

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Aboudouh, A. (2023, March 21). China's mediation between Saudi and Iran is no cause for panic in Washington. *Atlantic Council*.  
<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/chinas-mediation-between-saudi-and-iran-is-no-cause-for-panic-in-washington/>
- Acharya, A. (2004). How ideas spread: Whose norms matter? Norm localization and institutional change in Asian regionalism. *International Organization*, 58(02), 239–275.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818304582024>
- Al-Sudairi, M., Hai, S. J., & Alahmad, K. (2023, August 1). How Saudi Arabia Bent China to Its Technoscientific Ambitions. *Carnegie Eendowment.org*.  
<https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2023/08/how-saudi-arabia-bent-china-to-its-technoscientific-ambitions?lang=en>
- Alsmadi, F. (2024, April 19). Opportunities and Challenges Along the Path of Saudi-Iran Relations Opportunities and Challenges Along the Path of Saudi-Iran Relations. *Middle East Council on Global Affairs*. [https://mecouncil.org/publication\\_chapters/opportunities-and-challenges-along-the-path-of-saudi-iran-relations/](https://mecouncil.org/publication_chapters/opportunities-and-challenges-along-the-path-of-saudi-iran-relations/)
- Arase, D. (2023). China's Global Security Initiative: Narratives, Origins and Implications. In *Southeast Asian Affairs 2023* (pp. 34–50). ISEAS--Yusof Ishak Institute.  
<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789815104189-004>
- Ashizawa, K. (2008). When Identity Matters: State Identity, Regional Institution-Building, and Japanese Foreign Policy. *International Studies Review*, 10(3), 571–598.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/25481993>
- Barkawi, T., & Laffey, M. (2006). The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies. *Review of International Studies*, 32(2), 329–352.
- Behnke, A. (2001). Grand Theory in the Age of its Impossibility: Contemplations on Alexander Wendt. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 36(1), 121–134.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/45084020>
- Bilgin, P. (2010). The “Western-Centrism” of Security Studies: “Blind Spot” or Constitutive Practice?. *Security Dialogue*, 41(6), 615–622.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010610388208>
- Blanchette, J. (2022, September 2). The Edge of an Abyss: Xi Jinping's Overall National Security Outlook | China Leadership Monitor. *China Leadership*.  
<https://www.prcleader.org/post/the-edge-of-an-abyss-xi-jinping-s-overall-national-security-outlook>
- Borck, T. (2023). Kingdom of Change: Saudi Arabia's Evolving Foreign Policy. *RUSI*.  
<https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/kingdom-change-saudi-arabias-evolving-foreign-policy>
- Chen, L., & Al-Mugharabi, N. (2024, July 23). China brokers Palestinian unity deal, but doubts persist. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/hamas-fatah-meet-with-media-china-after-reconciliation-talks-2024-07-23/>
- Chen, S. (2024, July 24). China Heralds New Dawn of Hope in the Middle East. *China Daily*.  
<https://global.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202407/24/WS66a0ac50a31095c51c50fb7f.html>



- Cheong, D. (2022, May 8). Xi offers a plan for global security but will there be takers? *The Straits Times*. <https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/powerplay-xi-offers-a-plan-for-global-security-but-will-there-be-takers>
- China Daily. (2023, March). Security Initiative Works in the Middle East: China's Diplomacy in the New Era. *China Diplomacy*. [http://en.chinadiplomacy.org.cn/gsi/2024-02/23/content\\_117015833.shtml](http://en.chinadiplomacy.org.cn/gsi/2024-02/23/content_117015833.shtml)
- China Global Television Network. (2023). *Full text: Joint statement by China, Saudi Arabia and Iran*. <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2023-03-11/Full-text-Joint-statement-by-China-Saudi-Arabia-and-Iran-1i4OS18bzos/index.html>
- China Global Television Network Times News. (2023). *The Global Security Initiative Concept Paper*. <https://news.cgtn.com/news/files/The-Global-Security-Initiative-Concept-Paper.pdf>
- China Institute for International Studies. (2024). *Report on the Implementation Progress of the Global Security Initiative*. [https://www.ciis.org.cn/english/NEWS\\_183/202407/W020240718536292251492.pdf](https://www.ciis.org.cn/english/NEWS_183/202407/W020240718536292251492.pdf)
- Chomsky, N. (2008). *Hegemony or survival: America's quest for global dominance*. Penguin.
- Daly, F. (2024, June 27). Why is China called middle country? *Geographic FAQ Hub: Answers to Your Global Questions*. <https://www.ncesc.com/geographic-faq/why-is-china-called-middle-country/>
- Das, R. (2009). Critical Social Constructivism: "Culturing" Identity, (In)s Security, and The State in International Relations Theory. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 70(4), 961–982. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42744013>
- Debora, Y., & Sri Handayani, M.S. (2017, May 10). Jejak Permusuhan Iran dan Arab Saudi. *Tirto*. <https://tirto.id/jejak-permusuhan-iran-dan-arab-saudi-couS>
- Drinhausen, K., & Legarda, H. (2022). "Comprehensive National Security" unleashed: How Xi's approach shapes China's policies at home and abroad. *MERICs*. <https://merics.org/en/report/comprehensive-national-security-unleashed-how-xis-approach-shapes-chinas-policies-home-and>
- Ekman, A. (2022). *China's Global Security Initiative: When the process matters more than the content*. *When the process matters more than the content on JSTOR*. European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS).
- Embassy of the PRC in Papua New Guinea (2003). China's Position Paper on the New Security Concept (06/08/2002). [http://pg.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/xwdt/200311/t20031125\\_889727.htm](http://pg.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/xwdt/200311/t20031125_889727.htm)
- Embassy of the PRC in the Philippines. (2023). Wang Yi: Saudi-Iranian Dialogue in Beijing is a Victory for Peace. [http://ph.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/chinew/202303/t20230313\\_11039691.htm](http://ph.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/chinew/202303/t20230313_11039691.htm)
- Farida, M. (2024, February 1). What is Iran's "axis of resistance" and why is it uniting in fury against the US and Israel? *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/what-is-irans-axis-of-resistance-and-why-is-it-uniting-in-fury-against-the-us-and-israel-222281>
- Figueroa, W. (2023, March 24). *Iran-Saudi Normalization: A Regional Process with Chinese Characteristics*. Foreign Policy Research Institute. <https://www.fpri.org/article/2023/03/iran-saudi-normalization-a-regional-process-with-chinese-characteristics/>



- Foucault, M. (1984). The Subject and Power. In *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (pp. 208–226). University of Chicago Press.
- Firdaousse, I. (2024, August 7). *Iran: A Rising Regional Power and Its Diplomatic Relations*. Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies.  
[https://tasam.org/en/Icerik/72627/iran\\_a\\_rising\\_regional\\_power\\_and\\_its\\_diplomatic\\_relations](https://tasam.org/en/Icerik/72627/iran_a_rising_regional_power_and_its_diplomatic_relations)
- Frachon, A. (2024, October 3). Iran is trapped in the network of regional alliances it developed to ensure the security of its regime. *Le Monde*. [https://www.lemonde.fr/en/opinion/article/2024/10/03/iran-finds-itself-trapped-in-a-network-of-regional-alliances-to-ensure-the-security-of-its-regime\\_6728056\\_23.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/en/opinion/article/2024/10/03/iran-finds-itself-trapped-in-a-network-of-regional-alliances-to-ensure-the-security-of-its-regime_6728056_23.html)
- Frantzman, S. J. (2023, May 30). How Saudi Arabia reinvented itself. *The Spectator*.  
<https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/how-saudi-arabia-reinvented-itself/>
- Fravel, M. T. (2024). China's Global Security Initiative at Two: A Journey, Not a Destination. | China Leadership Monitor. *China Leadership Monitor*, 80.  
<https://www.prcleader.org/post/china-s-global-security-initiative-at-two-a-journey-not-a-destination>
- Gadzo, M. (2023, March 11). What the Iran-Saudi deal says about China's role as a mediator. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/3/11/changing-global-order-china-restores-ties-with-iran-and-saudi>
- Ghafar, A. A., & Shehaby, H. E. (2024, October 20). The Belt and Road Initiative Ten Years On: China and the Middle East in a Changing Geopolitical Landscape. *Middle East Council on Global Affairs*. <https://mecouncil.org/publication/the-belt-and-road-initiative-ten-years-on-china-and-the-middle-east-in-a-changing-geopolitical-landscape/>
- Golkar, S., & Aarabi, K. (2023, April 6). The real motivation behind Iran's deal with Saudi Arabia. *Foreign Policy*. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/04/06/iran-saudi-arabia-deal-agreement-china-meeting-beijing/>
- Guzansky, Y., Zimmt, R., & Lindenstrauss, G. (2024). The Détente in the Middle East: Characteristics and Implications for Israel. *INSS Insight*, 1892. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep63154>
- Haenle, P., & Sher, N. (2023). Initiative Diplomacy: China's New Rules for Global Governance, Security and Development. *East Asian Policy*, 15(04), 7–21.  
<https://doi.org/10.1142/s1793930523000260>
- Haldane, B. (2023). The Eurocentric Foundations of International Relations Theory, and Why They Matter. *The Student Strategy & Security Journal*, 3(1).  
<https://3sjournal.com/ben-haldane-the-eurocentric-foundations-of-international-relations-theory-and-why-they-matter/>
- Hongda, F. (2023, March 22). Differences between the US and China in Middle East peace advocacy. *Think China - Big Reads, Opinion & Columns on China; Think China*.  
<https://www.thinkchina.sg/politics/differences-between-us-and-china-middle-east-peace-advocacy>
- Hrytsenko, A. (2023, November 25). Advancing China's Global Security Strategy and Expanding its Presence in the Latin American and Caribbean. *Analytical Portal*. Center for International Security. <https://analytics.intsecurity.org/en/global-security-initiative-latin-america-caribbean/>



- Huiyao, W. (2024, August 16). *Why China is becoming a top choice mediator for global conflicts*. South China Morning Post. <https://www.scmp.com/opinion/china-opinion/article/3274330/why-china-becoming-top-choice-mediator-global-conflicts>
- Jash, A. (2023, June 23). Saudi-Iran Deal: A Test Case of China's Role as an International Mediator. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. <https://gjia.georgetown.edu/2023/06/23/saudi-iran-deal-a-test-case-of-chinas-role-as-an-international-mediator/>
- Javid, S. (2022). China's Global Security Initiative and Global Development Initiative: A Challenge to the US-led Global Order? *Focus*.
- Jones, D., & Jenne, N. (2021). Hedging and Grand Strategy in Southeast Asian Foreign Policy. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 00, 1–31. <https://davidmartinjones.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/South-East-Asia-politics.pdf>
- Katzenstein, P. (1996). *The culture of national security: norms and identity in world politics*. Columbia University Press.
- Keynoush, B. (2020, January 27). Why mediation between Saudi Arabia and Iran keeps failing. *Atlantic Council*. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/iransource/why-mediation-between-saudi-arabia-and-iran-keeps-failing/>
- Khadafi, S. M. (2024). Penerimaan Arab Saudi Terhadap Shuttle Diplomacy China dalam Normalisasi Hubungan Diplomatik Dengan Iran Tahun 2023. *Jurnal Ilmu Hukum, Humaniora Dan Politik (JIHHP)*, 4(5). <https://doi.org/10.38035/jihhp.v4i5>
- Khan, I. (2020, June 4). Analysis: How Saudi Arabia and Iran became rivals. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2020/6/4/analysis-how-saudi-arabia-and-iran-became-rivals>
- Larus, E. F. (2005). China's New Security Concept and Peaceful Rise: Trustful Cooperation or Deceptive Diplomacy? *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, 12(2), 219–241. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44288800>
- Madani, S. (2024, October 4). King Salman: A Decade of Transformative Leadership and Global Impact. *Lanka Puvath*. <https://english.lankapuvath.lk/2024/10/04/king-salman-a-decade-of-transformative-leadership-and-global-impact/>
- Middle East Monitor. (2023, April 6). From hostility to rapprochement: Timeline of Iran-Saudi Arabia ties. *Middle East Monitor*. <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20230406-from-hostility-to-rapprochement-timeline-of-iran-saudi-arabia-ties/>
- Miller, A. D. (2023, March 14). 4 Key Takeaways From the China-Brokered Saudi-Iran Deal. *Foreign Policy*. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/03/14/china-brokered-saudi-iran-deal-explained-diplomacy-biden/>
- Moonakal, N. A. (2024, February 27). *Iran's Regional Proxies: Reshaping the Middle East and Testing U.S. Policy*. Institute for Security and Development Policy. <https://www.isdp.eu/irans-regional-proxies-reshaping-the-middle-east-and-testing-u-s-policy/>
- Murphy, D. C. (2024, March 14). *The Silk Road to Power: China's Ambitions in the Middle East and Strategic Implications for the Western Alliance*. The Institute for Peace and Diplomacy. <https://peacediplomacy.org/2024/03/14/the-silk-road-to-power-chinas-ambitions-in-the-middle-east-and-strategic-implications-for-the-western-alliance/>



- Mustofa, A. Z. (2023). Kepentingan China sebagai Aktor di Balik Rekonsiliasi Hubungan Arab Saudi dan Iran. *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 14(2), 253–268.  
<https://doi.org/10.14710/politika.14.2.2023.253-268>
- Nyman, J. (2023). Towards a global security studies: what can looking at China tell us about the concept of security? *European Journal of International Relations*, 29(3), 673–697.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/13540661231176990>
- Ottaway, M. (2022, January 6). War and Politics in Libya, Yemen, and Syria. *Wilson Center*.  
<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/war-and-politics-libya-yemen-and-syria>
- Pierson, D. (2023, March 11). China’s Role in Iran-Saudi Arabia Deal Shows Xi’s Global Goals. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/11/world/asia/china-saudi-arabia-iran-us.html>
- Roth, K. (2004, January 25). War in Iraq: Not a Humanitarian Intervention. *Human Rights Watch*. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2004/01/25/war-iraq-not-humanitarian-intervention>
- Rothschild, E. (1995). What Is Security? *Daedalus*, 124(3), 53–98.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20027310>
- Sabaratham, M. (2020). Is IR Theory White? Racialised Subject-Positioning in Three Canonical Texts. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 49(1), 3–31.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829820971687>
- Schuman, M., Fulton, J., & Gering, T. (2023, June 21). How Beijing’s newest global initiatives seek to remake the world order. *Atlantic Council*. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/issue-brief/how-beijings-newest-global-initiatives-seek-to-remake-the-world-order/>
- Stallard, K. (2024, January 23). The future of Xi Jinping Thought. *New Statesman*.  
<https://www.newstatesman.com/culture/books/book-of-the-day/2024/01/future-of-xi-jinping-thought>
- Stanzel, A., Doyon, J., Holbig, H., Mittelstaedt, J. C., & Sautin, Y. (2017). China’s “New Era” with Xi Jinping Characteristic. *European Council on Foreign Relations*  
[https://ecfr.eu/wp-content/uploads/ECFR240\\_China\\_Analysis\\_Party\\_Congress\\_Ideology\\_2.pdf](https://ecfr.eu/wp-content/uploads/ECFR240_China_Analysis_Party_Congress_Ideology_2.pdf)
- The Central People’s Government of the People’s Republic of China. (2014). *Xi Jinping stressed: Promote the modernization of the national governance system and governance capabilities*. The Central People’s Government of the People’s Republic of China.  
[https://www.gov.cn/ldhd/2014-02/17/content\\_2610754.htm](https://www.gov.cn/ldhd/2014-02/17/content_2610754.htm)
- The Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the United States. (2024). *Vision 2030*.  
<https://www.saudiembassy.net/vision-2030>
- The Iran Primer. (2023, September 20). Timeline of Iran-Saudi Relations. *The Iran Primer*.  
<https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2016/jan/06/timeline-iran-saudi-relations>
- Tsang, S. (2024, May 11). What Xi Jinping Really Thinks. *TIME*.  
<https://time.com/6974353/what-xi-jinping-really-thinks/>
- ul-Haq, I. (2024, March 26). *Iran and Hezbollah: Proxy Power Play*. Institute for Security and Development Policy. <https://www.isdp.eu/iran-and-hezbollah-proxy-power-play/>
- Weldes, J., Laffey, M., Gusterson, H., & Duvall, R. (1999). *Cultures Of Insecurity: States, Communities, And the Production of Danger*. University Of Minnesota Press.
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization*, 46(2), 391–425.





UNIVERSITAS  
GADJAH MADA

**Global Security Initiative dan Mediasi Saudi-Iran: Transformasi Identitas dan Kepentingan Cina**  
Valenidha Sulafi, Prof. Dr. Nur Rachmat Yuliantoro, S.I.P., M.A.(IR)  
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

- Wenzhu, S. (2023). *Global Security Initiative: A new conceptual framework to understand global security*. China Institute for International Studies. [https://www.ciis.org.cn/english/COMMENTARIES/202302/t20230222\\_8882.html](https://www.ciis.org.cn/english/COMMENTARIES/202302/t20230222_8882.html)
- Xinhua News. (2023, March 13). Xinhua Headlines: Saudi-Iranian agreement to restore ties benefits regional security, shows China's goodwill to promote global security-Xinhua. *JiangsuNet*. [https://news.jschina.com.cn/scroll/szyw/202303/t20230314\\_3180885.shtml](https://news.jschina.com.cn/scroll/szyw/202303/t20230314_3180885.shtml)
- Yi, X. (2024, March 4). Expert hails China's global initiatives Nation's experience, wisdom can help resolve world problems, analyst says. *China Daily*. <https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202403/04/WS65e50edea31082fc043ba4e2.html>
- Yuliantoro, N. R. (2024). China's Global Security Initiative: Its Objectives and Implications for Southeast Asia. *Jurnal Global & Strategis*, 18(2), 285–306. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jgs.18.2.2024.285-306>