DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Divsallar, A. (2024). Struggle for Alliance: Russia and Iran in the Era War in Ukraine (1st ed.). Bloomsbury Publishing. https://books.google.co.id/books?id=_8C00AEACAAJ&printsec=frontcov er&hl=id#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Keohane, R. O. (2005). After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy. Princeton University Press. <u>https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt7sq9s</u>
- Lamont, C. (2021). *Research Methods in International Relations* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publication.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (2001). The Tragedy of Great Power Politics. Norton.
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1948). Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. Alfred A. Knopf.
- Satria, R., Rachmawati, I., & Prakoso, S. G. (2022). Konflik Rusia-Ukraina: Tinjauan dari Berbagai Perspektif. AIHII Press.
- Sayle, T. (2019). *Enduring Alliance: A History of NATO and the Postwar Global Order*. Cornell University Press.
- Waltz, K. N. (1979). Theory of International Politics (Addison-Wesley series in political science, Ed.). McGraw-Hill.

Jurnal

- Allen, M. A., Flynn, M. E., & Martinez Machain, C. (2022). US global military deployments, 1950–2020. Conflict Management and Peace Science, 39(3), 351–370. <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/07388942211030885</u>
- Anjani, N. R., & Paksi, A. K. (2023). The Involvement of the United States in the Russia-Ukraine war in The Perspective of Realism. AEGIS: Journal of International Relations, 7(1). <u>http://e-journal.president.ac.id/presunivojs/index.php/AEGIS/article/viewFile/389</u> 7/1434
- Antonyan, T. M. (2017). Russia and Iran in the Syrian Crisis: Similar Aspirations, Different Approaches. *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 11(3), 337–348. <u>https://doi.org/10.1080/23739770.2017.1442407</u>

- Aras, B., & Ozbay, F. (2006). Dances with Wolves: Russia, Iran and the Nuclear Issue. *Middle East Policy*, 13(4), 132–147. <u>https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2006.00275.x</u>
- Avdakov, I. (2023). Eurasian Transport Corridors in the Context of Anti-Russian Economic Sanctions of Western Countries in the Field of Transportation: Prospects for Russia. *Eastern Analytics*, 3, 9–17. <u>https://doi.org/10.31696/2227-5568-2023-03-009-017</u>
- Azizi, H. (2019). Russian Arms Trade Approach in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA): Economic and Strategic Aspects. *Geopolitics Quarterly*, 14(52), 84–103. <u>https://journal.iag.ir/article_135309.html?lang=en</u>
- Barisitz, S., & Evdokimova, T. (2023). Dedollarization efforts in Russia's foreign trade against the backdrop of Russia's war in Ukraine and intensifying Western sanctions (2013-2023). Focus on European Economic Integration, 23(3). <u>http://hdl.handle.net/11159/631111</u>
- Barnett, M., & Wendt, A. (1992). 5 Systemic Sources of Dependent Militarization. Dalam *The Insecurity Dilemma* (hlm. 97–120). Lynne Rienner Publishers. <u>https://doi.org/10.1515/9781685858346-008</u>
- Basre, M. Al. (2023). An Alliance Based On Common Interest: Russian-Iranian Relations During The Syrian Civil War. *Pesa International Journal Of Social Studies*, *9*(1). <u>https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/pesausad/issue/76591/1225769</u>
- Basuki, L. (2023). Impact Of The Russia Ukraine Conflict On Economic Deglobalization. Journal of Social Political Sciences JSPS, 4(3). <u>https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.52166/jsps.v4i3.195</u>
- Braithwaite, A., & Kucik, J. (2017). Does the Presence of Foreign Troops Affect Stability in the Host Country? *Foreign Policy Analysis*. <u>https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orw058</u>
- Christie, E. H. (2016). The Design and Impact of Western Economic Sanctions against Russia. *The RUSI Journal*, 161(3), 52–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2016.1193359
- Clark, I. (2011). Hegemony and IR Theory. Dalam *Hegemony in International* Society (hlm. 15–33). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:000/9780199556267.003.0002
- Cox, R. W. (1983). Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations : An Essay in Method. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 12(2), 162–175. <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298830120020701</u>

- Crosston, M. D. (2014). Cold War and Ayatollah Residues: Syria as a Chessboard for Russia, Iran, and the United States. *Strategic Studies Quaterly*, 8(4). https://www.jstor.org/stable/26270818
- Czechowska, L. (2013). The Concept of Strategic Partnership as an Input in the Modern Alliance Theory. *The Copernicus Journal of Political Studies*, 2(5). <u>https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.12775/18250</u>
- Czulda, R. (2025). Between idealism and pragmatism: Iran's approach towards the Russian aggression against Ukraine in 2022. *Defense & Security Analysis*, 1–26. <u>https://doi.org/10.1080/14751798.2025.2438957</u>
- Djuyandi, Y., Brahmantika, S. G. S., & Tarigan, B. R. (2021). The Collapse of Global Governance: When the US Leaves the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). *Society*, 9(2), 504–521. https://doi.org/10.33019/society.v9i2.304
- Emamifar, A., & Sazmand, B. (2023). Guardians of the East Gate: Elevating U.S.
 Hegemony in NATO through Strategic F-35 Sales. Journal of Iran and Central Eurasia Studies, 6(1), 29–45.
 <u>https://doi.org/10.22059/jices.2023.95145</u>
- Eslami, M. (2022). Iran's Drone Supply to Russia and Changing Dynamics of the Ukraine War. *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament*, 5(2), 507–518. https://doi.org/10.1080/25751654.2022.2149077
- Farrell, H., & Newman, A. L. (2019). Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion. *International Security*, 44(1), 42–79. <u>https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00351</u>
- Fawzy, M. (2014). Rouhani and Iran's Nuclear Program. Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University, 42(3), 349–432. <u>https://doi.org/10.21608/aafu.2014.6240</u>
- Freedman, R. O. (2010). Russia and the Middle East Under Putin. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 2(1). <u>https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/ortetut/issue/22571/241140</u>
- Gavin, F. J. (2015). Strategies of Inhibition: U.S. Grand Strategy, the Nuclear Revolution, and Nonproliferation. *International Security*, 40(1), 9–46. <u>https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00205</u>
- Ghiasi, Z. (2024). The Influence of US Policy on the Formation of a Common Approach between Iran and Russia to Resolve the Syrian Crisis. *RSUH/RGGU Bulletin. Series Political Sciences. History. International Relations*, 4, 74–85. <u>https://doi.org/10.28995/2073-6339-2024-4-74-85</u>

- Glenn, C. (2023). Lessons in Sanctions-Proofing from Russia. The Washington
Quarterly, 46(1), 105–120.https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2023.2188829
- Hussain, N. (2015). US-Iran Relations: Issues, Challenges and Prospects. *Policy Perspectives: The Journal of the Institute of Policy Studies*, 12(2). <u>https://doi.org/10.13169/polipers.12.2.0029</u>
- Joyner, D. H. (2016). Iran's Nuclear Program and the Period of Confrontation from 2002 to 2015. Dalam *Iran's Nuclear Program and International Law* (hlm. 3– 64). Oxford University Press. <u>https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199377893.003.0002</u>
- Khan, T., & Asif, M. (2022). International Law And Legality Of U.S Humanitarian Military Intervention In Syria. *Journal of Positive School Psychology*, 6(7), 2224–2233. <u>http://journalppw.com</u>
- Khavarinejad, S. (2024). Rusia-Iran Security Relations and Military Cooperation as a Counterbalance to Western Hegemony. Вестник Томского государственного университета. Философия. Социология. Политология, 80, 253–264. <u>https://doi.org/10.17223/1998863X/80/23</u>
- Kinsella, D. (1998). Arms Transfer Dependence and Foreign Policy Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, 35(1), 7–23. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343398035001002
- Kinsella, D., & Tillema, H. K. (1995). Arms and Aggression in the Middle East. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 39(2), 306–329. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002795039002005
- Koolaee, E., & Zangeneh, S. (2023). Iran-Russia Relations after the Ukraine War. *International Studies Journal (ISJ)*, 20(2). <u>https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22034/isj.2023.402839.2027</u>
- Kozhanov, N. (2017). Russian-Iranian Relations through the Prism of the Syrian Crisis. 19(4), 105–124. <u>https://doi.org/10.2307/26300560</u>
- Levy, J. S., & Thompson, W. R. (2005). Hegemonic Threats and Great-Power Balancing in Europe, 1495-1999. *Security Studies*, 14(1), 1–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410591001465
- Liu, F. (2023). Russia's "Turn to the East" Policy: Evolution and Assessment. *Chinese Journal of Slavic Studies*, 3(2), 247–262. <u>https://doi.org/10.1515/cjss-2023-0020</u>
- Mahmoudian, A. (2023). Russia-Iran Military Cooperation: The Dynamic Is Changing Dramatically Because of Drones in the Ukraine War. GNSI Publications, 1. <u>https://doi.org/10.5038/AKCW2651</u>

- Matera, P. (2020). Under hegemonic pressure: 2018 American sanctions against Iran and Turkey's response. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 29(2), 183–199. <u>https://doi.org/10.1111/dome.12218</u>
- Molaee, Y., & Zargari, H. (2019). Russia and the Security Council in the Case of Iran's Nuclear Project. *Journal of Iran and Central Eurasia Studies*, 2(1). <u>https://jices.ut.ac.ir/article_82797.html</u>
- Nadkarni, V. (2010). Strategic Partnerships in Asia: Balancing without alliances. Routledge. <u>https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203865019</u>
- Neuman, S. G. (2010). Power, Influence, and Hierarchy: Defense Industries in a Unipolar World. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 21(1), 105–134. https://doi.org/10.1080/10242690903105398
- NGWA, N. R. (2017). The Rise And Decline Of Humanitarian Intervention And Responsibility To Protect. *The Journal of International Social Research*, *10*(49). <u>https://www.sosyalarastirmalar.com/articles/the-rise-and-decline-ofhumanitarian-intervention-and-responsibility-toprotect.pdf</u>
- Niakooee, S. A., & Rahdar, H. (2021). The Middle East and Iran in Russia's Foreign Policy after the Ukraine War. *Iranian Review of Foreign Affairs*, *12*(2). <u>https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22034/irfa.2021.163444</u>
- Nuaimi, A. (2024). Employing "NATO" in the Hegemonic Strategy of the United States of America after the Cold War. *Political Sciences Journal*, 68, 143–174. <u>https://doi.org/10.30907/jcopolicy.vi68.742</u>
- Nye, J. S. (2002). Limits of American Power. *Political Science Quarterly*, 117(4), 545–559. <u>https://doi.org/10.2307/798134</u>
- Ogunnowo, O. E., & Chidozie, F. (2020). International Law and Humanitarian Intervention in the Syrian Civil War: The Role of the United States. *Sage Open*, *10*(2). <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244020919533</u>
- Omelicheva, M. Y. (2012). Russia's foreign policy toward Iran: A critical geopolitics perspective. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 14(3), 331–344. https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2012.720777
- Orlov, V., & Trushkin, I. (2011). THE IRANIAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM: DILEMMAS FACING RUSSIA. Security Index: A Russian Journal on International Security, 17(2), 27–37. https://doi.org/10.1080/19934270.2011.578453
- Papageorgiou, M., Eslami, M., & Duarte, P. A. B. (2023). A 'Soft' Balancing Ménage à Trois? China, Iran and Russia Strategic Triangle vis-à-vis US Hegemony. *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 10(1), 65– 94. <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/23477970231152008</u>

- Paulraj, N. (2016). The JCPOA and Changing Dimensions of the Russia–Iran Relations. Contemporary Review of the Middle East, 3(1), 95–110. https://doi.org/10.1177/2347798916633294
- Pervaiz, M. (2023). US Strategy over Russian Invasion of Ukraine: An Analysis. *Pakistan Social Sciences Review*, 7(IV). <u>https://doi.org/10.35484/pssr.2023(7-IV)34</u>
- Phoenna, R. P. (2016). Perubahan Kebijakan Luar Negeri Iran Di Era Presiden Hassan Rouhani. *Jurnal Paradigma*, 20(1). <u>http://jurnal.upnyk.ac.id/index.php/paradigma/article/view/2440</u>
- Pourhasan, N., & Barfgafkan, M. (2021). Iran and Russia's great power Role (with emphasis on the Syrian crisis). *Iranian Review of Foreign Affairs*, 12(2). <u>https://irfajournal.csr.ir/article_162042.html</u>
- Rezaeinejad, I. (2023). Analytical Study of the International Economic Policies of Iran and Russia: A Move to Bilateral Cooperation under Sanctions. *Review* of Business and Economics Studies, 10(4), 36–44. https://doi.org/10.26794/2308-944X-2022-10-4-36-44
- Saaida, M. (2023). Geopolitical Implications of De-Dollarization: Shifting Power Dynamics and USA's Global Influence. Science for All Publications, 1(1). <u>https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10884342</u>
- Sajad Ibrahim, K. M. (2022). Russia-Iran Rapprochement against the U.S. Hegemony in West Asia. *Journal of Polity & Society*, 14(2), 71–80. https://journalspoliticalscience.com/index.php/i/article/view/131
- Shah, M. U., Gill, Q. S., Akhtar, M. N., & Mustafa, G. (2024). Understanding the Decline of the US Dollar: Key Factors and Implications. *Journal of Social* & Organizational Matters, 3(2), 234–250. <u>https://doi.org/10.56976/jsom.v3i2.81</u>
- Shapiro, A. J. (2012). A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance. *The Washington Quarterly*, *35*(4), 23–35. <u>https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2012.725021</u>
- Siraj, U., & Bakare, N. (2022). Iran–USA Relations: From Exceptionalism to Containment Policy. Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs, 9(1), 99–121. <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/23477970221076969</u>
- Sislin, J. (1994). Arms as Influence: The Determinants of Successful Influence. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 38(4), 665–689. https://www.jstor.org/stable/174334
- Skak, M. (2016). The Economic Sanctions against Russia: Impact and Prospects of Success. Nordisk Østforum, 30(1). <u>https://doi.org/10.17585/nof.v30.399</u>

- Soltaninejad, A., & Mahdi, S. (2013). Russia and the Iranian Nuclear Dispute. *Iranian Review of Foreign Affairs*, 3(4), 179–205. <u>www.SID.ir</u>
- Tan, T., & German, M. (2022). Russian-Iranian Strategic Partnership in Syria: Converging Interests but Diverging Goals. Open Journal of Political Science, 12(01), 1–13. <u>https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2022.121001</u>
- Timofeev, I., Sokolshchik, Y., & Morozov, V. (2022). Sanctions against Iran: Lessons for Russia in the new international context. Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. International relations, 15(4), 405–420. https://doi.org/10.21638/spbu06.2022.404
- Timofeev, I. N. (2022). Sanctions on Russia: A New Chapter. *Russia in Global Affairs*, 20(4). <u>https://doi.org/10.31278/1810-6374-2022-20-4-103-119</u>
- Torbat, A. E. (2005). Impacts of the US Trade and Financial Sanctions on Iran. *The World Economy*, 28(3), 407–434. <u>https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-</u> <u>9701.2005.00671.x</u>
- Üstüntağ, G., & Atmaca, A. Ö. (2018). The US Bases and Their Contributions to US Hegemony. Ayşe Ömür, 49(0), 57–87. https://doi.org/10.1501/Intrel 0000000317
- Wiegand, C. (2018, Juni 25). F-35 Air Vehicle Technology Overview. 2018 Aviation Technology, Integration, and Operations Conference. https://doi.org/10.2514/6.2018-3368
- Williams, B. G., & Souza, R. (2016). Operation "Retribution": Putin's Military Campaign in Syria, 2015–16. *Middle East Policy*, 23(4), 42–60. <u>https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12232</u>
- Wood, R. (2019). Promoting democracy or pursuing hegemony? An analysis of U.S. involvement in the Middle East. *Journal of Global Faultlines*, 6(2). <u>https://doi.org/10.13169/jglobfaul.6.2.0166</u>
- Yazici, H., & Yildirim, Y. (2021). The Reaction USA an EU to the Russian Federation's Intervention in Crimea. *OPUS Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi*. <u>https://doi.org/10.26466/opus.884358</u>
- Yun, J. (2023). Security Threats and Military Strategic Factors in the Russo– Ukrainian War: Focusing on the Russia's Identification of Greater Eurasianism and the Instability of the Buffer Zone. *Pacific Focus*, 38(2), 234–256. https://doi.org/10.1111/pafo.12228

Report

- Åslund, A. (2019). Western Economic Sanctions on Russia over Ukraine, 2014-2019. *CESifo Forum*, 20(4). ifo Institut – Leibniz-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung an der Universität München, München
- Belobrov, Y. Y., Volodin, A. G., & Demidenko, S. V. (2014). Modern Russian-Iranian Relations: Challenges and Opportunities. https://russiancouncil.ru/upload/WP14Russia-Iran-En.pdf
- Borszik, O. (2014). International Sanctions against Iran under President Ahmadinejad: Explaining Regime Persistence. https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep07582
- Bowen, A., Humud, C., & Thomas, C. (2022). Iran's Transfer of Weaponry to Russia for Use in Ukraine. https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IN/IN12042
- Charap, S., Treyger, E., & Geist, E. (2019). Understanding Russia's Intervention in Syria. <u>https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR3180.html</u>
- Cicurel, A., & Judd, N. (2022). The Expanding Russia-Iran Arm Nexus. https://jinsa.org/wpcontent/uploads/2022/11/JINSA 20221104 Nexus v1-1-1.pdf
- Deni, J. R., & Aronsson, L. A. (2024). *The Role of America's European Allies in the Russia-Ukraine* <u>https://media.defense.gov/2024/Sep/19/2003547763/-1/-</u> <u>1/0/20240919 DENI-ARONSSON EUROPEANALLIES ONLINE.PDF</u>
- Dirzauskaite, G., & Ilinca, N. C. (2017). Understanding "Hegemony" in International Relations Theories. <u>https://projekter.aau.dk/projekter/files/260247380/Understanding</u> <u>Hegemony_in_International_Relations_Theories.pdf</u>
- Einhorn, R. (2022). Reviving The Jcpoa Is The Better Alternative-But Can It Be Made Sustainable? <u>https://www.brookings.edu/wp-</u> content/uploads/2022/05/FP_20220525_jcpoa_revival.pdf
- Humud, C. E., Blanchard, C. M., & Nikitin, M. B. D. (2019). Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and U.S. Response. https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/RL/RL33487/162
- International Crisis Group. (2013). Spider Web: The Making and Unmaking of Iran Sanctions . <u>https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/160807/138-spider-web-the-</u> making-and-unmaking-of-iran-sanctions.pdf

- Kam, E. (2017). Iranian Military Intervention in Syria: A New Approach. StrategicAssessment,20(2).content/uploads/2017/07/adkan20-Kam.pdfhttps://www.inss.org.il/wp-
- Khavarinejad, S. (2024b). *The Economic Aspect of a Strategic Partnership in Iran-Russia's* <u>https://vital.lib.tsu.ru/vital/access/services/Download/koha:001146709/SO</u> <u>URCE1</u>
- Kozhanov, N. (2012). Russia's Policy Towards the Middle East . https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Russia% 20and%20Eurasia/191112summary.pdf
- Notte, H. (2023). Russia's Invasion of Ukraine: The Iran Nuclear Price Tag. https://library.fes.de/pdffiles/international/20083.pdf#:~:text=This%20article%20investigates%20h ow%20Moscow%E2%80%99s%20approach%20towards%20the,Russia% E2%80%99s%20renewed%20invasion%20of%20Ukraine%20in%20Febr uary%202022.
- Parker, J. W. (2012). Russia and the Iranian Nuclear Program: Replay or Breakthrough? <u>https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/stratperspective/inss/Strate</u> <u>gic-Perspectives-9.pdf</u>
- Pestova, A., & Mamonov, M. (2019). Should we care? The economic effects of financial sanctions on the Russian economy. https://ideas.repec.org/p/zbw/bofitp/bdp2019_013.html
- Siddiqui, K. (2024). The BRICS Expansion and the End of Western Economic and Geopolitical Dominance. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/385378847_2024_The_BRICS_ Expansion_and_the_End_of_Western_Economic_and_Geopolitical_Dominance-November-WFR
- Szczepański, M. (2023). Russia's war on Ukraine: US sanctions. Dalam European Parliamentary Research Service. <u>https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2023/73935</u> <u>8/EPRS_BRI(2023)739358_EN.pdf</u>
- Thrall, A. T., & Dorminey, C. (2018). Risky Business: The Role of Arms Sales in U.S. Foreign Policy. <u>https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/risky-business-role-arms-sales-us-foreign-policy</u>
- Woehrel, S. (2014). Ukraine: Current Issues and U.S. Policy . https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20140324_RL33460_6e1a9ce87fec1 9677515812c4af16d3bc8529723.pdf

Website

- Al Jazeera. (2017). US and Russia agree new Syria ceasefire deal. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/7/8/us-and-russia-agree-new-syriaceasefire-deal
- Al Jazeera. (2022). Finland says Russian MiG-31 fighter jets violated its airspace. https://aje.io/4u7a94
- Almanar. (2012). All Problems in Region are Imposed from Outside: Ahmadinejad. https://archive.almanar.com.lb/english/article.php?id=45929
- Arms Control Association. (2023). *Timeline of Nuclear Diplomacy With Iran, 1967-2023*. <u>https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/timeline-nuclear-diplomacy-iran-1967-2023</u>
- Atlamazoglou, C. (2022). Why the F-35 is at the top of the shopping list for militaries in Europe. Business Insider Nederland. <u>https://www.businessinsider.nl/why-the-f-35-is-at-the-top-of-the-shopping-list-for-militaries-in-europe/</u>
- Bassam, L., & Perry, T. (2015). *How Iranian general plotted out Syrian assault in Moscow*. Reuters. <u>https://www.reuters.com/article/world/how-iranian-general-plotted-out-syrian-assault-in-moscow-idUSKCN0S02BV/?_x_tr_sl=en&_x_tr_tl=id&_x_tr_hl=id&_x_tr_pto=w app</u>
- BBC. (2018). US-led strikes on Syria: What was hit? https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-43769332
- BBC. (2019). Six charts that show how hard US sanctions have hit Iran. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48119109
- Bloomberg. (2024). Russia Builds New Asia Trade Routes to Weaken Sanctions Over War. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-04-17/russiabuilds-new-asia-trade-routes-to-weaken-sanctions-over-war
- Brand Ukraine. (2024). *When and Why did the Russian Invasion of Crimea Start*. https://war.ukraine.ua/faq/when-and-why-did-russia-invade-crimea/
- CBS News. (2017). Putin flies into Syria, hugs Assad and declares victor. https://www.cbsnews.com/news/vladimir-putin-syria-declare-victorybashar-assad-russia-troops-withdrawal/
- Center for Preventive Action. (2024). *Conflict in Syria*. <u>https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/conflict-syria</u>

- Chalfant, M. (2022). *White House: Iran preparing to send Russia drones for Ukraine war*. <u>https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/3553782-white-house-iran-preparing-to-send-russia-drones-for-ukraine-war/</u>
- ClearIAS. (2024). International North–South Transport Corridor (INSTC). https://www.clearias.com/international-north-south-transport-corridorinstc/#:~:text=The%20current%20INSTC%20project%20was,Petersburg %20in%20Russia
- Council on Foreign Relations. (2022). The Cost of the U.S. Arms Trade. https://www.cfr.org/podcasts/cost-us-arms-trade
- Crowley, K. (2024). Defying Isolation: How Russia and Iran's Alliance Challenges Western Democracies. <u>https://nationalsecurity.gmu.edu/defying-isolation-how-russia-and-irans-alliance-challenges-western-democracies/</u>
- CSIS. (2024). Understanding the Growing Collaboration Between Russia and Iran. https://www.csis.org/analysis/understanding-growing-collaborationbetween-russia-and-iran
- Dagher, S., & Fitch, A. (2015). Iran Expands Role in Syria in Conjunction With Russia's Airstrikes. Wall Street Journal. <u>https://www.wsj.com/articles/iran-</u> expands-role-in-syria-in-conjunction-with-russias-airstrikes-1443811030
- Davenport, K. (2024). Iran Said to Ship Missiles to Russia. https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2024-10/news/iran-said-ship-missilesrussia#:~:text=Iran%20reached%20an%20agreement%20with,any%20mis sile%20systems%20to%20Russia
- Dick, S. (2019). *The Arms Trade and Syria*. <u>https://gjia.georgetown.edu/2019/09/02/the-arms-trade-and-</u> <u>syria/#:~:text=In%202013%2C%20the%20United%20States%20began%2</u> <u>0a%20secret,of%20influencing%20a%20negotiated%20end%20to%20the</u> <u>%20war</u>.
- Drezner, D. (2021). The United States of Sanctions: The Use and Abuse of Economic Coercion. Foreign Affairs. <u>https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-08-24/united-states-sanctions</u>
- Eruygur, B. (2023). Russia, Iran Sign Agreement on Countering Unilateral Sanctions. Anadolu Agency. <u>https://www.aa.com.tr/en/politics/russia-iran-sign-agreement-on-countering-unilateral-sanctions/3073919</u>
- Garamone, J. (2017). Trump Orders Missile Attack in Retaliation for Syrian Chemical Strikes. <u>https://www.defense.gov/News/News-</u>

Stories/Article/article/1144601/trump-orders-missile-attack-in-retaliationfor-syrian-chemical-strikes/

- Geranmayeh, E., & Grajewski, N. (2023). *Alone together: How the war in Ukraine* shapes the Russian-Iranian relationship. European Council on Foreign Relations. <u>https://ecfr.eu/publication/alone-together-how-the-war-in-</u> <u>ukraine-shapes-the-russian-iranian-relationship/</u></u>
- Gordon, M. R. (2012). Iran Supplying Syrian Military via Iraqi Airspace. https://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/05/world/middleeast/iran-supplyingsyrian-military-via-iraq-airspace.html
- Hardie, N. (2022). As the world shuns Russia over its invasion of Ukraine, Iran strengthens its ties with Moscow. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/iransource/as-the-world-shunsrussia-over-its-invasion-of-ukraine-iran-strengthens-its-ties-withmoscow%EF%BF%BC/
- Harrison, E. G. (2017). A visual guide to the US missile strikes on a Syrian airbase. <u>https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/07/visual-guide-us-airstrikes-on-syria-donald-trump</u>
- Iddon, P. (2023). Iran Reportedly Receives Russian Jets, But They Aren't The Long-Sought-After Su-35 Flanker. Forbes. <u>https://www.forbes.com/sites/pauliddon/2023/09/02/iran-reportedly-</u> receives-russian-jets-but-they-arent-the-long-sought-after-su-35flanker/?sh=6c9fc3102a2f
- IRAM Center for Iranian Studies. (2022). Iran;s Attitude Towards the UN Votes Concerning the Russia-Ukraine War. <u>https://iramcenter.org/en/irans-attitude-towards-the-un-votes-concerning-the-russia-ukraine-war_en-731</u>
- Iran International. (2024a). *How Iran's drones supercharged Russia's 1,000-day* fight in Ukraine. <u>https://www.iranintl.com/en/202411197064</u>
- Iran International. (2024b). Secret factory in Russia expands production of Iraniandesigned drones - CNN. <u>https://www.iranintl.com/en/202412271304</u>
- Islamic World News. (2023). *Military Knowledge: Yak-130 Fighter Trainer*. <u>https://english.iswnews.com/30422/military-knowledge-yak-130-fighter-trainer/</u>
- ISPI. (2022). Iran Deal: From "Close to Revive" to "Close to Stalling"? https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/iran-deal-close-revive-closestalling-36086

- Jose, L. (2024). BRICS Power Play : Russia And Iran Lead The Charge Against The Dollar. <u>https://www.cointribune.com/en/brics-power-play-russia-and-iran-lead-the-charge-against-the-dollar/</u>
- Kaleji, V. (2022). Banking Cooperation Between Iran and Russia Increases as De-Dollarization Campaign Intensifies. <u>https://jamestown.org/program/banking-cooperation-between-iran-and-</u> <u>russia-increases-as-de-dollarization-campaign-intensifies/</u>
- Kaleji, V. (2023a). Banking Cooperation between Iran and Russia: Capacities and Constrain. <u>https://valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/banking-cooperation-</u> between-iran-and-russia/
- Kaleji, V. (2023b). Iran and Russia: from "Oil-for-Goods Swap" to "Oil-Gas Swap." https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analyticalarticles/item/13743-iran-and-russia-from-%E2%80%9Coil-for-goodsswap%E2%80%9D-to-%E2%80%9Coil-gas-swap%E2%80%9D.html
- Khamenei.ir. (2011). Leader's Public Address in Mashhad. https://english.khamenei.ir/news/1434/Leader-s-Public-Address-in-Mashhad
- Khamenei.ir. (2023). *Big, Arrogant Powers are Behind All the Warmongering in the World.* <u>https://english.khamenei.ir/news/9706/Big-Arrogant-powers-are-</u> <u>behind-all-the-warmongering-in-the-world</u>
- Kommersant. (2022). *IAEA Kehilangan Pandangan*. <u>https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/5396194</u>
- Logirus. (2024). Sistem pesan keuangan melipatgandakan "pengguna." https://logirus.ru/news/custom_and_ved/sistema_peredachi_finansovykh_s oobshcheniy_mnozhit_-polzovateley.html
- MacFurquhar, N., & Sanger, D. E. (2016). *Russia Sends Bombers to Syria Using Base in Iran*. The New York Times. <u>https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/17/world/middleeast/russia-iran-base-syria.html</u>
- Mehdi, S. (2023). Iran's president tells UN General Assembly world is changing, era of Western hegemony is over. Anadolu Agency. <u>https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/iran-s-president-tells-un-general-assembly-world-is-changing-era-of-western-hegemony-is-over/2996404</u>
- Meier, O. (2013). European Efforts to Solve the Conflict over Iran's Nuclear Programme: How has the European Union Performed? Dalam *SIPRI Publications*. <u>https://www.sipri.org/publications/2013/eu-non-</u>

proliferation-papers/european-efforts-solve-conflict-over-irans-nuclearprogramme-how-has-european-union-performed

- Meyer, H. (2024). New 'sanctions-proof' transport routes put Russia at heart of global trade. The Japan Times. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2024/04/18/world/politics/russia-asia-trade-routes-sanctions/
- MFA Russia. (2022a). Foreign Ministry's answers to media questions for a news conference on Russian diplomacy's performance in 2022. https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1850908/
- MFA Russia. (2018). Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's remarks and responses to media questions at a joint news conference following talks with the Philippines' Secretary of Foreign Affairs Alan Cayetano, Moscow, May 15, 2018. https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1571581/
- MFA Russia. (2022). Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's opening remarks during talks with Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran Hossein Amir Abdollahian, Tunxi, March 30, 2022. https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1807186/
- MFA Russia. (2022b). Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's remarks and answers to media questions during talks with Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran Hossein Amir-Abdollahian. https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1827971/
- MFA Russia. (2022c). Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's remarks at the General Debate of the 77th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, September 24, 2022. https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1831211/
- MFA Russia. (2022d). Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's statement and answers to media questions at a joint news conference following talks with Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran Hossein Amir-Abdollahian, Tehran, June 23, 2022. https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1819259/
- MFA Russia. (2023). Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's remarks and answers to media questions at a news conference following talks with Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran Hossein Amir-Abdollahian, Moscow, March 29, 2023. <u>https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1860306/</u>
- Middle East Monitor. (2022). Iran to trade with Russia in national currencies to increase mutual trade. <u>https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20220402-iran-to-trade-with-russia-in-national-currencies-to-increase-mutual-trade/</u>
- Miller, N. L. (2024). *The future of nuclear proliferation after the war in Ukraine*. Ifri. <u>https://www.ifri.org/en/studies/future-nuclear-proliferation-after-war-</u>

ukraine#:~:text=The%20Future%20of%20Nuclear%20Proliferation%20af ter%20the%20War,especially%20in%20the%20Middle%20East%20and% 20East%20Asia

- Motamedi, M. (2022). 'Rooted in NATO': Iran responds to Russia's Ukraine attack. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/24/rooted-in-nato-inside-iransresponse-to-the-ukraine-crisis-2
- NATO. (2024). *Relations with Ukraine*. <u>https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_37750.htm</u>
- Newdick, T. (2024). Our First Look Inside Russia's Shahed-136 Attack Drone Factory. <u>https://www.twz.com/news-features/our-first-look-inside-russias-shahed-136-attack-drone-factory</u>
- Observatory of Economic Complex. (2023). Russia/United States. <u>https://oec.world/en/profile/bilateral-</u> <u>country/rus/partner/usa?dynamicBilateralTradeSelector=year2021</u>
- Osborn, K. (2022a). Could Finland's F-35 Purchase Make it More Likely to Join NATO? <u>https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/could-finlands-f-35-</u> purchase-make-it-more-likely-join-nato-200544
- Osborn, K. (2022b). Will Acquisition of F-35s Inspire Finland to Join NATO and Deter Russian Aggression? <u>https://warriormaven.com/air/f-35-finland-nato-russia</u>
- Ozkarashin, S. (2023). The Strategic Implications of an Iranian Drone Production Facility in Russia. The Jamestown Foundation. <u>https://jamestown.org/program/the-strategic-implications-of-an-iranian-</u> <u>drone-production-facility-in-russia/</u>
- Parrish, K. (2013). *Hagel Outlines U.S. Posture, Way Ahead in Middle East*. U.S. Department of Defense. <u>http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=121299</u>
- Ramani, S. (t.t.). *Russo-Iranian Alignment Will Continue Despite Differences*. Diambil 30 November 2024, dari <u>https://gulfif.org/russo-iranian-alignment-will-continue-despite-differences/</u>
- Reinl, J. (2010). US Rejects Iran Nuclear Deal Brokered by Turkey and Brazil and Sets Up New Sanctions. <u>https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/us-</u> rejects-iran-nuclear-deal-brokered-by-turkey-and-brazil-and-sets-up-newsanctions-1.537657
- Reuters. (2016). Iran deploys Russian-made S-300 missiles as its Fordow nuclear Site- TV. <u>https://www.reuters.com/article/world/iran-deploys-russian-made-s-300-missiles-at-its-fordow-nuclear-site-tv-idUSKCN11415Z/</u>

- Reuters. (2022). *IAEA's 35-nation board passes resolution chiding Iran on uranium traces*. <u>https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/iaeas-35-nation-board-passes-resolution-chiding-iran-uranium-traces-2022-06-08/</u>
- Reuters. (2023). Iran, Russia to trade in local currencies instead of US dollar . https://www.reuters.com/world/iran-russia-trade-local-currencies-insteadus-dollar-state-media-2023-12-27/
- Rodeheffer, L. (2024). *Russia Builds Alternative to SWIFT as Part of Digital Sovereignty Push.* The Jamestown Foundation. <u>https://jamestown.org/program/russia-builds-alternative-to-swift-as-part-of-digital-sovereignty-push/</u>
- Sadjadpour, K., & Grajewski, N. (2024). Autocrats United: How Russia and Iran Defy the U.S.-Led Global Order. Carneige Endowment fot International Peace. <u>https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/10/russia-iran-oil-gas-ukraine-syria?lang=en</u>
- Sanger, D. E. (2003). Bush Says U.S. Will Not Tolerate Building of Nuclear Arms by Iran. <u>https://www.nytimes.com/2003/06/19/world/bush-says-us-will-not-tolerate-building-of-nuclear-arms-by-iran.html</u>
- Sorongan, T. (2023). Good Bye! 2 Negara Ini Resmi Buang Dolar untuk Perdagangan. CNBC Indonesia. <u>https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20231229160733-4-501332/good-bye-2-negara-ini-resmi-buang-dolar-untuk-perdagangan</u>
- Stack, L. (2012). Iran Warns U.S. as Syria Intensifies Crackdown. New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/21/world/middleeast/iran-warns-usover-syria-as-crackdown-intensifies.html
- Tasnim News Agency. (2022). 'Fundamental Agreements' Achieved in Iranian
President's Visit to Russia.
https://www.tasnimnews.com/en/news/2022/01/21/2648188/fundamental-
agreements-achieved-in-iranian-president-s-visit-to-russia
- Tehran Times. (2022). Iran's UN envoy: Resolution against Russia not impartial. https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/470697/Iran-s-UN-envoy-Resolutionagainst-Russia-not-impartial
- Tehran Times. (2023a). *Iran, Russia boosting economic cooperation*. <u>https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/481883/Iran-Russia-boosting-</u> <u>economic-cooperation</u>
- Tehran Times. (2023b). Iran, Russia ink agreement on completing Rasht-Astara railway. <u>https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/484797/Iran-Russia-ink-</u> agreement-on-completing-Rasht-Astara-railway

- Tehran Times. (2023c). *Rial-Ruble share exceeds* 60% in *Iran-Russia trade*. <u>https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/481213/Rial-Ruble-share-exceeds-60-in-Iran-Russia-trade</u>
- Tempo. (2023). Spesifikasi Canggih Jet Tempur Su-35 Rusia untuk Iran. https://www.tempo.co/internasional/spesifikasi-canggih-jet-tempur-su-35rusia-untuk-iran-179183
- The Economist. (2014). The pros and cons of a SWIFT response. https://www.economist.com/international/2014/11/20/the-pros-and-consof-a-swift-response
- The Iran Primer. (2022). Raisi in Russia. https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2022/jan/21/raisi-russia
- The Iran Primer. (2023). *Timeline: Iran-Russia Collaboration on Drones*. <u>https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2023/mar/01/timeline-iran-russia-collaboration-drones</u>
- The Russian Government. (2022). Mikhail Mishustin meets with First Vice President of Iran Mohammad Mokhber. http://government.ru/en/news/46721/
- The State Duma. (2022a). Chairman of the State Duma: NATO aims to occupy Ukraine. http://duma.gov.ru/en/news/53231/
- The State Duma. (2022b). *President of Iran addressed members of the State Duma*. <u>http://duma.gov.ru/en/news/53251/</u>
- The State Duma. (2022c). Vyacheslav Volodin: the USA is trying to restrain development of other countries to maintain its hegemony. http://duma.gov.ru/en/news/55907/
- The Times of Israel. (2022). *The Iranian-made killer drones vying for supremacy in Ukrainian skies*. <u>https://www.timesofisrael.com/the-iranian-made-killer-drones-vying-for-supremacy-in-ukrainian-skies/</u>
- Trend News Agency. (2014). Tehran Considers Introduction of International Sanctions Unproductive- Ambassador to Russia. https://www.trend.az/iran/politics/2253889.html
- Troianovski, A., Fassihi, F., & Erlanger, S. (2022). Russia and Iran Put on a Show of Unity- Against the U.S. *The New York Times*. <u>https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/19/world/europe/russia-iran-unityus.html</u>

- United Nations. (2019). United States, Iran Trade Accusations during Security Council Debate on Causes of Conflicts, Instability in Middle East. https://press.un.org/en/2019/sc13923.doc.html
- United Nations. (2021). Sanctions are 'US way of war', Iranian President at UN. https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/09/1100572
- United States Department of the Treasury. (2022). U.S. Treasury Announces Unprecedented & Expansive Sanctions Against Russia, Impsing Swift and Severe Economic Cost. <u>https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy0608</u>
- U.S. Department of Defense. (2020). *Statement by the Department of Defense*. <u>https://www.defense.gov/News/Release/Article/2049534/stateme</u>nt-by-the-department-of-defense/
- U.S. Department of State. (2024). U.S. Security Cooperation with Ukraine. <u>https://www.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-</u> <u>ukraine/#:~:text=To%20date%2C%20we%20have%20provided,invasion%</u> <u>20of%20Ukraine%20in%202014</u>
- U.S. Government. (2010). Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, And Divestment Act Of 2010. https://www.congress.gov/111/plaws/publ195/PLAW-111publ195.pdf
- U.S. Government. (2012). Iran Freedom and Counter-Proliferation Act of 2012. https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/208111.pdf
- Vedomosti. (2023). Bank Sentral mewajibkan bank untuk menggunakan layanan Rusia untuk transfer di Federasi Rusia mulai Oktober. <u>https://www.vedomosti.ru/finance/news/2023/03/20/967293-tsb-obyazal-banki</u>
- Wezeman, P., Kuimova, A., & Wezeman, S. (2022). *Trends in International Arms Transfer, 2021.* <u>https://www.sipri.org/publications/2022/sipri-fact-sheets/trends-international-arms-transfers-2021</u>
- White House. (2014a). Blocking Property of Certain Persons Contributing to the Situation in Ukraine. <u>https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/03/06/executive-order-blocking-property-certain-persons-contributing-situation</u>
- White House. (2014b). Statement by the President on Ukraine. https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-pressoffice/2014/03/17/statement-president-ukraine
- White House. (2022). Remarks by President Biden on the Assistance the United States is Providing to Ukraine. https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-

room/speeches-remarks/2022/03/16/remarks-by-president-biden-on-theassistance-the-united-states-is-providing-to-ukraine/

- White House. (2022). Remarks by President Biden on Russia's Unprovoked and Unjustified Attack on Ukraine. <u>https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/02/24/remarks-by-president-biden-on-russias-unprovoked-and-unjustified-attack-on-ukraine/</u>
- Wong, A. (2020). Understanding Russia's Foreign Policy Through International Arms Sales. Wavell Room. <u>https://wavellroom.com/2020/04/30/russian-foreign-policy-through-international-arms-sales/</u>
- World Politics Review. (2018). In Deepening Ties With ASEAN, Australia Gains a 'Strategic Hedge.' <u>https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/in-deepening-</u> ties-with-asean-australia-gains-a-strategic-hedge/
- ynet news. (2007). Bush warns of "holocaust" if Iran gets nukes. https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3443276,00.html

Twitter

- @Amb_Ulyanov. (2022a). Let's don't forget that the #US maximum pressure policy against #Iran has no credible peaceful purpose. It was the main reason which compelled Iran to start 60 percent enrichment of uranium. https://x.com/Amb_Ulyanov/status/1592932630148046849
- Amb_Ulyanov. (2022b). So, #Iran provided its response to the latest #US proposals to the draft decision on revival of the #JCPOA. It seems that Iranian suggestions aren't over-ambitious and can be accommodated provided there is the necessary political will to complete the #ViennaTalks. https://x.com/Amb_Ulyanov/status/1565711763705831426?mx=2