

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adriansyah, P. A. Z., Siswandi, R. A. G. C., & Mulyana, I. (2023). The Role of the Paris Agreement in Ensuring Compliance with the CBDR-RC Principle through the Compliance Mechanism. *Padjadjaran Journal of International Law*, 7(1). <https://doi.org/10.23920/pjil.v7i1.1324>
- Anthony, T. (2023, September 21). *China, at UN, presents itself as a member of the Global South as alternative to a Western model*. AP News. <https://apnews.com/article/un-china-global-south-general-assembly-d8620e4502757c4de9ab41543f14ecb>
- Bandurski, D. (2023, August 30). *What Does Xi Jinping Mean By "Forever"?* China Media Project. <https://chinamediaproject.org/2023/08/30/what-does-xi-jinping-mean-by-forever/>
- Bohua, H. E. X. (2013). *G-77 and China: A Symbol of Solidarity Among Developing Countries*. Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Vanuatu. [http://vu.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/sgdt/202210/t20221021\\_10789480.htm](http://vu.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/sgdt/202210/t20221021_10789480.htm)
- China Power Team. (2022, December 20). *Unpacking China's GDP*. ChinaPower Project. <https://chinapower.csis.org/tracker/china-gdp/>
- Climate Action Tracker. (2019). *Countries | Climate Action Tracker*. Climateactiontracker.org. <https://climateactiontracker.org/countries/>
- Climate Action Tracker. (2024, September). *China*. Climateactiontracker.org. <https://climateactiontracker.org/countries/china/>
- Climate Analytics. (2024). *What is China's pathway to limit global warming to 1.5C?* Climateanalytics.org. <https://1p5ndc-pathways.climateanalytics.org/countries/china/ambition-gap>
- Collier, D. (2011). Understanding Process Tracing. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44(04), 823–830. <https://polisci.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/people/u3827/Understanding%20Process%20Tracing.pdf>
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications. <https://www.ceil-conicet.gov.ar/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/CRESWELLQualitative-Inquiry-and-Research-Design-Creswell.pdf>

- Deng, Y., Fuentes, U., Hare, B., Welder, L., & Gidden, M. (2020). *US and China Climate Goals: Scenarios for 2030 and Mid-Century*. Asia Society Policy Institute & Climate Analytics. [https://cal-clm.edcdn.com/assets/aspi-ca-us\\_chinaclimategoals-2020.pdf](https://cal-clm.edcdn.com/assets/aspi-ca-us_chinaclimategoals-2020.pdf)
- Dunmire, P. L. (2012). Political Discourse Analysis: Exploring the Language of Politics and the Politics of Language. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 6(11), 735–751. <https://doi.org/10.1002/lnc3.365>
- Farhan, J. A. (2018). “Century of humiliation” and its influence on modern Chinese politics with special emphasis on China — Japan relations. *ACTA ASIATICA VARSOVIENSIA*, 31, 149–163. <https://journals.indexcopernicus.com/api/file/viewByFileId/847388>
- Geall, S. (2021, September 24). *China's pledge to kick the coal habit comes at a critical moment for the planet*. The Guardian; The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/sep/24/china-pledge-coal-beijing-climate-crisis>
- Gottwald, J.-C., & Duggan, N. (2011). Expectations and Adaptation: China's Foreign Policies in a Changing Global Environment. *International Journal of China Studies*, 2(1), 1–26. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1271623979?pq-origsite=gscholar&sourcetype=Scholarly%20Journals>
- Hallding, K., Olsson, M., Atteridge, A., Vihma, A., Carson, M., & Roman, M. (2011). Together Alone BASIC countries and the climate change conundrum. In *Sei.org. Nordic Council of Ministers*. <https://www.sei.org/mediamanager/documents/Publications/SEI-2011-Report-TogetherAloneBASICCountries.pdf>
- Harper, T. (2019, July 11). *How the Century of Humiliation Influences China's Ambitions Today*. Imperial & Global Forum. <https://imperialglobalexeter.com/2019/07/11/how-the-century-of-humiliation-influences-chinas-ambitions-today/>
- HASENCLEVER, A., MAYER, P., & RITTBERGER, V. (2000). Integrating theories of international regimes. *Review of International Studies*, 26(1), 3–33. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0260210500000036>
- Hasenclever, A., Mayer, P., & Rittberger, V. (1996). Interests, Power, Knowledge: The Study of International Regimes. *Mershon International Studies Review*, 40(2), 177. <https://doi.org/10.2307/222775>

- Energy Agency. (2023, July 11). *Coal*. IEA. <https://www.iea.org/energy-system/fossil-fuels/coal>
- International Monetary Fund. (2024). *GDP per Capita, Current Prices*. Imf.org; International Monetary Fund. <https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/NGDPDPC@WEO/OEMDC/ADVEC/WEOWORLD>
- Jiang, C. (2022). Revisiting “Leadership” in Global Climate Governance: China’s Normative Engagement with the CBDRs Principle. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 15(2). <https://doi.org/10.1093/cjip/poac007>
- Kasa, S., Gullberg, A. T., & Heggelund, G. (2007). The Group of 77 in the international climate negotiations: recent developments and future directions. *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, 8(2), 113–127. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10784-007-9060-4>
- Kaufman, A. (2011). *The “Century of Humiliation” and China’s National Narratives* (p. 2). <https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/3.10.11Kaufman.pdf>
- Kemp, J. (2024, March 25). China’s hydro generators wait for the rains to come. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/markets/commodities/chinas-hydro-generators-wait-rains-come-2024-03-22/>
- Keohane, R. O. (1988). International Institutions: Two Approaches. *International Studies Quarterly*, 32(4), 379–396.
- Krasner, S. D. (1982). Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables. *International Organization*, 36(2), 185–205. JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2706520>
- Lai, H. (2021). The evolution of China’s climate change policy: international and domestic political economy and a strategy for working with China. *Journal of the British Academy*, 9(s10), 69–98. <https://doi.org/10.5871/jba/009s10.069>
- Lesolle, D. (2009). *The Group of 77 and China’s participation in climate change negotiations - Publications*. Heinrich Böll Stiftung | Cape Town. <https://za.boell.org/en/2014/02/03/group-77-and-chinas-participation-climate-change-negotiations-publications>
- Li, M., Ma, Q., Shan, R., Abdulla, A., Virguez, E., Gao, S., & Patiño-Echeverri D. (2024). Renewable energy quality trilemma and coincident wind and solar droughts. *Communications Earth & Environment*, 5(1). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43247-024-01850-5>

Li, X. (2024). *Accelerating the Development of Renewable Energy in China to Support the Global Target of Tripling Installed Capacity*. The Institute for Global Decarbonization Progress.

<https://www.igdp.cn/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/2024-11-15-IGDP-Policy-Brief-EN-Accelerating-the-Development-of-Renewable-Energy-in-China-to-Support-the-Global-Target-of-Tripling-Installed-Capacity.pdf>

Liu, H., Evans, S., Zhang, Z., Song, W., & You, X. (2023, November 30). *The Carbon Brief Profile: China*. Carbon Brief.

<https://interactive.carbonbrief.org/the-carbon-brief-profile-china/index.html#industry>

Mazzocco, I. (2022). How Inequality Is Undermining China's Prosperity. *Www.csis.org*.

<https://www.csis.org/analysis/how-inequality-undermining-chinas-prosperity>

Ministry of Ecology and Environment of The People's Republic of China. (2021). China's Achievements, New Goals, and New Measures for Nationally Determined Contributions. In United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Change (Ed.), *United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Change*. <https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/NDC/2022-06/China%E2%80%99s%20Achievements%2C%20New%20Goals%20and%20New%20Measures%20for%20Nationally%20Determined%20Contributions.pdf#page71>

Ministry of Ecology and Environment of The People's Republic of China. (2022). *China's Policies and Actions For Addressing Climate Change (2022)*. <https://english.mee.gov.cn/Resources/Reports/reports/202211/P020221110605466439270.pdf>

Ministry of Ecology and Environment of the People's Republic of China. (2024). *China's Policies and Actions Addressing Climate Change 2024 Annual Report Ministry of Ecology and Environment of the People's Republic of China*. [https://english.mee.gov.cn/News\\_service/news\\_release/202501/P020250122370358250549.pdf#page59](https://english.mee.gov.cn/News_service/news_release/202501/P020250122370358250549.pdf#page59)

Myllyvirta, L., Qin, Q., Qiu, C., & Shen, X. (2023). China's Climate Transition: Outlook 2023. In K. Miller & H. Ekberg (Eds.), *The Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air*. The Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air. [https://energyandcleanair.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/CREA\\_BOELL\\_China-s-Climate-Transition-Outlook-2023\\_EN2.pdf#page29](https://energyandcleanair.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/CREA_BOELL_China-s-Climate-Transition-Outlook-2023_EN2.pdf#page29)

Myllyvirta, L., Zhang, X., & Dong, L. (2022). China's Climate Transition: Outlook 2022. In *Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air*. Centre for Research on Energy and

Clean

Air.

[https://energyandcleanair.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Chinas-Climate-Transition\\_Outlook-2022.pdf](https://energyandcleanair.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Chinas-Climate-Transition_Outlook-2022.pdf)

ND-Gain Country Index. (2022). *ND-GAIN Country Index rankings | ND-GAIN Index*. Gain-New.crc.nd.edu. <https://gain-new.crc.nd.edu/ranking>

Patel, A. (2024, November). *Experts: What to expect in China's climate pledge for 2035 - Carbon Brief*. Carbon Brief. <https://www.carbonbrief.org/experts-what-to-expect-in-chinas-climate-pledge-for-2035/>

Pauw, P., Bauer, S., Richerzhagen, C., Brandi, C., & Schmole, H. (2014). *Different Perspectives on Differentiated Responsibilities A State-of-the-Art Review of the Notion of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities in International Negotiations*. [https://www.idos-research.de/uploads/media/DP\\_6.2014..pdf](https://www.idos-research.de/uploads/media/DP_6.2014..pdf)

Qi, J. J., & Dauvergne, P. (2022). China's rising influence on climate governance: Forging a path for the global South. *Global Environmental Change*, 73, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2022.102484>

Qiang, L. (2024). Report on the Work of the Government: Delivered at the Second Session of the 14th National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China on March 5, 2024. In *english*. [www.gov.cn](http://www.gov.cn). [https://english.www.gov.cn/news/202403/13/content\\_WS65f0dfccc6d0868f4e8e5079.html](https://english.www.gov.cn/news/202403/13/content_WS65f0dfccc6d0868f4e8e5079.html)

Reuters. (2022, August 26). Explainer: The power crunch in China's Sichuan and why it matters. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/china/power-crunch-chinas-sichuan-why-it-matters-2022-08-26/>

Ritchie, H., & Roser, M. (2020). CO<sub>2</sub> and Greenhouse Gas Emissions. *Our World in Data*. <https://ourworldindata.org/co2/country/china>

Rizvi, O. (2023, December 5). *Bloc profile: the G77 at COP28*. Illuminem.com. <https://illuminem.com/illuminemvoices/bloc-profile-the-g77-at-cop28>

Sandalow, D., Meidan, M., Andrews-Speed, P., Hove, A., Yue, S., & Downie, E. (2022). *GUIDE TO CHINESE CLIMATE POLICY 2022*. <https://chineseclimatepolicy.oxfordenergy.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Guide-to-Chinese-Climate-Policy-2022.pdf>

- Shapovalova, D. (2021). ~A~ - In Defence of the Principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities. In B. Mayer & A. Zahar (Eds.), *Cambridge University Press eBooks* (pp. 63–75). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108879064.006>
- Slotta, D. (2024, November 21). *Territorial carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) emissions from fossil fuel combustion and industrial processes in China from 1960 to 2023*. Statista. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/239093/co2-emissions-in-china/>
- Tarzi, S. M. (2003). International Regimes and International Relations Theory: Search for Synthesis. *International Studies*, 40(1), 23–39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002088170304000102>
- Textor, C. (2024, November 21). *Foreign direct investment (FDI) into China*. Statista. <https://www.statista.com/topics/8962/foreign-direct-investment-fdi-into-china/>
- The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China. (2023, September 26). *Full Text: A Global Community of Shared Future: China's Proposals and Actions*. Scio.gov.cn. [http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/zfbps\\_2279/202309/t20230926\\_771260\\_m.html](http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/zfbps_2279/202309/t20230926_771260_m.html)
- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, (1992). [https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/convention\\_text\\_with\\_annexes\\_english\\_for\\_posting.pdf](https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/convention_text_with_annexes_english_for_posting.pdf)
- United Nations. (2015). *Paris Agreement*. United Nations. [https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/english\\_paris\\_agreement.pdf](https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/english_paris_agreement.pdf)
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2024). *World Economic Situation and Prospects 2024*. United Nations. [https://www.un.org/development/desa/dpad/wp-content/uploads/sites/45/WESP\\_2024\\_Web.pdf](https://www.un.org/development/desa/dpad/wp-content/uploads/sites/45/WESP_2024_Web.pdf)
- United Nations Development Programme. (2022, September 8). *HDI | China*. Hdr.undp.org. <https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/specific-country-data#/countries/CHN>
- United Nations Environment Programme. (2022). *Emissions Gap Report 2022 The Closing Window: Climate crisis calls for rapid transformation of societies*. United Nations Environment Programme.
- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. (n.d.). *What Is the Kyoto Protocol?* UNFCCC. [https://unfccc.int/kyoto\\_protocol](https://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol)



- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. (2015). *The Paris Agreement*. United Nations Climate Change; United Nations. <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement>
- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. (2020). *Parties & Observers*. Unfccc.int; UNFCCC. <https://unfccc.int/parties-observers>
- Wang, X., Peszko, G., Brandon, C., Batmanian, G., Murisic, M., Ji, Z., Sha, F., Qiang, L., Ward, J., Ritz, Dr. R., Kejun, J., Wenying, C., Fei, T., Ke, W., Linwei, L., Xiu, Y., Yi, C., Jingfu, W., Shuaixiong, F., & Xueqin, C. (2016). Pursuing an Innovative Development Pathway: Understanding China's NDC. In *National Center for Climate Change Strategy and International Cooperation (NCSC)*. [http://www.ncsc.org.cn/yjcg/international\\_review/201801/P020180920511270191310.pdf](http://www.ncsc.org.cn/yjcg/international_review/201801/P020180920511270191310.pdf)
- Wang, Z. (2014, June 16). In China, "History Is a Religion." *The Diplomat*.com. <https://thediplomat.com/2014/06/in-china-history-is-a-religion/>
- Welder, L., Grant, N., Aboumahboub, T., & Eyson, C. (2023). *Wind and solar benchmarks for a 1.5°C world*. Climate Analytics. <https://climateanalytics.org/publications/wind-and-solar-benchmarks-for-a-1-5-c-world>
- Wendt, A. (1994). Collective Identity Formation and the International State. *American Political Science Review*, 88(2).
- Wendt, A. (2003). *Social theory of international politics*. Cambridge University Press. <http://www.guillaumenicaise.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Wendt-Social-Theory-of-International-Politics.pdf>
- World Bank. (2024, April 20). *The World Bank In China*. World Bank. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/china/overview>
- Xi, J. (2017). *Full text of Xi Jinping's report at 19th CPC National Congress - China - Chinadaily.com.cn*. [Www.chinadaily.com.cn. https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/19thcpcnationalcongress/2017-11/04/content\\_34115212.htm](https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/19thcpcnationalcongress/2017-11/04/content_34115212.htm)
- Xi, J. (2022). *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China* (Vol. 4). The Publicity Department of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council Information Office.
- Xi, J. (2023). *In Their Own Words: Translations from Chinese source documents Basic Issues of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era*. China Aerospace Studies Institute.

<https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/CASI/documents/Translations/2023-10-30%20ITOW%20Xi%20Jinping%20Thought%20on%20Socialism%20with%20Chinese%20Characteristics%20for%20a%20New%20Era.pdf>

- Xu, D., Wang, J., & Zhao, W. (2022). The confucian concept of “Governance” and its contemporary value1. *Trans/Form/Ação*, 45, 15–36.  
<https://www.redalyc.org/journal/3842/384272246002/html/>
- Yang, J. (2022). Understanding China's Changing Engagement in Global Climate governance: a Struggle for Identity. *Asia Europe Journal*, 20.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10308-021-00643-1>
- Yang, S., Liu, C., & Zhang, C. (2022, October 14). *New march begins – How will CPC lead China to next centenary goal? - Global Times*. [Www.globaltimes.cn](http://www.globaltimes.cn).  
<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202210/1277160.shtml>
- Yi, C. (2020, May 1). *Predicting the Future: China's Composite National Strength in 2049*. [Www.strategictranslation.org](http://www.strategictranslation.org).  
<https://www.strategictranslation.org/articles/predicting-the-future-chinas-composite-national-strength-in-2049>
- Yu, X., & Xu, Z. (2021). 中国应对气候变化“不够有雄心”？汪文斌举数据回应. [Thepaper.cn](http://Thepaper.cn). [https://m.thepaper.cn/newsDetail\\_forward\\_15169346](https://m.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_15169346)