## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 5Pillars. (2016). Why Present Pro-Assad Propaganda as "Anti-Western, anti-Zionist" truths? Retrieved January 15, 2018, from 5Pillars: https://5pillarsuk.com/2016/12/11/whypresent-pro-assad-propaganda-as-anti-western-anti-zionisttruths/
- Agency, M. N. (2015). *Syria Confirms Assad asked Putin for Military Aid*. Retrieved April 13, 2018, from Maan News: https://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=767887
- Aghayev, E., & Katman, F. (2012). *European Researcher*. Retrieved January 22, 2018, from Historical Background and The Present State of The Russia: https://www.academia.edu/3492823/Historical\_Background\_ and\_the\_Present\_State\_of\_the\_Russian-Syrian\_Relations

Al-Assad, B. (2016). *Bashar Al-Assad Interview: Western Nations are Supporting The Terrorists*. Retrieved January 16, 2018, from Global Research: https://www.globalresearch.ca/bashar-al-assad-interviewwestern-nations-are-supporting-the-terrorists-us-counterterrorism-campaign-is-bogus/5533940

Alfadh, M. F. (2012). Persepsi Gerakan Mahasiswa Islam Terhadap Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia di Timur Tengah. Yogyakarta: Prudent Media.

- Al-Mukhtar, S., Wallace, T., & Watkins, D. (2016). ISIS Has Lost Many of The Key Places it Once Controlled. Retrieved April 16 2018, from The New York Times: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/06/18/world/mid dleeast/isis-control-places-cities.html
- Bērziņš, J. (2013). Civil War in Syria:: Origins, Dynamics and Possible Solutions. *National Defence Academy of Latvia*, 3.
- Bilkova, V. (2015). The Use of Force by Russian Federation in Crimea. *Max-Planck-Institut fur auslandisches offentichels Recht und Volkerrecht*, 36.
- Bock, P. (2015). *Why Syria is So Important*. Retrieved April 14, 2018, from News Decoder: https://news-decoder.com/2015/10/why-syria-is-so-important2/
- Boris Yeltsin: President of Russia. (2017). Retrieved January 8, 2018, from Encyclopedia Britannica: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Boris-Yeltsin
- Bourman, I. (2006). Putin and Russia's middle Eastern Policy. *MERIA*, 1-2.
- Bridges, S. (2016). The Myth of Russian Aggression and NATO Expansion. Retrieved January 14, 2018, from Real Clear Defense: https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2016/12/16/the\_m yth\_of\_russian\_aggression\_and\_nato\_expansion\_110505.ht ml
- Cafarella, J. (2016). Why The Most Dangerous Group in Syria isn't ISIS. Retrieved January 23, 2018, from CNN:

http://edition.cnn.com/2016/02/26/opinions/syria-isis-alqaeda-nusra/index.html

- Charap, S. (2013). *Russia, Syria and Doctrine of Intervention*. London: Survival.
- Chrisafis, A. (2015). France Launches First Airstrike Against ISIS in Syria. Retrieved April 13, 2018, from The Guardian: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/27/francelaunches-first-airstrikes-isis-syria
- Cordesman, A. H. (2015). *Center for Strategic and International Studies*. Retrieved JJanuary 26, 2018, from Russian in Syria: Hybrid Political Warfare: https://www.csis.org/analysis/russia-syria-hybrid-politicalwarfare
- Culbertson, S. (2016). *Tunisia is an Arab Spring Success Story*. Retrieved October 17, 2017, from Observer: http://observer.com/2016/04/tunisia-is-an-arab-springsuccess-story/
- Curran, J. (2015). *Russian-Ukrainian Conflict Explained*. Retrieved April 6, 2018, from Huffington Post: https://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-curran2/russianukrainian-conflict-explained\_b\_4909192.html
- Draxhev, V. (2014). Crimea Declares Independence, Seeks UN Recognition. Retrieved April 6, 2018, from RT Questoin More: https://www.rt.com/news/crimea-referendum-resultsofficial-250/
- Editor. (2017). Key Facts for the Economic Gains of the Russians Intervention in Syria. Retrieved February 24, 2018, from

Rawabet Center for Research and Strategic Studies: http://rawabetcenter.com/en/?p=1567

- Gedjošová, I. (2015). *NATO: What is NATO?* Praha: Asosiace Pro Mezinárodní Otázki (AMO).
- Gessen, M. (2004). *Chechnya: What Drives The Separatis to Commit such Terrible Outrages.* Retrieved April 6, 2018, from Slate: http://www.slate.com/articles/news\_and\_politics/the\_gist/20 04/09/chechnya.html
- Gordon, S. (2017). *Russian Resolve: Why Syria Matters to Putin*. Retrieved February 20, 2018, from The Globe and Mail: https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/russianresolve-why-syria-matters-to-putin/article34643406/
- GraphicMaps. (2018). What Type of Government Does Syria Have? Retrieved April 13, 2018, from GraphicMaps: https://www.graphicmaps.com/syria/government on April, 13th 2018
- Hansen, S. F. (2016). The russian Gambit in Syria: Geopolitics and non-Western intevention in Syria. *Danish Institute for International Studies*, 7. Retrieved from Danish Institute for International Studies.
- Haran, V. (2016). Roots of the Syrian Civil Crisis. *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*, 8-9.
- Haryanto. (1982). Sistem Politik: Suatu Pengantar. Yogyakarta: Liberty Yogyakarta.
- Iddon, P. (2017). For The Russian Military in Syria, Old Habits Die Hard. Retrieved January 31, 2018, from War is Boring:

https://warisboring.com/for-the-russian-military-in-syria-old-habits-die-hard/

- Isakova, I. (2005). Russian Governance in the Twenty- First Century: Geo-Strategy, Geopolitics, and Governance. New York: Frank Cass.
- Ivanova, P. (2017). *Russia Establishing Permanent Presence at its Syria Bases: RIA*. Retrieved April 15, 2018, from Reuters: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syriarussia-bases/russia-establishing-permanent-presence-at-itssyrian-bases-ria-idUSKBN1EK0HD
- Kaim, M., & Tamminga, O. (2015). Russia's Military Intervention in Syria: Its operation Plan, Objedtives, and Consequences for the West's Policies. *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, 1.
- Kreutz, A. (2010). *Syria: Russia's Best Assests in The Middle East.* Paris: IFRI.
- KumarSahoo, D. (2010). A Geopolitical Perspective on Central Asia - China Relation. *Jawaharlal Nehru University*, 46-50.
- Library, C. (2018). *Syrian Civil War Fast Facts*. Retrieved April 10, 2018, from CNN: https://edition.cnn.com/2013/08/27/world/meast/syria-civil-war-fast-facts/index.html
- Manfreda, P. (2017). *Top 10 Reasons for The Uprising in Syria Reasons behind The Syrian Uprising*. Retrieved November 3, 2017, from ThoughtCo: https://www.thoughtco.com/top-10-reasons-for-the-uprising-in-syria-2353571

- Mark N, K., & Fairfax. (2015). Russian Intervention in the Syrian Civil War. *Russian Analytical Digest*, 8.
- Mark, J. J. (2014). *Ancient Syria*. Retrieved January 23, 2018, from Ancient History Encyclopedia: https://www.ancient.eu/syria/
- Mercier, S. (2016). *The Legality of Russian Airstrikes in Syria and Intervention by Invitation*. Retrieved April 13, 2018, from E-International Relations: http://www.e-ir.info/2016/04/29/thelegality-of-russian-airstrikes-in-syria-and-intervention-byinvitation/
- Mercouris, A. (2014). A Very Brief History of China-Russia Relations. Retrieved April 12, 2018, from Anatoly Karlin: from http://akarlin.com/2014/05/a-very-brief-history-ofchinese-russian-relations/

Miller, G., & DeYoung, K. (2015). Secret CIA Effort in Syria Faces Large Funding Cut. Retrieved April 12, 2018, from The Washington Post: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/nationalsecurity/lawmakers-move-to-curb-1-billion-cia-program-totrain-syrian-rebels/2015/06/12/b0f45a9e-1114-11e5-adece82f8395c032\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\_term=.cb76e d09956c

- Mohamedou, M.-M. O. (2012). The Arab Spring in Historical Perspective "The Arab Uprisings: A Conflict Transformation Perspective. *Institure for Conflict Transformation and Peace Building*, 3-9.
- Nations, A. a. (2017). *Russia uses Veti to End UN Investigations of Syria Chemical Attacks*. Retrieved April 13, 2018, from The Guardian:

https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/24/russia-uses-veto-end-un-investigation-chemical-attacks

- Naumlyik, A. (2017). Crimea: Presecution of Crimean Tatars Intensifies. Retrieved April 8, 2018, from Human Rights Watch: https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/11/14/crimeapersecution-crimean-tatars-intensifies i
- Nizameddin, T. (2012). Russia and SSyria: The Reasons behind Putin's Support for Bashar Al-Assad Regime. *The Ciero Foundation*, 7.
- O'Connor, T. (n.d.). *How the U.S Lost The War in Syria to Russia* and Iran. Retrieved January 23, 2018, from Newsweek: http://www.newsweek.com/us-lost-war-syria-iran-russiawinning-final-battle-674833
- Pillar, P. R. (2016). Russian Realism in the Middle East. Retrieved October 27, 2017, from The National Interest: http://nationalinterest.org/blog/paul-pillar/russian-realismthe-middle-east-17385
- Rahman, S. M. (2016). Syrian Civil War: A Historical Study from The Russian Perspective. *Arcjournals*, 2.
- Republic, U. (1970-1979). *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia 3rd Edition*. Retrieved April 13, 2018, from from http://akarlin.com/2014/05/a-very-brief-history-of-chineserussian-relations/
- Rice, M. J. (2016). *NATO's New Order: The Alliance after The Cold War*. Retrieved January 14, 2018, from ORIGINS: http://origins.osu.edu/article/natos-new-order-alliance-aftercold-war

Robinson, E., Egel, D., Johnson, P. B., Sean, M., Rothenberg, A. D., & Stebbins, D. (2017). When The Islamic States Comes to Town. Retrieved October 26, 2017, from RAND: https://www.rand.org/nsrd/projects/when-isil-comes-totown.html

Rodrigues, J. (2011). *1982: Syria's President hafiez Al-Assad Crushes Rebellion in Hama*. Retrieved April 4, 2018, from The Guardian: https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/from-the-archiveblog/2011/aug/01/hama-syria-massacre-1982-archive

- Rosenberg, S. (2016). *Mikhael Gorbachev: The Man who Lost an Empire*. Retrieved January 6, 2018, from BBC: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38289333
- Saradzhyan, S. (2015). *Russia's Interest in Syria is not Assad.* Retrieved April 17, 2018, from Belfer Center: https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/russias-interestsyria-not-assad
- Slaughter, A. M., & Hale, T. (2013). Max Plank Encyclopedia of Public international Law: International Relations, Principal Theories. Oxford University Press, 5-6.
- Staff, N. (2011). The Arab Spring Country by Country. Retrieved October 17, 2017, from The National: https://www.thenational.ae/world/the-arab-spring-countryby-country-1.401358
- Staff, T. (2015). Assad: First We'll Deal with The Rebels, then Israel. Retrieved April 11, 2018, from The Times of Israel: https://www.timesofisrael.com/assad-first-well-deal-withthe-rebels-then-israel/

- Stent, A. (2016). Putin's Power in Syria: How to Respond to Russia intervention. *Foreign Affairs*, 108-109.
- Talha, B. M. (1990). The Strategic Importance of Mediterranean. U.S Army War College, 5-13.
- Talukdar, I. (2016). Russia's Strategic Interest in Syria. *Indian Council of World Affairs*, 8.
- University, N. (2016). *Exploring 5 Reasons for The Collapse of Soviet Union*. Retrieved April 10, 2018, from Norwich University Online: https://graduate.norwich.edu/resourcesmmh/articles-mmh/exploring-5-reasons-for-the-collapse-ofthe-soviet-union/
- Unumeri, G. O. (2009). Perception and Conflict. *National Open* University of Nigeria, 19-34.