

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Absor, Nur Fajar, Wahyudin, Arief Hidayat, and Rahayu Permana. "Kebangkitan Tiongkok Sebagai Raksasa Baru Dunia Tahun 1976-2013." *Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah* 11, no. 1 (2022): 16–34. <https://doi.org/10.21009/jps.111.02>.

"Additional Protocol for Verification of Nuclear Safeguards | IAEA." Diakses 7 Oktober, 2025. <https://www.iaea.org/topics/additional-protocol>.

Alexander, Don. "Mao: The Unknown Story." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 39, no. 4 (18 Desember, 2006): 979–80. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000842390641996X>.

Arikunto, Suharsimi. *Prosedur Penelitian: Suatu Pendekatan Praktik*. 15th ed. Jakarta: PT. Rineka Cipta, 2014.

"Arms Control Today: The Monthly Journal on Nonproliferation and Global Security.,," September 2021. <https://www.armscontrol.org/aca/1953>.

Bin, Li. "China's Potential to Contribute to Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament ." Arms Control Association, 3 Maret, 2011. <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2011-03/chinas-potential-contribute-multilateral-nuclear-disarmament>.

Bugos, Shannon, and Michael Klare. "Pentagon: Chinese Nuclear Arsenal Exceeds 400 Warheads | Arms Control Association," Februari, 2023. <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2023-01/news/pentagon-chinese-nuclear-arsenal-exceeds-400-warheads>.

Carlson, John. "Challenges to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime, and Implications for Nuclear Disarmament | Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade." Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 24 September, 2014. <https://www.dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Pages/challenges-to-the-nuclear-non-proliferation-regime-and-implications-for-nuclear-disarmament>.

Carlson, John. "Is the NPT Still Relevant?—How to Progress the NPT's Disarmament Provisions." *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 2, no. 1 (Mei 9, 2019): 97–113. <https://doi.org/10.1080/25751654.2019.1611187>.

———. "Is the NPT Still Relevant?—How to Progress the NPT's Disarmament Provisions." *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 2, no. 1 (9 Mei, 2019): 97–113. <https://doi.org/10.1080/25751654.2019.1611187>.

Chayes, Abram; Antonia Handler Chayes. *The New Sovereignty Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements*. Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, 1995.

“China Becomes A Nuclear Nation.” 2023. Diakses 22 Agustus, 2025. <https://www.atomicarchive.com/history/cold-war/page-12.html>.

“China’s Non-Proliferation Policy and Measures _Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China.” Diakses 13 Maret, 2025. https://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg_663340/jks_665232/kjlc_665236/fkswt_665240/202406/t20240606_11405135.html.

“China Nuclear Disarmament | Proposals and Progress,” 13 Agustus, 2025. <https://www.nti.org/analysis/articles/china-nuclear-disarmament/>.

China Radio International. “Delegasi Tiongkok Hadiri Konferensi IAEA,” 18 September, 2024. <https://indonesian.cri.cn/2024/09/18/ARTIFZfVlbFl3jcOp5xhjGIV240918.shtml>.

China Radio International. “Tiongkok Bersedia Bersama Berbagai Pihak Sejahterakan Lebih Banyak Negara Dengan Perkembangan Energi Nuklir,” 5 Juni, 2024. <https://indonesian.cri.cn/2024/06/05/ARTI0fiVJgLOyUGbGdVYnuqV240605.shtml>.

“China Urges Relevant Countries to Abolish ‘nuclear Sharing’ Arrangement: Spokesperson_China’s Diplomacy in the New Era.” Diaskes 7 Oktober, 2025. http://en.chinadiplomacy.org.cn/2024-07/27/content_117334273.shtml.

“Chinese Nuclear Weapons, 2025: Federation of American Scientists Reveals Latest Facts on Beijing’s Nuclear Buildup - Federation of American Scientists.” Diakses 2 September, 2025. <https://fas.org/publication/nuclear-notebook-china-2025/>.

Codification Division Office of Legal Affairs. “Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.” Audiovisual Library of International Law, 12 Juni, 1968. <https://legal.un.org/avl/ha/tnpt/tnpt.html>.

Cotta-Ramusino, Paolo. “Next Steps to Universal Nuclear Disarmament | United Nations.” United Nations, 1 Januari, 2009. <https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/next-steps-universal-nuclear-disarmament>.

CSIS Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. “China’s Military Activities in the South China Sea,” 2021.

Ezell, Stephen. “How Innovative Is China in Nuclear Power?” *Information Technology & Innovation Foundation*, 2024.

Ford, Harold P. “Calling the Sino-Soviet Split.” *Studies in Intelligence* 42, no. 5 (1999).

Department for Disarmament Affairs, United Nations. “The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT),” 27 Mei, 2005. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9798216959465.0016>.

Davenport, Kelsey. “China Rejects U.S. Invitation to Trilateral Arms Control Talks.” Arms Control Association (ACA), 2023.

Dorn, A. Walter, and Douglas S. Scott. “Compliance Mechanisms for Disarmament Treaties.” *Verification Research, Training and Information Centre*, 2000, 229–47. <https://walterdorn.net/27-compliance-mechanisms-for-disarmament-treaties>.

“Foreign Ministry Spokesperson’s Remarks on China Submitting Working Paper to the 3rd PrepCom of 11th NPT RevCon_Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China.” Diakses 6 Oktober, 2025. https://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg_663340/jks_665232/jkxw_665234/202504/t20250428_11606336.html.

France Diplomacy. “Nuclear Disarmament - Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs,” Juli 2024. <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/french-foreign-policy/security-disarmament-and-non-proliferation/disarmament-and-non-proliferation/treaty-on-the-non-proliferation-of-nuclear-weapons/nuclear-disarmament/>.

“Give Full Play to the Role of the NPT in Promoting Peace and Development in the New Era_Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China.” Diakses 7 Oktober, 2025. https://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg_663340/jks_665232/kjfywj_665252/202504/t20250425_11604415.html.

Hibbs, Mark. “China’s Evolving Nuclear Safeguards,” 2022.

Grant, Thomas D. “China’s Nuclear Build-Up and Article VI NPT: Legal Text and Strategic Challenge.” Vol. 1, 2021.

Grant, Thomas D. “China’s Nuclear Buildup Violates the NPT - The National Interest,” 12 Juni, 2022. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/chinas-nuclear-buildup-violates-npt-202922>.

Gul, Azeem, Muhammad Munir, Munawar Hussain, and Mujahid Hussain. “Revisiting US–China Strategic Competition in Central Asia and Its Impact on Pakistan.” *Journal of Public Affairs* 22, no. S1 (1 Desember, 2022). <https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.2764>

Garver, John W. *Foreign Relations of the People’s Republic of China*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice Hall, 1992.

Graetzer, Hans G. “China Explodes Its First Nuclear Bomb | Research Starters | EBSCO Research.” 2023. <https://www.ebsco.com/research-starters/history/china-explodes-its-first-nuclear-bomb>.

Havren, Dr Sari Arho. "China's No First Use of Nuclear Weapons Policy: Change or False Alarm?," 2023.

Holt, Mark; Paul K. Kerr; Nikitin; Mary Beth D. "U.S.-China Nuclear Cooperation Agreement," 18 Agustus, 2015. <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/RL33192>.

Hood, Anna. "Roadblocks to Disarmament in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty System." *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 28, no. 3 (2023): 593–614. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcsl/krad011>.

IAEA.org. "IAEA Nuclear Verification Report 2019." Diakses 7 Oktober, 2025. <https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/publications/reports/2019/gc64-3-nuclear-verification.pdf>.

ICRC. "China: A Conference to Mark the 40th Anniversary of the Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions," 2017. <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/china-40-anniversary-additional-protocols-geneva-conventions#:~:text=%22Protokol Tambahan beserta Konvensi Jenewa,operasi kemanusiaannya di seluruh dunia>.

_____. "ICRC Briefing Note: Safeguards and the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons," 2017, 1–6. (www.icrc.org).

"India, China & NPT - World Nuclear Association." Diakses 1 September, 2025. <https://world-nuclear.org/information-library/appendices/india,-china-npt>.

Indrasari, Yanuar. "Peran Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Dalam Mencegah Penyebaran Senjata Nuklir Di Iran," 2008. <https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/120663>.

Kimball, Daryl. "Timeline of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) | Arms Control Association." Mei, 2025. <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/timeline-nuclear-nonproliferation-treaty-npt>.

Kirchner, Gerald, and Stefan Oeter. "Chapter 8 Technical Limits of Verification and Their Implications for Treaty Design." In *Nuclear Non-Proliferation in International Law: Volume II Verification and Compliance*, edited by Jonathan L. Black-Branch and Dieter Fleck, II:167–86. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press, 2015. https://sci-hub.se/https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6265-075-6_8.

Kobayashi, Yuki. "Observations on Lack of Transparency in China's Nuclear Arms Expansion: Ahead of the NPT Review Conference." *Sasakawa Peace Foundation China Observer*, 17 Agustus, 2022. <https://www.spf.org/spf-china-observer/en/document-detail039.html#note2>.

Kobayashi, Yuki. "Signs of China's Resumption of Nuclear Tests: Strong Determination to Bolster Nuclear Force and the Crisis of Nuclear Proliferation | SPF China Observer | The Sasakawa Peace Foundation," 4 April, 2023. <https://www.spf.org/spf-china-observer/en/document-detail042.html>.

Kristensen, Hans M.; Matt Korda; Eliana Johns; Mackenzie Knight. "Chinese Nuclear Weapons, 2025." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 81, no. 2 (4 Maret, 2025): 135–160. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00963402.2025.2467011>.

Lee, Manseok; Michael Nacht. "Challenges to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty." *Quarterly* 2020, no. 3 (2020): 95–120. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26937413>.

Mackby, Jenifer. "The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty," 10 Mei, 2010. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/nuclear-non-proliferation-treaty>.

Masni, Melly. "Norm Exemption in States' NPT Nuclear Disarmament Obligations." *Global: Jurnal Politik Internasional* 23, no. 1 (2021): 80. <https://doi.org/10.7454/global.v23i1.489>.

Medeiros, Evan Sabino. "Integrating a Rising Power Into Global Nonproliferation Regimes: US-China Negotiations and Interactions on Nonproliferation, 1980-2001," 2002. <https://www.proquest.com/openview/6093b6312b43d31c542afd2151a20861/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=51922&diss=y>.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China (MFA China). "Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Zhao Lijian's Regular Press Conference on September 16, 2021." MFA China, 2021.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. "Statement of the Chinese Delegation at the Thematic Debate on Nuclear Disarmament at the 64th Session of the UNGA First Committee," 15 Oktober, 2009. https://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg_663340/jks_665232/kjfywj_665252/02406/t20240606_11405303.html.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. "Statement on Strengthening the Review Process General Issues at the 3rd Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 11th NPT Review Conference," 9 Mei, 2025. https://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg_663340/jks_665232/kjfywj_665252/02505/t20250509_11618165.html.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China (MFA China). "Statement by H.E. Mr. Fu Cong, Head of the Chinese Delegation, at the General Debate of the Tenth Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China (MFA China), 2022.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China (MFA China). “Statement by the Delegation of the People's Republic of China at the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2021 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,” 2020.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) Tiongkok. “Full Text: China's National Defense in the New Era,” 24 Juli, 2019. https://english.www.gov.cn/archive/whitepaper/201907/24/content_WS5d3941ddc6d08408f502283d.html.

Mitchell, Ronald B. “Institutional Aspects of Implementation, Compliance, and Effectiveness,” 2001.

Moleong, Lexy J. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2005.

“Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty - Office for Disarmament Affairs - Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific (UNRCPD).” Diakses 2 September, 2025. <https://www.unrcpd.org/wmd/the-nuclear-non-proliferation-treaty/>.

“Nuclear Weapons | Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.” Diakses 2 September, 2025. <https://www.dfat.gov.au/international-relations/security/non-proliferation-disarmament-arms-control/nuclear-weapons#treaty>.

Nuclear Weapons Ban Monitor. “China Nuclear-Armed State,” 2024. <https://banmonitor.org/profiles/china>.

Office of the Secretary of Defense. “Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China.” A Report to Congress, 2021.

Office of the Secretary of Defense. “Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China.” Annual Report to Congress, 2020.

_____. “Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2020: Annual Report to Congress,” 2022.

Pande, Savita. “Chinese Nuclear Doctrine.” *A Monthly Journal of the IDSA* 23, no. 12 (Maret, 2000). https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/olj/sa/sa_00pas01.html.

Pan, Zhenqiang. “A Study of China's No-First-Use Policy on Nuclear Weapons.” *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 1, no. 1 (2018): 115–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/25751654.2018.1458415>.

Pro, Supriyadi. “16 Oktober 1964 Uji Coba Nuklir Pertama Tiongkok,” 2024. <https://domestik.co.id/16-oktober-1964-udi-coba-nuklir-pertama-tiongkok/>.

R. Young, Oran. *Compliance And Public Authority: A Theory with International Applications*. 1st ed. New York: RFF Press, 2011. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315064475>.

Ramadinov, Adibio, Amanda Fathona Fadhila, Dyanzah Aji Haptoro, Ema Septaria, and M. Ilham Adepio. "Pelanggaran Asas Good Faith Terhadap Perjanjian Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Oleh Korea Utara." *Majelis : Jurnal Hukum Indonesia* 2, no. 2 (2025).

SIPRI Yearbook 2023. "Armaments, Disarmament, and International Security," 2023. <http://books.google.com.mx/books?id=EAyQ9KCJE2gC>.

Sadiq, Muhammad. "China's Nuclear Policy: A Realistic Assessment." *Pakistan Journal of Social Research*, 2021, 313–20.

Sankaran, Jaganath. "Missile Defenses and Strategic Stability in Asia: Evidence from Simulations." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 20, no. 3 (2020): 485–508. <https://doi.org/10.1017/jea.2020.10>.

Shullman, David O.; John K. Culver; Kitsch Liao; Samantha Wong. *Adapting US Strategy to Account for China's Transformation Into a Peer Nuclear Power*. 2024. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/adapting-us-strategy-to-account-for-chinas-transformation-into-a-peer-nuclear-power/>.

Smith, R. Jeffrey. "Clinton Decides to Retain Bush Nuclear Arms Policy." *Washington Post*, 1994.

"Statement by Chinese Delegation at the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for 2020 NPT Review Conference on Nuclear Non-Proliferation_Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China." Diakses 7 Oktober, 2025. https://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg_663340/jks_665232/kjfywj_665252/202406/t20240606_11405380.html.

"Statement on Nuclear Non-Proliferation by Delegation of China at the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2026 NPT Review Conference_Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China." Diakses 6 Oktober, 2025.

"Statement on Nuclear Non-Proliferation by Sun Xiaobo, Director-General of the Department of Arms Control of the Foreign Ministry of China, at the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2026 NPT Review Conference." Diakses 6 Oktober, 2025. https://geneva.china-mission.gov.cn/eng/dbdt/202407/t20240729_11462020.htm.

Sulaiman, Vera Zerlinda Alamsyah. "China's Policy in Refusing North Korea Nuclear Proliferation." *Global: Jurnal Politik Internasional* 22, no. 1 (2 Juli, 2020): 100. <https://doi.org/10.7454/global.v22i1.481>.

The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN). “China | Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.” Diakses 14 Maret, 2025. <https://www.icanw.org/china>.

The State Council The People’s Republic of China. “Xi, Bangladeshi President Exchange Congratulations on 50th Anniversary of Ties,” 4 Oktober, 2025. https://english.www.gov.cn/news/202510/04/content_WS68e0a7f4c6d00ca5f9a0695d.html.

“Translation: 14th Five-Year Plan for National Informatization – Dec. 2021.” Diakses 7 Oktober, 2025. <https://digichina.stanford.edu/work/translation-14th-five-year-plan-for-national-informatization-dec-2021/>.

“Upholding the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons for World Peace and Development Remarks by H.E. Ambassador Fu Cong, Head of the Chinese Delegation and Director-General of the Department of Arms Control of The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, At the 10th Review Conference of the Parties to the NPT Permanent Mission of the People’s Republic of China to the UN.” Diakses 7 Oktober, 2025. https://un.chinamission.gov.cn/eng/chinaandun/disarmament_armscontrol/npt/202208/t20220803_10732606.htm.

Waltz, Kenneth N. *Man, the State and War a Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Weiss, Leonard. “Nuclear-Weapon States and the Grand Bargain.” Arms Control Association. Diakses 2 September, 2025. <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2003-12/features/nuclear-weapon-states-and-grand-bargain#article1>.

Wezeman, Siemon, and Shannon N. Kile. “SIPRI Yearbook 2021: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security.” *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)*, 2021.

Wira, AP. “Tahun Ini Genap 40 Tahun Bergabungnya Tiongkok Dalam IAEA.” Radio Bharata Online, 19 September, 2024. <https://bharataradio738.com/beritalengkap/Pb7m3gIsJA>.

Xinping, Gu. “China Pursues Policy of Nuclear Non-Proliferation.” China Atomic Energy Authority, 22 September, 2004. <https://www.caea.gov.cn/english/n6759374/n6759376/c6793216/content.htm>

Zebua, Irwan Sulaiman. “Perundingan Six-Party Talks: Upaya Menyelesaikan Isu Nuklir Korea Utara (2003-2009).” *Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Humaniora* 8, no. 6 (2025): 27–38.

Zhang, Hongyu. “China Opposing Nuclear Nonproliferation: A Rational Policy with an Ideological Mask.” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 56, no. 2 (1 Maret, 2021): 300–319. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909620920313>.

Zhang, Hui "China's Nuclear Weapons Strategy and Modernization Program." International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility, 2021. <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/chinas-nuclear-weapons-strategy-and-modernization-program>.

Zhang, Min. "China's Changing Nuclear Posture." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Maret 1998, 5–6.

Zhao, Tong. "Political Drivers of China's Changing Nuclear Policy Implications for U.S.-China Nuclear Relations and International Security," 2024.

Zhang, Xinjun. "Intentional Ambiguity and the Rule of Interpretation in the Autointerpretation of 'Inalienable Right' in the NPT Article IV." *Law and Politics in Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy*. Singapore: Springer, 2024. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-97-3813-7_5.

