

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

BUKU:

- Adian, D. G. (2013). *Rasionalitas Kerjasama*. Depok: Penerbit Koekoesan.
- Aldasam, D. (2013). *Relations between the U.S and Iran*. New York: United States Army War College.
- Baldwin, D. (1993). *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bell, M. S. (2020). *United States Interests and Policy Choices in the Middle East: We didn't start the fire....* Washington, DC: Atlantic Council.
- Brams, S. J. (1975). *Game Theory and Politics*. New York: The Free Press.
- Cook, A. H., & Roshandel, J. (2009). *The United States and Iran*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Divsallar, A., & Narbone, L. (2020). *A US-Iran zero-sum game on Covid-19 could threaten global health security*. Fiesole: European University Institute.
- Dodson, M. (2006). *What Is a Treaty?* Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Entessar, N., & Afrasiabi, K. L. (2020). *Trump and Iran: From Containment to Confrontation*. London: Lexington Books.
- Grogan, M. (2000). *National Security Imperatives and Neoralist State: Iran and Realpolitik*. New York: Naval Post Graduate School.
- Hadiwinata, B. S. (2017). *Studi dan Teori Hubungan Internasional: Arus Utama, Alternatif, dan Reflektivis*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Holmquist, E. (2016). *Iran after the Nuclear Deal: A Struggle between Change and Status Quo*. Tehran: The Swedish Ministry of Defence.
- Ianchovichina, E., Devarajan, S., & Lakatos, C. (2016). *Lifting Economic Sanctions on Iran: Global Effects and Strategic Responses*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

- Jentelson, B. (2007). *Sanctions against Iran: Key Issues*. Washington D.C: The Century Foundation.
- Katzman, K. (2017). *Iran's Foreign and Defence Policies*. Washington: Congressional Research Service.
- Kerr, P. (2009). *Iran's Nuclear Program: Status*. Washington: Congressional Research Services.
- Kountur, R. (2003). *Metode Penelitian Untuk Penulisan Skripsi dan Tesis*. Jakarta: Penerbit PPM.
- Hays, C. D. (2008). *A U.S. Strategy for Iran*. New York: Routledge.
- Macaluso, A. (2015). *Economic Sanctions and Inequality in the US-Iran Nuclear Negotiations*. Hague: The Hague Institute for Global Justice.
- Parsi, R. (2017). *EU-Iran Relations: Building Bridges in Stormy Waters*. Milan: Ledizioni LediPublishing.
- Rahman, M. A. (2003). *Iran Pasca Revolusi*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Robb, D. C. (2008). *Meeting the Challenge: U.S Policy towards Iranian Nuclear Development*. New York: Bipartisan Policy Centre.
- Rogers, P. (2014). *The United States and Iran: A Complex Relationship* . London: Oxford Research Group.
- Sukandarrumidi. (2006). *Metode Penelitian: Petunjuk Praktis Untuk Peneliti Pemula*. Gajah Mada University Press.
- Tabirizi, A. B., & Coville, T., & Jalilvand, D. R. (2018). *Better Together: Brexit, The E3, and the Future of Europe's Approach towards Iran*. Berlin: Freidrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Zrost, D. (2011). *Why State Pursue Nuclear Weapon Programmes?: The Iran Case*. Barcelona: IBEI.

JURNAL:

- Abdoli, A. (2020). Iran, sanctions, and the COVID-19 crisis. *Journal of Medical Economics*, 23(12).

- Adebahr, C. (2018). Europe and Iran: The Economic and Commercial Dimensions of a Strained Relationship. *Instituto Affari Internazionali*, paper 18.
- Alir, A., & Firnas, M. A. (2024). Strategi Iran dalam Merespons Sanksi Amerika Serikat Periode 2018-2020. *Jurnal Dinamika Global*, 9(1).
- Angelia, T. (2021). Konflik Amerika Serikat dan Iran Studi Kasus: Keluarnya Amerika Serikat Dari Perjanjian JCPOA. *Jurnal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, 1(2).
- Anggoro, K. (2017). Perubahan Geopolitik dan Ketahanan Nasional: Sebuah Penjelajahan Teoretikal. *Jurnal Kajian Lemhannas RI*, edisi 29.
- Baiturohim, M. (2021). Implikasi Penarikan Diri Amerika Serikat dari *Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)*. *Dauliyah: Journal of Islam and International Affairs*, 6(2).
- Batmanghelidj, E., & Hellman, A. (2018). Mitigating US Sanctions on Iran: The Case for a Humanitarian Special Purpose Vehicle. *European Leadership Network*.
- Benjamin, H. (2020). Iran, Covid-19, sanctions and the nuclear issue. *la Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique*, 47(20).
- Bennet, P. G. (1995). Modelling Decisions In IR: Game Theory and Beyond. *Mershon International Studies Review*, 39(1).
- Cordesman, A. H. (2021). Iran and U.S. Strategy: Looking beyond the JCPOA. *Center for Strategic and International Studies*.
- Cortright, G. L. (2006). The smarter U.S. option: a full summit with Iran. *Policy Brief No.11*.
- Drezner, D. W. (2022). How Not to Sanction. *International Affairs*, 98(5).
- Flesch, J., Predtetchinski, A., & Sudderth, W. (2018). Positive Zero-Sum Stochastic Games with Countable State and Action Spaces. *Applied Mathematics & Optimization*, 82(2).
- Hasanovikj, E. (2018). What Is the Likelihood of Iranian Adherence to JCPOA? *International Journal for Social Studies*, 4(1).
- Janeba, E. (2023). Extraterritorial trade sanctions: Theory and application to the US–Iran–EU conflict. *Review of International Economics*, 32(1).
- Jervis, R. (1978). Cooperation under the Security Dilemma. *World Politics*, 30(2).

- Jones, M. B. (2007). The Multiple Sources of Mission Drift. *Sage Journals*, 36 (2).
- Jovan, C. V. (2020). The United States Unilateral Withdrawal from the Restrictions of Iran's Nuclear Program in JCPOA 2015 under International Law. *Padjadjaran Journal of International Law*, 4(2).
- Kamranrad, S. A. M., & Banihashemi, S. S. A. (2023). JCPOA revival: A game theoretical approach. *International Journal of Science and Research Archive*, 9(1).
- Kelly, R. E. (2014). The 'Pivot' and Its Problems: American Foreign Policy in Northeast Asia. *The Pacific Review*, 27(3).
- Khan, A. & Zaman, N. (2018). Trump Policy Towards Iran: Challenges and Implications. *Pakistan Journal of Humanities & Social Science Research*, 1(1).
- Kokabisaghi, F. (2020). Assessment of the effects of economic sanctions on Iranians' right to healthy by using human rights impact assessment tool: a systematic review. *International Journal of Health Policy and Management*, 7(5).
- Krismayanti, R. V., Iqbal, M., & Prabhawati, A. (2022). Keluarnya Amerika Serikat dari Kesepakatan The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). *Electronical Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, diakses dari <https://jurnal.unej.ac.id/index.php/E-SOS/article/download/31897/11432>, pada 22 November 2024.
- Macaluso, A. (2014). The Apparent Success of Iran Sanctions. *The Hague Institute for Global Justice*, Working Paper 2.
- Mikail, K. (2018). Perjanjian Nuklir Iran dan Kepentingan AS-Israel di Timur Tengah. *Jurnal Indonesia Center for Middle East Studies*, 2(1).
- Mousavian, S. H., & Mousavian, M. M. (2018). Building on the Iran Nuclear Deal for International Peace and Security. *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament*, 1(1).
- Perthes, V. (2010). Ambition and Fear: Iran's Foreign Policy and Nuclear Programme. *Survival*, 52(3).
- Rasamny, T. (2016). Political Prioritization: American-Iran Discourse Leading Up to the Nuclear Deal. *Journal of Syracuse University*, 10(4).
- Restatement of the Law Third. (1987). The Foreign Relations Law of the United States. *American Journal of International Law*, 86 (3).

- Rofii, M. S. (2015). Babak Baru Nuklir Iran: Memahami Manuver Iran dan Dinamika Politik Kawasan Timur Tengah. *Journal of Integrative International Relations*, 1(1).
- Rozsa, E. N. (2018). The EU and the Iran Nuclear Deal: How to Proceed? *Barcelona Center for International Affairs*, 13(4).
- Saidi, A. R. (2022). The Impact of U.S. Sanctions Policy on the Middle East Region: Iran, Syria, and Saudi Arabia as Case Studies. *Revue des études de droit*, 9(1).
- Samore, G et al. (2015). The Iran Nuclear Deal: A Definitive Guide. *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School*.
- Setayesh, S., & Mackey, T. K. (2018). Addressing the impact of economic sanctions on Iranian drug shortages in the joint comprehensive plan of action: promoting access to medicines and health diplomacy. *Globalization and Health*, 12(1).
- Shafar, W. I., & Mutmainah, D. (2020). Resistensi Hubungan Luar Negeri Amerika Serikat dan Iran: Studi Kasus Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). *Jurnal Transformasi Global*, 7(1).
- Smith, B. (2020). Coronavirus: sanctions and humanitarian crisis. *House of Commons Library*, BRIEFING PAPER No. CBP 8913.
- Snidal, D. (1985). The Game Theory of International Politics. *World Politics*, 38(1).
- Songko, G. E. (2016). Kekuatan Mengikat Perjanjian Internasional Menurut Konvensi Wina Tahun 1969. *Lex Privatum*, 4(4).
- Sperling, J., & Webber, M. (2019). Trump's foreign policy and NATO: Exit and voice. *Review of International Studies*, 45(3).
- Wahdat-Hagh, W., & Krause, J. (2019). Reaktionen des Iran auf die Aufkündigung des JCPOA durch die USA. *Journal SIRIUS – Zeitschrift für Strategische Analysen*, diakses dari <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/sirius-2019-2009/html>, pada 28 oktober 2024.

INTERNET:

- Ashford, E. (2018). *A Guide to Saudi Arabia's Influence in Washington*. Diakses dari <https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/guide-saudi-arabias-influence-washington>, pada 13 Oktober 2024.
- BBC. (2019). *Six charts that show how hard US sanctions have hit Iran*. Diakses dari <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48119109>, pada 24 Oktober 2024.
- BBC Persian. (2018). *Ayatollah Khamenei: I made a mistake in the nuclear negotiations*. Diakses dari <https://www.bbc.com/persian/iran-45167008>, pada 23 Oktober 2024.
- Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. (2015). *The Iran Nuclear Deal: A Definitive Guide*. Diakses dari <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/iran-nuclear-deal-definitive-guide>, pada 1 Oktober 2024.
- Bump, P., & Moyer, J. W. (2018). *This is what Saudi Arabia's influence network in Washington looks like*. Diakses dari <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/19/this-is-what-saudi-arabias-influence-network-washington-looks-like/>, pada 13 Oktober 2024.
- Celarier, M. (2017). *Paul Singer's Fight for the Soul of the GOP*. Diakses dari <https://www.institutionalinvestor.com/article/b15d9s2xbmkr99/paul-singers-fight-for-the-soul-of-the-gop>, pada 8 Oktober 2024.
- Clifton, E. (2015). *The Jewish Billionaire Behind a New Christian Anti-Iran Group*. Diakses dari <https://lobelog.com/the-jewish-billionaire-behind-a-new-christian-anti-iran-group/>, pada 8 Oktober 2024.
- Clifton, E. (2017). *Trump Ignores Advisers on Iran Deal, Follows Money*. Diakses dari <http://lobelog.com/trump-ignores-advisers-on-iran-deal-follows-money/>, pada 13 Oktober 2024.
- EEAS. (2018). *Iran Deal: EU Remains Committed to the Continued Implementation of the Nuclear Deal, Mogherini Says*. Diakses dari https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/44239/iran-deal-eu-remains-committed-continued-implementation-nuclear-deal-mogherini-says_en, pada 23 Oktober 2024.
- Hanna, A. (2021). *Sanction 5: Trump's Maximum Pressure Targets. United States Institute of Peace*. Diakses dari

<https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2021/mar/03/sanctions-5-trumps-maximum-pressure-targets>, pada 24 Oktober 2024.

Harris, G., & Shear, M. D. (2015). *Obama plots life after presidency*. Diakses dari https://www.business-standard.com/article/opinion/michael-d-shear-gardiner-harris-obama-plots-life-after-presidency-115081701279_1.html, pada 1 Oktober 2024.

Hartung, W. D., & Freeman, B. (2018). *The Saudi Lobby's Scheme to Destroy the Iran Deal*. Diakses dari <https://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/the-saudi-lobbys-scheme-to-destroy-the-iran-deal/>, pada 13 Oktober 2024.

Hennigan, W. (2018). *U.S.-Saudi Relationship Built on Oil, Weapons, Lobbying*. Diakses dari <https://time.com/5428669/saudi-arabia-military-relationship/>, pada 13 Oktober 2024.

ICG. (2018). *Saving the Iran Nuclear Deal Without the U.S.* diakses dari <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iran/saving-iran-nuclear-deal-without-us>, pada 23 Oktober 2024.

IR Diplomacy. (2018). *Europe's paltry financial aid to Iran is nothing but a source of embarrassment for local officials*. Diakses dari <http://irdiplomacy.ir/fa/news/1978626/>, pada 28 Oktober 2024.

IRNA. (2018). *AEOI must begin enrichment of up to 190,000 SWU from tomorrow*. Diakses dari <https://de.irna.ir/news/82934623/AEOI-muss-ab-morgen-mit-einer-Anreicherung-von-bis-zu-190-000>, pada 23 Oktober 2024.

Islam Times. (2012). *Jerman Abaikan Sanksi AS dan Uni Eropa Pada Iran*. Diakses dari <https://www.islamtimes.com/id/news/208967/jerman-abaikan-sanksi-as-dan-uni-eropa-pada-iran>, pada 30 September 2024.

ISNA. (2018). *Larijani: The language of force is more effective for Trump/We give a regrettable answer to America*. Diakses dari <https://www.isna.ir/news/97021910246/>, pada 23 Oktober 2024.

Jewish Telegraphic Agency. (2018). *Republican Jewish Coalition targets Philadelphia Democrat over his charity's donations to anti-Israel groups*. Diakses dari <https://www.jta.org/2018/06/20/politics/republican-jewish-coalition-targets-philadelphia-democrat-over-his-funds-donations-to-anti-israel-groups>, pada 13 Oktober 2024.

Kachmar, O. (2022). *Iran Eyes Opportunities in Central Asia*. Diakses dari <https://newlinesinstitute.org/state-resilience-fragility/power-vacuums/iran-eyes-opportunities-in-central-asia/>, pada 25 Oktober 2024.

- Katzman, K., & Kerr, P. K. (2018). *Iran Nuclear Agreement and U.S. Exit*. Diakses dari <https://typeset.io/pdf/iran-nuclear-agreement-3h26bm3fz3.pdf>, pada 1 Oktober 2024.
- Lappin, Y. (2024). *As Iran's Proxy Strategy Weakens, Focus Shifts to Nuclear Program*. Diakses dari <https://www.algemeiner.com/2024/10/20/as-irans-proxy-strategy-weakens-focus-shifts-to-nuclear-program/>, pada 28 Oktober 2024.
- Livemint. (2019). *Millions of barrels of Iranian oil piled up at China's ports*. Diakses dari <https://www.livemint.com/news/world/millions-of-barrels-of-iranian-oil-piled-up-at-china-s-ports-1563824324087.html>, pada 25 Oktober 2024.
- Macrotrends. (2024). *Iran Inflation Rate 1960-2024*. Diakses dari https://www.macrotrends.net/global-metrics/countries/IRN/iran/inflation-rate-cpi#google_vignette, pada 26 Oktober 2024.
- Monje, S. (2016). *Did Iran Ever Actually Violate The Nonproliferation Treaty? Does It Matter?* Diakses dari <https://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2016/01/13/did-iran-ever-actually-violate-the-nonproliferation-treaty-does-it-matter/>, pada 13 Oktober 2024.
- Motevalli, G. (2020). *Iran Says U.S. Sanctions Preventing Purchases of Covid Vaccines*. Diakses dari <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/mergers-and-acquisitions/iran-says-u-s-sanctions-preventing-purchases-of-covid-vaccines>, pada 25 Oktober 2024.
- Payvand News. (2005). *EU, Iran to hold political, trade negotiations in Tehran*. Diakses dari <https://webarchive.loc.gov/all/20050518193753/http://www.payvand.com/news/05/may/1139.html>, pada 30 September 2024.
- Petersen, B. (2018). *Beyond JCPOA- Europe*. Diakses dari <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/42650-jcpoa-europe>, pada 23 Oktober 2024.
- Project Alpha. (2014). *How big is 19.000 SWU? Khamenei's demand examined*. Diakses dari <https://projectalpha.eu/how-big-is-190000-swu-khameneis-demand-examined/>, pada 28 Oktober 2024.
- Putz, C. (2019). *Tajikistan Tilts Back Toward Iran*. Diakses dari <https://thediplomat.com/2019/07/tajikistan-tilts-back-toward-iran/>, pada 25 Oktober 2024.

- Radio Farda. (2018). شماری از نمایندگان مجلس شورای اسلامی پرچم آمریکا را آتش زدند. Diakses dari <https://www.radiofarda.com/a/iran-majlis-set-us-flag-ablaze/29216771.html>, pada 23 Oktober 2024.
- Radio Farda. (2018b). دونالد ترامپ: مادهام بدون هیچ شرطی با بارانی‌ها بیدار نکم. Diakses dari https://www.radiofarda.com/a/f4_trump_meet_rouhani_no_preconditions/29399620.html, pada 23 Oktober 2024.
- Radio Farda. (2018c). خامنه‌ی ا خطبه‌ا به دولت: از اروپایی‌ها، در مسأله‌ی نظور برجام قطع یماد. Diakses dari <https://www.radiofarda.com/a/iran-kahmenei-says-dont-count-on-europe-for-talks/29459680.html>, pada 28 Oktober 2024.
- Radio Farda. (2018d). “Look East!”, Says Khamenei, Disappointed With Europe’s Efforts To Save JCPOA. Diakses dari <https://en.radiofarda.com/a/look-east-says-khamenei-disappointed-with-europe-s-efforts-to-save-jcpoa/29550531.html>, pada 25 Oktober 2024.
- Rasmussen, S. E. (2021). *Iran, Cuba, Under U.S. Sanctions, Team Up for Covid-19 Vaccine Trials*. Diakses dari <https://www.wsj.com/articles/iran-cuba-under-u-s-sanctions-team-up-for-covid-19-vaccine-trials-11610481712>, pada 25 Oktober 2024.
- Regencia, T., & Chughtai, A. (2018). *Major milestones of Iran’s nuclear programme*. Diakses dari <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/11/5/major-milestones-of-irans-nuclear-programme>, pada 23 Oktober 2024.
- Reuters. (2016). *Trump election puts Iran nuclear deal on shaky ground*. Diakses dari <https://www.reuters.com/article/ususa-election-trump-iran/trumpelection-puts-iran-nuclear-deal-onshaky-ground-idUSKBN13427E>, pada 23 Mei 2024.
- Reuters. (2019). *Iran says leaving nuclear treaty one of many options after U.S sanctions move*. diakses dari <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-usa-zarif/iran-says-leaving-nuclear-treaty-one-of-many-options-after-us-sanctions-move-idUSKCN1S403W>, pada 23 Oktober 2024.
- Rome, H. (2022). *Iran’s Oil Exports Are Vulnerable to Sanctions*. Diakses dari <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/irans-oil-exports-are-vulnerable-sanctions>, pada 24 Oktober 2024.
- RT staff. (2018). “Israel lobby calling the shots in Trump’s rollback policy on Iran”. Diakses dari <https://www.rt.com/usa/426213-iran-deal-withdrawal-israeli-lobby/>, pada 8 Oktober 2024.

- Saumaun, H. (2020). *Under sanctions, Iran's black market for medicine grows*. Diakses dari <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/iransource/under-sanctions-irans-black-market-for-medicine-grows/>, pada 25 Oktober 2024.
- Tagesschau. (2019). *Iran is Urging Europeans to do More*. Diakses dari <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/sicherheitskonferenz-iran-101.html>, pada 28 Oktober 2024.
- The Iran Primer. (2019). *Iran's Increasing Reliance on China*. Diakses dari <https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2019/sep/11/irans-increasing-reliance-china>, pada 25 Oktober 2024.
- The Iran Primer. (2020). *Iran's economy in 2020*. Diakses dari <https://www.eurasiagroup.net/live-post/iran-economy-2020>, pada 29 oktober 2024.
- The National. (2019). *Nuclear chief says Iran is exploring new uranium enrichment*. Diakses dari <https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/mena/nuclear-chief-says-iran-is-exploring-new-uranium-enrichment-1.812885>, pada 23 Oktober 2024.
- UJPPS. (2020). *Who is the Real Threat Amongst the Iran America Conflict?* Diakses dari <https://www.ujpps.com/index.php/ujpps/announcement/view/49>, pada 26 Oktober 2024.
- United Nations. (2015). *UN applauds 'historic' deal on Iranian nuclear programme*. Diakses dari <https://news.un.org/en/story/2015/07/504202-un-applauds-historic-deal-iranian-nuclear-programme>, pada 20 Mei 2024.
- United Nations Security Council. (2015). *Annex to the letter dated 16 July 2015 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council*. Diakses dari <https://undocs.org/S/2015/544>, pada 20 Mei 2024.
- U.S. Department of State. (2017). *Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action*. Diakses dari <https://2009-2017.state.gov/e/eb/tfs/spi/iran/jcpoa/>, pada 30 September 2024.
- U.S. Institute of Peace. (2021). *The Iran Primer: Sanction 8: Timeline of Sanctions*. Diakses dari <https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2021/%20mar/03/sanctions-8-timeline-sanctions>, pada 24 oktober 2024.
- Wald, E. R. (2018). *10 Companies Leaving Iran As Trump's Sanctions Close In*. Diakses dari <https://www.forbes.com/sites/ellenrwald/2018/06/06/10->

[companies-leaving-iran-as-trump-sanctions-close-in/](#), pada 24 Oktober 2024.

White House. (2018). *Remarks by President Trump and President Macron of France in Joint Press Conference*. Diakses dari <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-president-macron-france-joint-press-conference/>, pada 23 Oktober 2024.

White House. (2018b). *Statement by the President on the Iran Nuclear Deal*. Diakses dari [https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefingsstatements/statement - presidentiran-nuclear-deal/\[12/7/19\]](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefingsstatements/statement-presidentiran-nuclear-deal/[12/7/19]), pada 23 Mei 2024.

Yhlesias, M. (2019). *Trump's Weird Ideas on the US-Saudi Relationship, Sort of Explained*. Diakses dari <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/9/17/20868358/donald-trump-saudi-money>, pada 13 Oktober 2024.