discourse* , 5(4).
- Melissen, J. (2005). The new public diplomacy: Between theory and practice. In *The new public diplomacy: Soft power in international relations* (pp. 3–27). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods*. Sage Publication.
- Miller, C., Scott, M., & Bender, B. (2022). *UkraineX: How Elon Musk’s space satellites changed the war on the ground*. <https://www.politico.eu/article/elon-musk-ukraine-starlink/>
- Milmo, D. (2022a). *This article is more than 3 months old YouTube removes more than 9,000 channels relating to Ukraine war*. <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2022/may/22/youtube-ukraine-invasion-russia-video-removals>
- Milmo, D. (2022b). *YouTube removes more than 9,000 channels relating to Ukraine war*. <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2022/may/22/youtube-ukraine-invasion-russia-video-removals>
- Mittal, V. (2022, March 7). *Misinformation Is Playing A Significant Role In Russia-Ukraine War*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/vikrammittal/2022/03/07/misinformation-will-play-a-significant-role-in-russia-ukraine-war/?sh=13d734b62f2e>
- Morris, W. (1973). *The American Heritage Dictionary of English Language*. Houghton Mifflin.

- Mustaqim. (2016). Metode Penelitian Gabungan Kuantitatif Kualitatif/Mixed Methods Suatu Pendekatan Alternatif. *Jurnal Intelegensia* , 4(1), 1–9.
- Nazir. (1988). *Metode Penelitian*. Ghalia Indonesia.
- NDTV. (2022, March 1). *How Ukraine’s Influencers Used TikTok To Tell Stories Of War*. <https://www.ndtv.com/world-news/tiktok-war-how-ukraines-influencers-used-tiktok-to-tell-stories-of-war-2796156>
- Nirappil, F., Duplain, J., Timsitdan, A., & Villegas, P. (2022). *A grasp at diplomacy as fighting grinds on in Ukraine*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/05/22/russia-ukraine-zelensky-poland/>
- NPR. (2022). *Volunteer hackers form “IT Army” to help Ukraine fight Russia*. <https://www.npr.org/2022/03/27/1089072560/volunteer-hackers-form-it-army-to-help-ukraine-fight-russia>
- Nye, J. S. (2004). *Soft power : the means to success in world politics*. Public Affairs.
- Nye, J. S., & Owens, W. A. (1996). America’s Information Edge. *Foreign Affairs*.
- Outlook Money Team. (2022). *Binance Crypto Exchange Stops Service in Russia In Line With EU Sanctions; Bitcoin Falls*. <https://www.outlookindia.com/business/binance-crypto-exchange-stops-service-in-russia-in-line-with-eu-sanctions-bitcoin-falls-news-192756>
- OutlookIndia. (2022, July 18). *Ukraine Leader Urges Tim Cook To Block Russia From Apple Products, Services*. <https://www.outlookindia.com/business/ukraine-leader-urges-apple-ceo-tim-cook-to-block-russia-from-app-store-news-184177>
- Paleja, A. (2022). *Elon Musk’s Starlink has ‘destroyed’ Russian information campaign in Ukraine*. <https://interestingengineering.com/starlink-destroy-russian-campaign-ukraine>
- Pamment, J. (2013). *New public diplomacy in the 21st century: A comparative study of policy and practice*. Routledge.
- Pipchenko, N., & Moskalenko, T. (2007). *TRENDS OF UKRAINE’S DIGITAL DIPLOMACY*. 4(3). <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/state/13622.pdf>
- Pisa, P. L. (2022, April 4). *Mykhailo Fedorov: “Cyberwar works better than bullets.”* https://www.repubblica.it/tecnologia/2022/04/04/news/mykhailo_fedorov_cyberwar_works_better_than_bullets-343996361/
- Psaropoulos, J. (2022, June 16). *As Russia advances, is Western support for Ukraine faltering?* <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/6/16/as-russia-makes-gains-is-western-support-for-ukraine-faltering>

- Ranjan, R. (2022a, April 11). *Zelenskyy's Advisor Podolyak Urges EU Leaders To Lower Reliance On Russian Energy*. <https://www.republic-world.com/world-news/russia-ukraine-crisis/zelenskyys-advisor-podolyak-urges-eu-leaders-to-reject-reliance-on-russian-energy-articleshow.html>
- Ranjan, R. (2022b, May 22). *Ukraine FM Dmytro Kuleba Asserts Only Kyiv Will Define When And How War Ceases*. <https://www.republicworld.com/world-news/russia-ukraine-crisis/ukraine-fm-dmytro-kuleba-asserts-only-kyiv-will-define-when-and-how-war-ceases-articleshow.html>
- Reinalda, B. (2001). Private in Form, Public in Purpose: NGOs in International Relations Theory. In B. Arts, M. Noortmann, & B. Reinalda (Eds.), *Non-state Actors in International Relations* (pp. 13–15). Ashgate Publishing.
- Reuters. (2022). *Ukrainian official condemns Iran over Russian drone attacks*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/ukrainian-official-condemns-iran-over-russian-drone-attacks-2022-10-17/>
- RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service. (2022, March 5). *Ukraine's Government Opens Website To Recruit Foreigners To "International Legion."* <https://www.rferl.org/a/ukraine-recruiting-foreign-fighters/31737766.html>
- Riordan, S. (2003). *The New Diplomacy*. Polity.
- Risse, T. (2000). 'Let's argue!' Communicative action in world politics. *International Organization*, 54(1), 1–39. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601316>
- Romaniuk, A. (2022). *Meta Stands with Ukraine: Has the Company Learned the Lessons From the Past?* <https://www.pravda.com.ua/eng/columns/2022/06/10/7351674/>
- Roy, R. (2022). *Deciphering weaponization of information in Russia-Ukraine conflict*. <https://www.financialexpress.com/defence/deciphering-weaponization-of-information-in-russia-ukraine-conflict/2475845/>
- Rushforth, C. (2022, February 25). *What's Going On With Ukraine's Official Twitter Account?* <https://junkee.com/ukraine-official-twitter-account/322700>
- Rusu, M. L., & Herman, R. (2018). THE IMPLICATIONS OF PROPAGANDA AS A SOCIAL INFLUENCE STRATEGY. *Scientific Bulletin*, XXIII(46), 118–125.
- Sandre, A. (2015). *Digital Diplomacy - Conversations on Innovation in Foreign Policy*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Scripps, T. (2022, August 17). *Thousands of Ukrainian soldiers training in the UK for NATO proxy war with Russia*. <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2022/08/17/zdig-a17.html>
- Sevilla, G., & Haiss, L. (2022, March 5). *Big Tech responds to war in Ukraine*. <https://www.emarketer.com/content/big-tech-responds-war-ukraine>

- Shead, S. (2022). *Apple's decision to stop selling products in Russia puts pressure on other smartphone makers*. <https://www.cnbc.com/2022/03/03/apples-decision-to-halt-russia-sales-puts-pressure-on-samsung-google.html>
- Shivakumar, G. (2022). *Ukraine-Russia: Is Social Media a New Way to Wage War?* <https://thewire.in/world/ukraine-russia-is-social-media-a-new-way-to-wage-war>
- Shultz, R. H., & Godson, R. (1984). *Dezinformatsia: active measures in soviet strategy*. Pergamon Press.
- Singarimbun, L. (2022, April 6). *ASEAN members' responses to the invasion of Ukraine*. <https://www.policyforum.net/asean-members-responses-to-the-invasion-of-ukraine/>
- Snowden, C. (2022a, April 5). *Guns, tanks and Twitter: how Russia and Ukraine are using social media as the war drags on*. <https://theconversation.com/guns-tanks-and-twitter-how-russia-and-ukraine-are-using-social-media-as-the-war-drags-on-180131>
- Snowden, C. (2022b, April 7). *Commentary: Social media is the new battlefield in Ukraine war*. <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/commentary/ukraine-invasion-disinformation-social-media-information-warfare-humour-propaganda-2611856>
- Staf Al Jazeera. (2022). *Biden renews warning to China against aiding Russia in Ukraine*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/24/biden-renews-warning-to-china-against-aiding-russia-in-ukraine>
- Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (2010). *Political Realism in International Relations*. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations/#Hob-bAnarStatNatu>
- Stokel-Walker, C. (2022, March 4). *How Social Media Is Shaping The Ukraine Invasion*. <https://graziadaily.co.uk/life/in-the-news/social-media-ukraine-strategy/>
- Stolton, S. (2022, March 29). *Ukraine minister pleads to expand 'digital blockade' on Russia*. <https://www.politico.eu/article/ukraine-digital-transformation-mykhailo-fedorov-russia-blockade/>
- Suleymanova, R. (2022). *Crypto will not save Russia from sanctions, experts say*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2022/3/1/crypto-will-not-save-russia-from>
- Svantesson, D. J. B. (2022). *Ukraine is recruiting an 'IT army' of cyber warriors. Here's how Australia could make it legal to join*. <https://theconversation.com/ukraine-is-recruiting-an-it-army-of-cyber-warriors-heres-how-australia-could-make-it-legal-to-join-178414>

- Tannen, J. N., & Malone, M. (2022). *China experts explain the nation's quiet stance on Ukraine*. <https://news.miami.edu/stories/2022/03/china-experts-explain-the-nations-quiet-stance-on-ukraine.html>
- Taylor, P. M. (1999). *British Propaganda in the 20th Century: Selling Democracy*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Tech Policy Press. (2022, March 12). *The War in Ukraine Exposes Social Media as a Tool of the State*. https://techpolicy-press.translate.google.com/translate?_x_tr_sl=en&_x_tr_tl=id&_x_tr_hl=id&_x_tr_pto=op,sc
- Tereshchuk, V. (2016). Ukrainian Practice of Virtual Diplomacy. *Historia i Polityka*, 16, 89–100.
- The EastAfrican. (2022, October 14). *Ukraine calls on African countries to condemn Russian invasion*. <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/world/ukraine-calls-on-african-countries-to-condemn-russian-invasion-3984534>
- The Times of India. (2022, March 16). *Russia does not want to occupy Ukraine, says Putin*. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/europe/russia-does-not-want-to-occupy-ukraine-says-putin/articleshow/90273645.cms>
- Thucydides. (1972). *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Penguin.
- Tidy, J. (2022, March 8). *Twitter is part of our war effort - Ukraine minister*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-60608222>
- Tuch, H. N. (1990). *Communicating with the World: US public diplomacy overseas*. St. Martin's Press.
- Tulp, S. (2022, February 26). *Video shows 2015 blast in China, not Russian airstrike in Ukraine*. <https://apnews.com/article/fact-checking-866735356557>
- Tzu, S., & Giles, L. (1994). *The Art of War*. Project Gutenberg.
- Ukrinform. (2023, February 17). *FM Kuleba calls for active support from West after Russia's deadly attack on Kherson*. <https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3640411-fm-kuleba-calls-for-active-support-from-west-after-russias-deadly-attack-on-kherson.html>
- U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. (2002). *Building America's Public Diplomacy Through a Reformed Structure and Additional Resources*.
- U.S. State Department. (2000). *U.S. Department of State's Strategic Plan. The Office of Management Policy and Planning*.
- Vincent, J. (2022, February 28). *Facebook removes Russian misinformation network pushing fake news about the war in Ukraine*.

<https://www.theverge.com/2022/2/28/22954451/facebook-twitter-remove-misinformation-network-russian-propaganda-ukraine-invasion>

Walker, S., & Harding, L. (2022, September 21). *Kyiv urges west to spell out how it would respond to Russian nuclear strike*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/sep/21/kyiv-urges-west-to-spell-out-how-it-would-respond-to-russian-nuclear-strike>

Walker, V. S. (2022, March 21). “*GLORY TO THE HEROES:” UKRAINE’S WAR FOR NARRATIVE CREDIBILITY*. <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/glory-heroes-ukraine%E2%80%99s-war-narrative-credibility>

Wang, J. (2006). Public diplomacy and global business. *JOURNAL OF BUSINESS STRATEGY*, 27(3), 41–49.

War Ukraine. (2022). *The Worlds Stands with Ukraine*. <https://war.ukraine.ua/the-world-stands-with-ukraine/>

Welch, D. (1999). Powers of Persuasion. *History Today*, 49(8).

White, O., Buehler, K., Smit, S., Greenberg, E., Mysore, M., Jain, R., Hirt, M., Govindarajan, A., & Chewning, E. (2022). *War in Ukraine: Twelve disruptions changing the world*.

Yusuf, M. (2022, July 25). *Lavrov Visit to Africa Seen as Effort to Counter Western Narratives*. <https://www.voanews.com/a/russian-visit-to-africa-seen-as-chance-to-counteract-western-narrative/6672953.html>

Zakrzewski, C., & de Vynck, G. (2022, March 2). *The Ukrainian leader who is pushing Silicon Valley to stand up to Russia*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2022/03/02/mykhailo-fedorov-ukraine-tech/>

Zakrzewskidan, C., & Vynck, G. de. (2022, March 2). *The Ukrainian leader who is pushing Silicon Valley to stand up to Russia* . <https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2022/03/02/mykhailo-fedorov-ukraine-tech/>

Zakrzewskim, C. (2022). *4,000 Letters and Four Hours of Sleep: Ukrainian Leader Wages Digital War*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2022/03/30/mykhailo-fedorov-ukraine-digital-front/>

Zaliznyak, Y. (2022, August 25). *Ukraine’s volunteer “IT army” responds to Russian hackers, minister says*. <https://abcnews.go.com/International/ukraines-volunteer-army-responds-russian-hackers-minister/story?id=88651955>

Zmuda, N. (2022). *Ukraine: How Google is helping*. <https://www.thinkwithgoogle.com/collections/how-google-is-supporting-ukraine/>

Zuriah, N. (2009). *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial Pendidikan Teori-Aplikasi*. PT Bumi Aksara.