

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### **Buku**

- Babbie, E. (2010). *The Practice of Social Research* (12 ed.). United States of America: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Danny, D., & Simanjuntak, H. (2007). *Ahmadinejad Menentang Amerika: Dari Nuklir Iran, Zionisme, hingga Penyangkalan Holocaust*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Narasi.
- Farber, D. (2006). *Taken Hostage: The Crisis and America's First Encounter with Radical Islam*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Gogary, A. E. (2006). *Ahmadinejad The Nuclear Saviour of Tehran*. Kairo: Daarul Kitab Al-Arabi.
- Jordet, N. (2000). *Explaining the Long-term Hostility between the United States and Iran: A Historical, Theoretical and Methodological Framework*. Medford: Tufts University Press.
- Kemp, G. (2001). *Iran's Nuclear Weapons Options: Issues and Analysis*. Washington DC: The Nixon Center.
- Long, D. E. (2011). *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North America*. United States of America: Westview Press.
- Muhajeri, M. (1982). *Islamic Revolution Future Path of the Nations*. Tehran: The External Liaison Section of the Central Office of Jihad.
- Reardon, R. J. (2012). Iran's Nuclear Program: Past, Present, and Future. In R. J. Reardon, *Containing Iran: Strategies for Addressing the Iranian Nuclear Challenge* (pp. 9-64). RAND Corporation.
- Samore, G. (2015). *Sanctions Against Iran: A Guide to Targets, Terms, and Timetables*. Cambridge: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.
- Satori, A. (2018). *Sistem Pemerintahan Iran Modern: Konsep Wilayatul Faqih Imam Khomeini sebagai Teologi dalam Relasi Agama dan Demokrasi*. Yogyakarta: Deepublish.

### **Jurnal**

- Aghazadeh, M. (2013). A Historical Overview of Sanctions on Iran and Iran's Nuclear Program. *Journal of Academic Studies*, 14(56), 137-160.
- Asayesh, H., & Halim, A. (2011). Political Party in Islamic Republic of Iran: A Review. *Journal Politics and Law*, 4(1), 221-229.
- Bahgat, G. (2006). Nuclear Proliferation: The Islamic Republic of Iran. *Iranian Studies*, 39(3), 307-327.



Bastani, H. (2014). How Powerful is Rouhani in the Islamic Republic. *Chatham House the Royal Institute of International Affairs*.

Cordesman, A. H. (2006). Iranian Nuclear Weapons? The Uncertain Nature of Iran's Nuclear Programs. *Center for Strategic and International Studies*.

Gul, A. A. (2012). Iran's Pursuit of Peaceful Nuclear Technology. *Pakistan Horizon*, 65(1), 35-52.

Hurst, S. (2012). Obama and Iran. *International Politics*(49), 547.

Khan, S. (2010). *Iran and Nuclear Weapons : Potracted Conflict and Proliferation*. New York: Routledge.

Moravcsik, A. (1993). Introduction: Integrating International and Domestic Theories of International Bargaining. in *Double-edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, 15-30.

Nader, A., Scotten, A. G., & Hoobler, J. (2017). Iranian Domestic Challenges to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action. *RAND Center for Middle East Public Policy* .

Putnam, R. D. (1988). Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games. *International Organization*, 42(3), 434-457.

Quillen, C. (2002). Iranian Nuclear Weapons Policy: Past, Present, and Possible Future. *The Middle East Review of International Affairs* , 6(2).

Sahimi, M. (2005). Forced to Fuel: Iran's Nuclear Energy Program. *Harvard International Review*, 26(4), 42-45.

Tagma, H. M., & Uzun, E. (2012). Bureaucrats, Ayatollahs, and Persian Politics: Explaining the Shift in Iranian Nuclear Policy. *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, 24.

Takeyh, R. (2003). Iran's Nuclear Calculations. *World Policy Journal*, 20(2).

Tarock, A. (2006). Iran's Nuclear Programme and the West. *Third World Quarterly*., 27(4), 645-664.

Vaez, A. (2013). Iran's Nuclear Program And the Sanctions Siege. *Arms Control Today*, 43(4), 8-14.

### **Artikel Daring**

AFF. (2012, June 1). *Iran FM has 'High Hopes' for Moscow Nuclear Talks*. Retrieved November 28, 2018, from Now. Media: [https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/iran\\_fm\\_has\\_high\\_hopes\\_for\\_moscow\\_nuclear\\_talks](https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/iran_fm_has_high_hopes_for_moscow_nuclear_talks)



- Ahmadinejad Defends Iran's Nuclear Programme . (2012, May 30). Retrieved November 26, 2018, from France 24 : <https://www.france24.com/en/20120530-france-24-exclusive-ahmadinejad-defends-iran-nuclear-programme-houla-massacre>
- BBC. (2006, July 12). *Iran Referred to Security Council*. Retrieved Desember 10, 2018, from BBC News: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/5173872.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5173872.stm)
- Borger, J. (2013, February 27). *Iran Hails Turning Point in Nuclear Talks*. Retrieved May 19, 2018, from The Guardian: <http://theguardian.com/world/2013/feb/27/iran-turning-point-nuclear-talks>
- Borger, J., & Lewis, P. (2015, April 3). *Iran Nuclear Deal: Negotiators Announce Framework Agreement*. Retrieved Februari 1, 2019, from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/02/iran-nuclear-deal-negotiators-announce-framework-agreement>
- Bruce, N. C. (2012, February 28). *Iran Calls Nuclear Arms Production a 'Great Sin'*. Retrieved November 28, 2018, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/29/world/middleeast/iran-calls-for-negotiations-on-treaty-banning-nuclear-weapons.html>
- Dahl, F., & P., H. (2014, March 19). *Iran Six World Powers Lock Horns Over Nuclear Reactor that Could Yield Plutonium*. Retrieved Januari 31, 2019, from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear/iran-six-powers-lock-horns-over-nuclear-reactor-that-could-yield-plutonium-idUSBREA2G1RX20140319>
- Davenport, K. (2015, October). *Implementation of the Joint Plan of Action at a Glance*. Retrieved Januari 31, 2019, from Arms Control Association: <https://www.armscontrol.org/Implementation-of-the-Joint-Plan-of-Action-At-A-Glance>
- Davenport, K. (2017, August 6). *UN Security Council Resolutions on Iran*. Retrieved November 20, 2018, from Arms Control Association: <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Security-Council-Resolutions-on-Iran>
- Davenport, K. (2018). *Timeline of Nuclear Diplomacy with Iran* . Retrieved May 19, 2018, from Arms Control Association: <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheet/Timeline-of-Nuclear-Diplomacy-With-Iran>
- Dehghan, S. K. (2015, October 13). *Iranian Parliament Passes Bill Approving Nuclear Deal*. Retrieved Februari 4, 2019, from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/13/iranian-parliament-passes-bill-approving-nuclear-deal>
- Erdbrink, T. (2015, July 21). *Iran Lawmakers to Wait 80 Days Before Voting on Nuclear Deal*. Retrieved Februari 4, 2019, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/22/world/middleeast/iran-nuclear-deal-vote.html>
- Erdbrink, T., & Gladstone, R. (2012, October 3). *Violence and Protest in Iran as Currency Drops in Value*. Retrieved Januari 25, 2019, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/04/world/middleeast/clashes-reported-in-tehran-as-riot-police-target-money-changers.html>



- Erdbrink, T., & Sengupta, S. (2015, September 3). *Iran's Supreme Leader Orders Parliament to Vote on Nuclear Deal*. Retrieved Februari 4, 2019, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/04/world/middleeast/ayatollah-ali-khamenei-iran-supreme-leader-nuclear-deal-vote.html>
- Erlangger, S. (2014, February 20). *Iran ad 6 Powers Agree on Terms for Nuclear Talks*. Retrieved Januari 31, 2019, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/21/world/middleeast/iran.html>
- Fitch, A. (2015, September 9). *Iranians Mostly Support Nuclear Deal with West, Poll Says*. Retrieved December 28, 2018, from The Wall Street Journal: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/iranians-mostly-support-nuclear-deal-with-west-poll-says-1441825240>
- Gallagher, N., Mohseni, E., & Ramsay, C. (2015). *Iranian Public Opinion on the Nuclear Negotiations*. College Park: Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland . Retrieved January 14, 2019, from <http://www.cissm.umd.edu/publications/iranian-public-opinion-nuclear-negotiations>
- Gallagher, N., Mohseni, E., & Ramsay, C. (2015, September). *Iranian Puclic Opinion on the Nuclear Agreement*. Retrieved December 28, 2018, from Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland: <http://www.cissm.umd.edu/publications/iranian-public-opinion-nuclear-agreement>
- George, M. (2012, June 3). *Khamenei: West Talks of Nuclear Iran to Hide Own Problem*. Retrieved November 26, 2018, from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-usa-nuclear/khamenei-west-talks-of-nuclear-iran-to-hide-own-problems-idUSBRE85204J20120603>
- Gordon, M. R. (2013, November 23). *Accord Reached with Iran to Halt Nuclear Program*. Retrieved May 19, 2018, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/24/world/middleeast/talks-with-iran-on-nuclear-deal-hang-in-balance.html>
- Hafezi, P. (2012, February 22). *Khamenei: No Obstacles Can Stop Iran's Nuclear Course*. Retrieved November 26, 2018, from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-khamenei/khamenei-no-obstacles-can-stop-irans-nuclear-course-idUSTRE81L0IH20120222>
- Hafezi, P. (2015, September 3). *Iran Khamenei Backs Parliamentary Vote on Nuclear Deal with Powers*. Retrieved Februari 4, 2019, from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-khamenei-idUSKCN0R310720150903>
- Hafezi, P., & Charbonneau, L. (2014, October 21). *Exclusive: Iran Offers Compromise in Nuclear Talks, West Unmoved*. Retrieved Februari 1, 2019, from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-compromise/exclusive-iran-offers-compromises-in-nuclear-talks-west-unmoved-idUSKCN0IA0BW20141021>
- Hurst, S. (n.d.). *The Iran Nuclear Deal: Driven by International Factors for the US and Domestic Ones for Iran*. Retrieved Januari 25, 2019, from LSE US Centre:



<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2015/12/01/the-iran-nuclear-deal-driven-by-international-factors-for-the-us-and-domestic-ones-for-iran/>

IAEA. (2016, Januari 16). *IAEA Director General's Statement on Iran*. Retrieved Mei 19, 2018, from International Atomic Energy Agency: <https://www.iaea.org/newscenter/news/iaea-director-general%E2%80%99s-statement-iran>

*Iran Names Panel on Nuclear Inspections* . (2003). Retrieved November 24, 2018, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/10/02/world/iran-names-panel-on-nuclear-inspections.html>

IranWatch. (2016, August 9). *A History of Iran's Nuclear Program*. Retrieved November 12, 2018, from Iran Watch : <https://www.iranwatch.org/our-publications/weapon-program-background-report/history-irans-nuclear-program>

Ita. (2012, Oktober 3). *AS: Pemerintah Iran dalam Tekanan Hebat Akibat Sanksi-Sanksi*. Retrieved Januari 23, 2019, from Detik News: <https://news.detik.com/internasional/2053818/as-pemerintah-iran-dalam-tekanan-hebat-akibat-sanksi-sanksi>

Jahanpour, F. (n.d.). *Opinion: The Early History of Iran's Nuclear Program*. Retrieved November 22, 2018, from nter Press Service News Agenc: <http://www.ipsnews.net/2015/09/opinion-the-early-history-of-irans-nuclear-programme/>

*Joint Plan of Action on Iran's Nuclear Program* . (2013, November 25). Retrieved Januari 31, 2019, from The New York Times: <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/11/25/world/middleeast/iran-nuclear-deal-document.html>

Kadishson, D. (2012, May 31). *Being Realistic about Iran's Nuclear Program*. Retrieved November 26, 2018, from Los Angeles Times: <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/may/31/news/la-ol-iran-nuclear-blowback-20120530>

Kenyon, P. (2014, November 23). *The Stickiest Issues I Iran Nuclear Talks*. Retrieved Januari 31, 2019, from National Public Radio: <https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2014/09/16/348903293/with-a-deadline-looming-irans-nuclear-talks-reopen-in-new-york>

Linzer, D. (2005, March 27). *Past Arguments Don't Square with Current Iran Policy*. Retrieved November 26, 2018, from The Washington Post: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A3983-2005Mar26.html?noredirect=on>

Mahdavi, P. (2015, April 14). *Will Iran's Parliament Block the Nuclear Deal?* Retrieved Februari 1, 2019, from The Washington Post : [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/04/14/will-irans-parliament-block-the-nuclear-deal/?utm\\_term=.b355618002bc](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/04/14/will-irans-parliament-block-the-nuclear-deal/?utm_term=.b355618002bc)

Milani, A., & Michael, M. (2015, August 11). *What the Iran-Deal Debate Is Like in Iran*. Retrieved Februari 4, 2019, from The Atlantic:





<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/08/iran-deal-politics-rouhani-khamenei/400985/>

- Myers, S. L. (2008, September 23). *Rusia Won't Meet with US on Iranian Nuclear Program*. Retrieved Desember 13, 2018, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/24/world/europe/24russia.html>
- Rajabova, S. (2013, Maret 19). *Iran P5+1 Review Proposals in Istanbul*. Retrieved Januari 31, 2019, from Azernews: <http://www.iranreview.org/content/Documents/Iran-P5-1-Reviewed-Proposals-Put-Forward-in-Istanbul-Meeting.htm>
- Reynolds, J. (2013, April 5). *Iran Nuclear Talks Yield Little Progress*. Retrieved Januari 31, 2019, from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-22029888>
- Rezaian, J., & Gearan, A. (2014, July 18). *World Powers Agree to Extend Talks with Iran*. Retrieved Februari 1, 2019, from The Washington Post: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/world-powers-look-set-to-extend-talks-with-iran/2014/07/18/967c967a-0ec4-11e4-8341-b8072b1e7348\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.490475238855](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/world-powers-look-set-to-extend-talks-with-iran/2014/07/18/967c967a-0ec4-11e4-8341-b8072b1e7348_story.html?utm_term=.490475238855)
- Rowberry, A. (2013, December 18). *Sixty Years of "Atoms for Peace" and Iran's Nuclear Program*. Retrieved November 26, 2018, from Brookings: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2013/12/18/sixty-years-of-atoms-for-peace-and-irans-nuclear-program/>
- Sanger, D. E., & Broad, W. J. (2009, November 26). *UN Nuclear Agency Calls Iran Inquiry 'Dead End'*. Retrieved Desember 13, 2018, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/27/world/middleeast/27nuke.html>
- Sciutto, J., Robertson, N., & Yan, H. (2014, November 24). *New Iran Nuclear Talks Deadlines: March 1 July 1 2015*. Retrieved Februari 1, 2019, from CNN: <https://ktla.com/2014/11/24/new-iran-nuclear-talks-deadlines-march-1-july-1-2015/CNN>
- Starr, J. (2015, November). *The U.N. Resolutions*. Retrieved Desember 19, 2018, from United States Institute of Peace: The Iran Primer: <https://iranprimer.usip.org/resource/un-resolutions>
- UN. (2006, July 31). *Security Council Demands Iran Suspend Uranium Enrichment by 31 August, or Face Possible Economic, Diplomatic Sanctions*. Retrieved Desember 10, 2018, from <https://www.un.org/press/en/2006/sc8792.doc.htm>
- UN. (2007, March 24). *Security Council Toughens Sanctions Against Iran, Adds Arms Embargo, with Unanimous Adoption of Resolution 1747 (2007)*. Retrieved Desember 10, 2018, from <https://www.un.org/press/en/2007/sc8980.doc.htm>
- UNSC. (2006, July 31). *Security Council Demands Iran Suspend Uranium Enrichment by 31 August, or Face Possible Economic, Diplomatic Sanctions*. Retrieved Desember 19, 2018, from United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2006/sc8792.doc.htm>



- UNSC. (2007, March 24). *Security Council Toughens Sanctions Against Iran, Adds Arms Embargo, with Unanimous Adoption of Resolution 1747 (2007)*. Retrieved December 19, 2018, from United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2007/sc8980.doc.htm>
- UNSC. (2008, September 27). *Security Council Reaffirms Earlier Resolutions on Iran's Uranium Enrichment, Calls on Country to Comply with Obligations 'Fully and without Delay'*. Retrieved December 19, 2018, from United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2008/sc9459.doc.htm>
- UNSC. (2008, March 3). *Security Council Tightens Restrictions on Iran's Proliferation-Sensitive Nuclear Activities, Increases Vigilance over Iranian Banks, has States Inspect Cargo*. Retrieved December 19, 2018, from United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2008/sc9268.doc.htm>
- UNSC. (2010, June 9). *Security Council Imposes Additional Sanctions on Iran, Voting 12 in Favour to 2 Against, with 1 Abstention*. Retrieved December 19, 2018, from United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2010/sc9948.doc.htm>
- UNSC. (2015, July 20). *Security Council, Adopting Resolution 2231 (2015), Endorses Joint Comprehensive Agreement on Iran's Nuclear Programme*. Retrieved December 19, 2018, from United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2015/sc11974.doc.htm>
- Valentine, P. W. (1977, November 15). *Pro-, Anti-Shah Partisans Begin Demonstrating*. Retrieved November 17, 2018, from The Washington Post: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1977/11/15/pro-anti-shah-partisans-begin-demonstrating/6b3c4dd2-89f4-411f-aa0d-9aa10773fc86/?utm\\_term=.9d03749b11d1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1977/11/15/pro-anti-shah-partisans-begin-demonstrating/6b3c4dd2-89f4-411f-aa0d-9aa10773fc86/?utm_term=.9d03749b11d1)
- Warrick, J., & DeYoung, K. (2013, December 19). *On Iran, Senators Defy White House*. Retrieved Januari 31, 2019, from The Washington Post: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/on-iran-senators-defy-white-house-propose-new-sanctions-legislation/2013/12/19/03c51b6e-68f1-11e3-8b5b-a77187b716a3\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.44b2365b6369](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/on-iran-senators-defy-white-house-propose-new-sanctions-legislation/2013/12/19/03c51b6e-68f1-11e3-8b5b-a77187b716a3_story.html?utm_term=.44b2365b6369)
- Weisman, S. R., & Fathi, N. (2006, February). *Iranians Reopen Nuclear Centers*. Retrieved November 27, 2018, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/11/world/middleeast/iranians-reopen-nuclear-centers.html>
- Willian J. Broad, W. D., & David E. Sanger, D. E. (2007, February 4). *Iranian Boast Is Put to Test*. Retrieved Desember 10, 2018, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/04/world/middleeast/04natanz.html?mtrref=www.google.com&gwh=9C8FCE61645C3959C5C3EBC112A36A9B&gwt=pay>
- Yaakov, Y. (2012, May 22). *Iran Exploits Diplomacy to Advance Its Nuclear Program*. Retrieved November 26, 2018, from The Boston Globe:



<https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2012/05/22/iran-exploits-diplomacy-advance-its-nuclear-program/q5ALCa5uX1sH69I5FJhxpO/story.html>

## **Laporan**

- Cronin, R. P. (2005). *Pakistan's Nuclear Proliferation Activities and the Recommendation of the 9/11 Commission: U.S Policy Constraints and Options*. CRS Report for Congress.
- Gallagher, N., Mohseni, E., & Ramsay, C. (2015). *Iranian Public Opinion on the Nuclear Negotiations*. Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland.
- Katzman, K. (2015). *Iran Sanctions*. Congressional Research Service, Middle Eastern Affairs. CRS Report.
- Kerr, P. K. (2018). *Iran's Nuclear Program: Status*. CRS Report for Congress.
- UNSC. (2006). *Resolution 1696 (2006)*. New York: Security Council Report.
- UNSC. (2006). *Resolution 1737 (2006)*. New York: Security Council Report.
- UNSC. (2007). *Resolution 1747 (2007)*. New York: Security Council Report.
- UNSC. (2008). *Resolution 1803 (2008)*. New York: Security Council Report.
- UNSC. (2008). *Resolution 1835 (2008)*. New York: Security Council Report.
- UNSC. (2010). *Resolution 1929 (2010)*. New York: Security Council Report.