

## **References:**

### **Book:**

Mochtar Masoed, " Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Disiplin dan Metodologi".  
Lembaga penelitian, pendidikan dan penerangan social.

Graham T.Allison. (1971). Essence of decision. Little Brown, p.38

J. Frankie, Hubungan Internasional, terjemahan Laila H, Hasyim Jakarta, Bumi Aksara,1991.

K. J. Holsti, International Politics: A Framework for Analysis, New York  
Prentice Hall International Inc, 1995. Hal. 137.

Mohtar Mas'oed, Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Disiplin dan Metodologi,  
LP3ES, Jakarta, 1990, hal. 164.

Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, The International Relations Dictionary, Holt,  
Rinehart and Winston, Inc., Western Michigan University: New York, 1969, hal.  
128.

Van Dam, Nikolaos, The Struggle for Power in Syria. New York, St Martin's  
Press, 1996.

Alasdair Drysdale, and Raymond A. Hinnebusch, Syria and the Middle East Peace  
Process, New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1991

Nikolaos Van Dam, The Struggle for Power in Syria: Politics and Society under  
Asad and the Ba'th Party. London, I. B. Tauris, 1996,

### **Journals**

Draft SCR on Syria.

Slantchev. Branislav L. (2005) Introduction to International Relation, Lecture 3:  
The Rational Actor Model, Retrieved March 8, 2012 from  
<http://slantchev.ucsd.edu/courses/ps12/03-rational-decision-making.pdf>

U.S. Department of State, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices — 2003, Syria Feb. 25, 2004

Library of Congress – Federal Reserve, Country Profile: Syria, April 2005 p: 16

Alasdair Drysdale, and Raymond A. Hinnebusch, Syria and the Middle East Peace Process, New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1991, pp. 39 – 40

"Country Analysis Brief", retrieved from <http://www.eia.gov/cabs/Syria/Full.html> on December 3, 2012

Syria, Country Analysis Brief, [www.eia.doe.gov](http://www.eia.doe.gov), August 2011

Christopher Harmer, "Russian Naval Base Tartus." Institute for the Study of War, July 31, 2012

P. Rivlin, "The Russian Economy and Arms Export to the Middle East," Tel Aviv, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Memorandum No. 79, November 2005

"Russia: Putin Praises Level of Relations with Syria during meeting in Kremlin." Interfax, 25 January 2005.

"Gas Processing Plant - Russia's Biggest Project in Syria," ITAR - TASS, 18 November 2009

M.N. Katz, "Putin's Pro-Israeli Policy," Middle Eastern Quarterly, Winter 2005, p. 51 - 59. available from: [www.meforum.org/690/putins-pro-israel-policy](http://www.meforum.org/690/putins-pro-israel-policy)

M.N. Katz, "Russia's Greater Middle East Policy: Securing Economic Interest, Courting Islam." Russie.Nei.Visions, No. 49, April 2010,

On the Israel-Russia relationship, see P. Razoux, "The Key to Understanding the Israel-Russia Relationship." NATO Defense College, Rome, Research Paper no 42, November 2008, Available at: [www.ndc.nato.int/downloads.php?icode=6](http://www.ndc.nato.int/downloads.php?icode=6)

Merril A. McPeak, "Israel: Borders and Security," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 54, No. 3 (April 1976), p. 431

"US to Syria: Do not Meddle in Russia - Georgia Conflict," Haaretz. August, 25 2008

Joshua Landis, "The U.S - Syria Relationship: a few questions". retrieved from <http://mepc.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/us-syria-relationship-few-questions> on December, 1 2012

"Syria's role in Lebanon", USIPeace Briefing, November 2008

Alfred B. Prados, "Syria: Political Conditions and Relations with the United States After the Iraq War", CRS Report for Congress RL32727 January 10, 2005

Jeremy M. Sharp, "Armed Conflict in Syria : U.S and International Response", Congressional Research Service, August 21, 2012

U.S. State Department, Additional Humanitarian Assistance for Those Fleeing the Violence in Syria, August 11, 2012.

"US Provides Communications Aid for Syria Opponents," Agence France Presse, June

14, 2012.

"U. S. Stepping Up Efforts To Organize Syria Rebels," Wall Street Journal, June 14, 2012.

"U.S. Mounts Quiet Effort To Weaken Assad's Rule," Wall Street Journal, July 23, 2012.

Josh Rogin, "Inside the Quiet Effort to Plan for a Post-Assad Syria," ForeignPolicy.com – The Cable, July 20, 2012.

"Russia's Syrian stance: principled self - interest", ISS Strategic Comments, Volume 18, Comment 31 - September 2012

"France, Germany, Portugal and United and Northern Ireland: draft resolution", United Nation Security Council, October 04 2011 (S/2011/612)

"Bahrain, Colombia, Egypt, France, Germany, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America: draft resolution", United Nations Security Council , (S/2012/77), February, 04 2012

Dmitry Gorenburg, "Why Russia Supports Repressive Regimes in Syria and the Middle East" PONARS Eurasia Policy memo No. 198, Estonia June 2012

Margaratte Klein, "Russia's Policy in Syria: On the Way to Isolation?"

A. Konokov, " Russia: Defense Ministry Rules Out Supplying Offensive Weapons to Syria," ITAR - TASS, January 25 2005.

U. Klusmann, "An Old Base/Friendship Gets a Facelift," Der Spiegel, 22 June 2006.

"Russia: designer Says Shoulder - Launched Use of Strelets Impossible," Interfax, 1 March 2006.

"Russia's Syrian stance: principled self - interest", ISS Strategic Comments, Volume 18, Comment 31 - September 2012

### **Newspaper**

" In Syria Conflict, U.S. Struggles to Fill Intelligence Gaps," Washington Post, July 23, 2012

"U.S. Military Completes Planning For Syria," Security Clearance (CNN.com), June 14, 2012

"Stymied at U.N., U.S. Refines Plan to Remove Assad," New York Times, July 21, 2012.

Ria Novosti Staff, "Russian Navy Holds on to its Syria Base", July 25, 2012, retrieved from [http://en.rian.ru/military\\_news/20120625/174234915.html](http://en.rian.ru/military_news/20120625/174234915.html)

NATO International Military Staff, "Operation Active Endeavor," Retrieved November, 15, 2012. [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_7932.html](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_7932.html)

Scott Wilson, "Syria's Ba'thists Under Siege," Washington Post Sept, 24, 2012

### **Website Articles**

<http://www.detiknews.com/read/2011/09/12/172348/1720561/1148/pbb-korban-tewas-mencapai-2600-orang?nd992203605> accessed on 04 November, 2012

<http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-syria> accessed on October 10, 2011

[http://articles.marketwatch.com/2012-02-04/general/31028949\\_1\\_syrian-president-bashar-veto-power-resolution](http://articles.marketwatch.com/2012-02-04/general/31028949_1_syrian-president-bashar-veto-power-resolution) accessed on 12 October, 2012

[http://articles.marketwatch.com/2012-02-04/general/31028949\\_1\\_syrian-president-bashar-veto-power-resolution](http://articles.marketwatch.com/2012-02-04/general/31028949_1_syrian-president-bashar-veto-power-resolution) accessed on October 10, 2011

<http://www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/global/11/10/05/isl4fz-cinarusia-veto-resolusi-pbb-untuk-suriah-as-gusar> accessed on 14 November, 2012

[http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202\\_162-57371608/russia-china-veto-un-resolution-against-syria/](http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202_162-57371608/russia-china-veto-un-resolution-against-syria/) accessed on 28, Oktober 2012

[http://articles.marketwatch.com/2012-02-04/general/31028949\\_1\\_syrian-president-bashar-veto-power-resolution](http://articles.marketwatch.com/2012-02-04/general/31028949_1_syrian-president-bashar-veto-power-resolution) accessed on 12 January, 2013

<http://www.voanews.com/indonesian/news/Rusia-dan-Tiongkok-Veto-Resolusi-PBB-atas-Suriah-131128888.html> accessed on January 07, 2013

<http://www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/global/12/03/16/m0yl2m-kekerasan-di-suriah-berlanjut-enam-negara-teluk-tutup-kedubesnya> accessed on 28 April, 2012

<http://politik.kompasiana.com/2012/07/19/konstelasi-geo-politik-internasional-suriah-antara-rusia-cina-dan-iran/> accessed on October, 09 2012

<http://www.politik.lipi.go.id/index.php/en/columns/timur-tengah/669-membaca-konflik-suriah> accessed on on November, 02, 2012-

<http://www.rferl.org/content/explainer-why-is-access-/24619441.html>. accessed on 08 Oktober 2012

[http://www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth\\_coverage/middle\\_east/syria/us.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth_coverage/middle_east/syria/us.html) on December, 1 2012 accessed on 08 Oktober 2012

<http://pik.tv/en/news/story/41182-russia-intends-to-keep-using-tartus-naval-base>. accessed on July 15, 2012

<http://en.rian.ru/russia/20100802/160041427.html> accessed on July 15, 2012

<http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/news/2012/08/13/12027/what-drives-russias-unrelenting-position-on-syria/> accessed on December 07, 2012

Retrieved [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_60021.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_60021.htm) accessed on November, 15, 2012.

[http://www.upi.com/Top\\_News/2008/09/29/Russia\\_defends\\_arms\\_sales\\_to\\_Syria/UPI-28611222726785](http://www.upi.com/Top_News/2008/09/29/Russia_defends_arms_sales_to_Syria/UPI-28611222726785) accessed on March 2012

<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/2/8/48241/World/Region/EU-regrets-failure-of-UN-Syria-sanctions,-backs-An.aspx> accessed on February 24, 2013