

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abbasi, A. (2025). Proxy wars and Regional Instability: Israel-Iran conflict in the Middle East. *Assa Journal*, 4(01), 1418–1427. <https://assajournal.com/index.php/36/article/view/635>
- Akhmedov, V. M. (2023). Iran and Israel: Dangerous Wars in the Middle East. *Oriental Courier*, 2, 29. <https://doi.org/10.18254/s268684310026731-2>
- Al Jazeera. (2023). *How big is Israel's military and how much funding does it get from the US?* Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/11/how-big-is-israels-military-and-how-much-funding-does-it-get-from-the-us>
- Berger, M. (2023). *Post-9/11 wars have contributed to some 4.5 million deaths, report suggests.* The Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/05/15/war-on-terror-911-deaths-afghanistan-iraq/>
- Brands, H. (2018). *Islamism and the international order strategy, grand strategy, and the enduring war on terror.* Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press.
- Brown University. (2023). *Costs of War.* Brown University. <https://costsofwar.watson.brown.edu/findings>
- Carmen-Cristina, C. (2025). *International sanctions on Iran: Overview of the main regimes and recent events.* European Parliament. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_BRI\(2025\)777928](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_BRI(2025)777928)
- Chomsky, N. (2003). *Hegemony or survival: America's quest for global dominance.* New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Congress Research Service. (2025). *Iran Sanctions.* U.S. Congress. <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/RS20871>
- Council on Foreign Relations. (2024). *What Is Hezbollah?* <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-hezbollah>
- Cox, R. W. (1981). Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 10(2), 126–155. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298810100020501>
- Cox, R. W. (1983). Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method. *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, 12(2), 162–175. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298830120020701>
- Elman, M. F. & Shams, R. Z. (2022). “We Are Cousins. Our Father Is Abraham...”: Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism with the Abraham Accords. *Religions*, 13(10). <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13100901>
- Erdoğan, A. & Habash, L. (2020). U.S. Policy Toward the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict under the Trump Administration: Continuity or Change? *Insight Turkey*. 125-146. <https://doi.org/10.25253/99.2020221.09>
- Field, M. (2024, November 14). Behind Iran's Surging Military Budget. *War on the Rocks*. [https://warontherocks.com/2024/11/behind-irans-surging-military-budget/#:~:text=Iranian%20lawmakers%20will%20debate%20the,valued%20at%20only%20\\$7.41%20billion.](https://warontherocks.com/2024/11/behind-irans-surging-military-budget/#:~:text=Iranian%20lawmakers%20will%20debate%20the,valued%20at%20only%20$7.41%20billion.)
- Gill, S. (2008). *Power and resistance in the new world order.* New York: Springer.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks* (Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith, Eds. & Trans.). New York: International Publishers.
- Haggar, R. (2017). *Gramsci and Neo-Marxism: An Introduction – Earlham Sociology and Politics Pages.* Earlhamsociologypages.uk. <https://earlhamsociologypages.uk/gramscineomarxism/>



- Hartung, W. D. (2025). U.S. Military Aid and Arms Transfers to Israel, October 2023 – September 2025. *Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft*. <https://quincyinst.org/research/u-s-military-aid-and-arms-transfers-to-israel-october-2023-september-2025/>
- Helmys, N. (2016). Ekspor Revolusi Islam dan Identitas Republik Islam Iran. *Andalas Journal of International Studies*, 5(2), 194–209. <https://doi.org/10.25077/ajis.5.2.194-209.2016>
- IMF. (2018). *Islamic Republic of Iran: 2018 Article IV Consultation - Press Release; Staff Report; and Statement by the Executive Director for the Islamic Republic of Iran*. <https://www.imf.org/en/publications/cr/issues/2018/03/29/islamic-republic-of-iran-2018-article-iv-consultation-press-release-staff-report-and-45767>
- Israqi, M. A. & Mulawarman, H. M. (2025). Evolusi Wilayah Al-Faqih: Dari Akar Sejarah Safawiyah Hingga Dominasi Politik Iran Modern. *Jurnal Cendekia Ilmiah*, 4(3), 2513–2533. <https://doi.org/10.56799/jceki.v4i3.8855>
- Kaye, D. D., Nader, A. & Roshan, P. (2011). A brief history of Israeli-Iranian cooperation and confrontation. In *Israel and Iran: A Dangerous Rivalry* (pp. 9–17). Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation. <https://doi.org/10.7249/mg1143osd.7>
- Lopez, C. T. (2026). Israel, U.S., Partners Neutralize Iranian Airborne Attacks. *U.S. Department of War*. <https://www.war.gov/News/News/Stories/Article/Article/3742552/israel-us-partners-neutralize-iranian-airborne-attacks/>
- Mahmoudian, A. M. (2024). *Iran-Israel conflict: A new stage emerges*. Global and National Security Institute, University of South Florida. <https://www.usf.edu/gnsi/publications/research-articles/iran-israel-conflict-a-new-stage-interactive.pdf>
- Masters, J. & Merrow, W. (2024). U.S. Aid to Israel in Four Charts. *Council on Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/article/us-aid-israel-four-charts>
- Office of Foreign Assets Control. (2026). *Iran Sanctions*. U.S. Department of the Treasury. <https://ofac.treasury.gov/sanctions-programs-and-country-information/iran-sanctions>
- Paramasatya, S. & Wiranto, S. (2019). Konfrontasi Amerika Serikat dan Iran dalam *Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action* (JCPOA). *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 12(2), 297–297. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jhi.v12i2.14047>
- Pistas, C. & Shalal, A. (2026). Trump calls for \$1.5 trillion military budget in 2027, up from \$901 bln in 2026. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/trump-says-us-military-budget-2027-should-be-15-trillion-2026-01-07/>
- Racer, C. F. (2024). *Iran's crude oil production*. EBSCO. <https://www.ebsco.com/research-starters/science/irans-crude-oil-production>
- Raghuraman, A. & Mamasoliev, D. (2025). Iran's Proxy Network Strategy in the Middle East. The Institute for Advanced International Studies (IAIS). <https://iais.uz/en/outputnew/irans-proxy-network-strategy-in-the-middle-east>
- Richards, M. C. R. (2015). *Iran as a strategic threat to the U.S. in the Middle East and its impact on U.S. policy in the region*. Master's thesis, Missouri State University. BearWorks. <https://bearworks.missouristate.edu/theses/1502>
- Sharp, J. M. (2023). *U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel: Overview and Developments since October 7, 2023*. U.S. Congress. <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/RL33222>
- Shavit, E. & Shine, S. (2025). *The Nuclear Talks Between the United States and Iran—Chances for Reaching an Agreement and Implications for Israel*. The Institute for National Security Studies (NSS). <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/us-iran-talks-2025/>
- Shiva, R. (2024). “The consequences of international sanctions on Iran's trade control system: have the imposition of extensive international sanctions led to significant changes in the trade control system. Master Thesis Online, University of Liège. <https://matheo.uliege.be/handle/2268.2/21950>



- Simon, S. (2010). *Iran and Israel*. The Iran Primer, United States Institute of Peace.
<https://iranprimer.usip.org/resource/iran-and-israel>
- SIPRI. (2025). *How top arms exporters have responded to the war in Gaza: 2025 update*.
<https://www.sipri.org/commentary/topical-backgrounder/2025/how-top-arms-exporters-have-responded-war-gaza-2025-update>
- Taufiq, F. & Utama, L. W. P. (2018). Hegemoni Amerika Serikat Terhadap Arah Kebijakan Arab Saudi dalam Konflik Yaman Pasca Arab Spring 2011-2017. *Jurnal ICMES*, 1(1), 25–44. <https://doi.org/10.35748/jurnalicmes.v1i1.2>
- Tovar, A. (2020). US Government Removes Sudan from the State Sponsor of Terrorism list. Global Sanctions and Export Controls Blog.
<https://sanctionsnews.bakermckenzie.com/us-government-removes-sudan-from-state-sponsor-of-terrorism-list>
- U.S. Congress. (2011). *National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2012*.
<https://www.congress.gov/112/plaws/publ81/PLAW-112publ81.pdf>
- U.S. Energy Information Administration. (2013). Sanctions reduced Iran's oil exports and revenues in 2012. <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php>
- Ufomba, H. U. (2010). Collective security or the security of the hegemony: The United States policy in the Middle East and the two Gulf wars. *Middle East Studies Online Journal*, 1(3).
https://www.academia.edu/1200240/Collective_Security_or_The_Security_of_The_Hegemony_The_United_States_Policy_in_The_Middle_East_and_The_Two_Gulf_Wars
- Walt, S. & Mearsheimer, J. J. (2006). *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. KSG Faculty Research Working Paper Series RWP06-011. <https://www.hks.harvard.edu/publications/israel-lobby-and-us-foreign-policy>
- White House. (2020). *Proclamation on Recognizing the Sovereignty of the Kingdom of Morocco over the Western Sahara*. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/presidential-actions/proclamation-recognizing-sovereignty-kingdom-morocco-western-sahara/>
- Wibowo, B. G. (2025). Hubungan Amerika Serikat-Israel dalam Bidang Pertahanan dan Keamanan pada Tahun 2023-2024. *Diplomacy and Global Security Journal: Jurnal Mahasiswa Magister Hubungan Internasional*, 2(1), 293–299.
<https://doi.org/10.36859/dgsj.v2i2.4575>
- Wintour, P. & Borger, J. (2019). Saudi offers “proof” of Iran's role in oil attack and urges US response. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/18/saudi-oil-attack-rouhani-dismisses-us-claims-of-iran-role-as-slander>
- World Bank. (2020). *Iran Economic Monitor, Spring 2020: Mitigation and Adaptation to Sanctions and the Pandemic*. <https://doi.org/10.1596/34045>
- World Bank. (2024). *Iran Economic Monitor, Spring 2024: Sustaining Growth Amid Rising Geopolitical Tensions*. <https://doi.org/10.1596/41861>
- Worth, O. (2011). Recasting Gramsci in international politics. *Review of International Studies*, 37(1), 373–392. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210510000318>
- Zenko, M. (2018). *US Military Policy in the Middle East*. Chatham House.
<https://www.chathamhouse.org/2018/10/us-military-policy-middle-east>
- Zogby, J. (2023, September 18). *Arab American Institute*. Arab American Institute.
<https://www.aaiusa.org/library/how-the-us-failed-oslo>