

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Al Jazeera. (2020). *How sanctions are affecting Syria's economy*. Al Jazeera. Diakses pada 10 September 2024 dari <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/10/15/syria-economy-sanctions>.
- Alwani, Wael & Karam Shaar. (2021). *A comprehensive review of the effectiveness of US and EU sanctions on Syria*. Middle East Institute. Diakses pada 10 September 2024 dari <https://www.mei.edu/publications/comprehensive-review-effectiveness-us-and-eu-sanctions-syria>.
- Amnesty International. (2017). *Human Slaughter: Mass Hangings and Extermination at Saydnaya Prison*.
- Amnesty International. (2017). *Human Slaughterhouse: Mass Hangings and Extermination at Saydnaya Prison, Syria*.
- Amnesty International. (2018). *Syria: Human Rights Defenders in Peril*.
- ANTARA. (2020). *PBB: Perang Suriah sebabkan kerusakan senilai Rp5.400 triliun*. Antara News. Diakses pada 10 September 2024 dari <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/1285967/pbb-perang-suriah-sebabkan-kerusakan-senilai-rp5400-triliun>.
- Arslanian, F. (2019). Contextualizing economic sanctions on Syria. In *The War for Syria* (pp. 277-298). Routledge. Diakses pada 10 September 2024 dari https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334402039_Contextualizing_economic_sanctions_on_Syria#fullTextFileContent.
- Baldwin, D. A. (1985). *Economic statecraft*. Princeton University Press.
- Carnegie Middle East Center. (2021). *Syria: Ten years on*. Diakses pada 10 September 2024 dari <https://carnegie-mec.org/2021/03/15/syria-ten-years-on-pub-84145>.
- Central Bank of Iraq (CBI). (2005). *Financial Transparency Reports*. Diambil dari https://www.cbi.iq/documents/Financial_Statements_2005_f.pdf
- Council of the European Union. (1992). *Council Regulation (EEC) No 3541/92*. Official Journal L 361. Diambil dari <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/1992/3541/oj/eng>
- Council of the European Union. (2003). *Council Common Position 2003/495/CFSP*. Diambil dari <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/GA/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A32003E0495>

Council of the European Union. (2003). *Council Regulation (EC) No 1210/2003*. Official Journal L 169. Diambil dari <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2003/1210/oj/eng>

Council of the European Union. (2011). *Council Decision 2011/137/CFSP*. Official Journal of the European Union, L 57, 19–21. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32011D0137>

Council of the European Union. (2011). *Council Decision 2011/273/CFSP*. Official Journal of the European Union, L 121, 40-42. Diambil dari <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/dec/2011/273/oj>

Council of the European Union. (2011). *Council Regulation (EU) No 204/2011*. Official Journal of the European Union, L 58, 1–8. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32011R0204>

Council of the European Union. (2012). *Council Decision 2012/418/CFSP*. Diambil dari <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32012D0418>

Council of the European Union. (2013). *Annual Report on the Implementation of EU Sanctions Policy*. Diambil dari <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32013L0032&qid=1746820719042>

Council of the European Union. (2015). *EU sanctions map – Libya*. European Union. Diambil dari <https://www.sanctionsmap.eu/#/main>

Council of the European Union. (2018). *EU Strategy for Syria*.

Council of the European Union. (2018). *EU Strategy for Syria*.

Council of the European Union. (2018). *EU Strategy for Syria*.

Council of the European Union. (2023). *EU Humanitarian Exemption Mechanism – Syria*. Diambil dari <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/syria/EEAS>. (2011). *EU Restrictive Measures – Syria*. Diambil dari https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/sanctions-policy/4595/syria_en

Council of the European Union. (2023). *EU restrictive measures against Syria*. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/syria/>

Dekel, U., & Valensi, C. (2019). *Russia and Iran: Is the Syrian Honeymoon Over?* Institute for National Security Studies. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep19592>.

- DW. (2015). *Inilah Aktor Utama Perang Suriah*. DW News. Diakses pada 10 September 2024 dari <https://www.dw.com/id/inilah-aktor-utama-perang-suriah/a-18890194>.
- EEAS. (2004). *EU Restrictive Measures: Iraq*. Diambil dari <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32012D0418>
- EEAS. (2011). *EU Restrictive Measures – Syria*. Diambil dari https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/sanctions-policy/4595/syria_en.
- EEAS. (2020). *The EU and the Middle East – External Action Strategy*.
- EEAS. (2024). *Consolidated List of Sanctions – Syria*. Diambil dari https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/cfsp/sanctions/docs/list_of_sanctions_en.pdf
- Ehteshami, A., & Hinnebusch, R. (2013). "Syria and Iran: Diplomatic Alliance and Power Politics in the Middle East." I.B. Tauris.
- Ene, D. V. (2020). *Syria – The War with Multiple Proxies: Violations of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights*.
- European Commission. (2006). *EU Assistance to Iraq Report*. Diambil dari <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM%3A2006%3A0283%3AFIN%3AEN%3APDF>
- European Commission. (2011). *Countries and regions: Syria*. European Commission. Diakses pada 10 September 2024 dari https://policy.trade.ec.europa.eu/eu-trade-relationships-country-and-region/countries-and-regions/syria_en.
- European Commission. (2011). *Factsheet: EU response to the crisis in Libya*. European Union. Diambil dari https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/MEMO_11_206
- European Commission. (2012). *EU Sanctions Map – Syria*. Diambil dari https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/banking-and-finance/international-relations/eu-sanctions_en
- European Commission. (2012). *EU Sanctions Map – Syria*. Diambil dari https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/banking-and-finance/international-relations/eu-sanctions_en
- European Commission. (2013). *Statistical bulletin on EU trade with Libya*. European Union. Diambil dari <https://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/libya/>

- European Commission. (2021). *EU response to the Syrian refugee crisis*.
- European Council. (2023). *EU Sanctions against Syria – Overview*.
- European External Action Service (EEAS). (2022). *Democracy and Electoral Support in EU Foreign Policy*.
- European External Action Service (EEAS). (2022). *Human Rights and Democracy in EU Foreign Policy*.
- European External Action Service. (2011). *EU restrictive measures: Libya*. European Union. Diambil dari https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/cfsp/sanctions/docs/measures_libya_en.pdf
- European External Action Service. (2024). *Consolidated list of sanctions – Libya*. European Union. Diambil dari https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/cfsp/sanctions/docs/sanctions_restrictive_measures_en.pdf
- European Union. (2012). *Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union*. Official Journal of the European Union.
- European Union. (2012). *Treaty on European Union*, Articles 2, 3(5), 21.
- Europol. (2016). *European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT)*.
- Freedom House. (2020). *Freedom in the World: Syria*.
- Gerges, F. A. (2021). *ISIS: A History* (NED-New edition). Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv18b5d6w>
- Giumelli, F. (2013). *The success of sanctions: Lessons learned from the EU experience*. Ashgate. <https://www.routledge.com/The-Success-of-Sanctions-Lessons-Learned-from-the-EU-Experience/Giumelli/p/book/9780367860462>
- Gjevori, E. (2019). *Groundbreaking Case Filed Against the Assad Regime at ICC*. TRT World.
- Hassan, H. (2016). *The sectarianism of the Islamic State: Ideological roots and political context*. Carnegie Middle East Center. Diakses pada 15 Oktober 2024 dari <https://carnegieendowment.org/2016/06/13/sectarianism-of-islamic-state-ideological-roots-and-political-context-pub-63746>

- Heydemann, S. (2013). *Tracking the Arab Spring: Syria and the Future of Authoritarianism*. *Journal of Democracy*, 24(4), 59–73.
- Hokayem, E. (2013). "Syria's Uprising and the Fracturing of the Levant." Routledge.
- Hufbauer, G. C., Schott, J. J., & Elliott, K. A. (2007). *Economic sanctions reconsidered* (3rd ed.). Peterson Institute for International Economics.
- Human Rights Watch. (2019). *Syria: Detained, Tortured, and Killed*.
- International Institute for Strategic Studies. (2003). *Iraq's weapons of mass destruction: A net assessment*. London: IISS. Diambil dari <https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Iraq3Chap2.pdf>
- Koch, S., & Schunz, S. (2017). *The EU and the Arab Spring: Normative power in practice?* Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kukushkin, V. (2021). *Syria and Hydrocarbons: Present and Prospective Politico-Economic Issues*. In: Khatib, D. (eds) *The Syrian Crisis. Perspectives on Development in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Region*. Springer, Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-5050-8_10.
- Lister, C. R. (2015). "The Syrian Jihad: Al-Qaeda, the Islamic State and the Evolution of an Insurgency." Oxford University Press.
- Lund, Aron. (2019). *Briefing: Just how smart are sanctions on Syria?* The New Humanitarian. Diakses pada 10 September 2024 dari <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/analysis/2019/04/25/briefing-just-how-smart-are-sanctions-syria>.
- Masud, M. (2018). Authoritarian Claims to Legitimacy: Syria's Education under the Regime of Bashar al-Assad. *Mediterranean Studies*, 26(1), 80–111. <https://doi.org/10.5325/mediterraneanstu.26.1.0080>
- NAS, Ç. (2019). The EU's Approach to the Syrian Crisis: Turkey as a Partner? *Uluslararası İlişkiler / International Relations*, 16(62), 45–64. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26664885>
- Palani, K., Ala'Aldeen, D., & Cersosimo, S. (2018). Most Probable Scenarios for Future Turkey-EU Relations. In *Turkey and the European Union: Conflicting Policies and Opportunities for Cooperation Over Iraq, Syria and the Kurdish Political Actors* (pp. 21–28). Middle East Research Institute. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep17614.6>.

- Phillips, C. (2016). *The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East*. Yale University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1k03s4j>
- Pierini, M. (2016). *IN SEARCH OF AN EU ROLE IN THE SYRIAN WAR*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep12824>.
- Portela, C. (2010). *European Union sanctions and foreign policy*. Routledge.
- Portela, C. (2012). *The EU's Sanctions against Syria: Conflict Management by Other Means*. Egmont Institute. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep06585>
- Portela, C. (2012). *The EU's sanctions against Syria: Conflict management by other means*. *European Security*, 21(1), 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2012.649019>
- Portela, C. (2016). *How the EU learned to love sanctions*. *Journal of European Integration*, 38(4), 407-424. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2016.1179824>
- Raphaeli, N. (2007). *The EU-Syria association agreement: Implications for Syrian reform*. Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI). Diakses pada 15 Oktober 2024 dari <https://www.memri.org/reports/political-economy-syria-under-bashar-al-assad>.
- Reporters Without Borders. (2021). *2021 World Press Freedom Index: Syria*.
- Reuters. (2011, February 23). EU freezes €7 billion Libyan funds. *Reuters*. Diambil dari <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-funds-idUSTRE71M2RQ20110223>
- Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. (1998). *Article 7*.
- Roth, K. (2018). *World Report: Syria-events of 2018*. Human Rights Watch.
- Sanders-Zakre, A. (2019). *Timeline of Syrian Chemical Weapons Activity 2012-2019*. Arms Control Association.
- Seeberg, P., Bazoobandi, S., Biersteker, T., Connolly, R., Giumelli, F., Portela, C., Secieru, S., & van Bergeijk, P. A. G. (2015). THE LIMITS TO THE SANCTIONS REGIME AGAINST SYRIA. In I. Dreyer & J. Luengo-Cabrera (Eds.), *On target?: EU sanctions as security policy tools* (pp. 67–74). European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep07074.11>.
- Serra, J. (2019). EUROPEAN UNION'S CONTRADICTIONS. In Z. SARDAR (Ed.), *The Postnormal Times Reader* (pp. 221–228). International Institute of Islamic Thought. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv10kmcqv.14>

Smith, K. (2007). *European Union foreign policy in a changing world*. Polity Press.

Smith, K. E. (2014). *European Union foreign policy in a changing world* (3rd ed.). Polity Press.

The Washington Post. (2021). *The consequences of sanctions on Syria's population*. The Washington Post. Diakses pada 15 Oktober 2024 dari <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/06/17/syria-sanctions-impacts>.

UNHCR. (2018). *Global trends: Forced displacement in 2017*. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Diakses pada 15 Oktober 2024 dari <https://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/5b27be547/unhcr-global-trends-2017.html>

United Nations Human Rights Council. (2021). *Report of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic*.

United Nations Human Rights Council. (2021). *Report of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic*.

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2017). *2017 Syrian Arab Republic Humanitarian Response Plan: January-December 2017*. Diakses pada 15 Oktober 2024 dari <https://reliefweb.int/report/syrian-arab-republic/2017-syrian-arab-republic-humanitarian-response-plan-january-december>

United Nations Security Council. (1990). *Resolution 661 (1990)*. United Nations. [https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/661\(1990\)](https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/661(1990))

United Nations Security Council. (2003). *Resolution 1483 (2003)*. United Nations. [https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1483\(2003\)](https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1483(2003))

United Nations Security Council. (2011). *Resolution 1970 (2011)*. United Nations. Diambil dari [https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1970\(2011\)](https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1970(2011))

United Nations Security Council. (2015). *Resolution 2254 (2015)*.

Van Veen, E., Pellise, A. D. P., Ezzeddine, N., & Napolitano, P. (2021). EU institutional policies and interventions in the Syrian civil war. In *Band-aids, not bullets: EU policies and interventions in the Syrian and Iraqi civil wars* (pp. 23–32). Clingendael Institute. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep28665.8>.

Yumitro, G., & Nala Estriani, H. (2017). The quo vadis of democratization in post-Egypt Arab Spring. *Croatian International Relations Review*, 23(79), 157–188. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cirr-2017-0018>

Zisser, E. (2017). Syria – from the six day war to the Syrian civil war. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 44(4), 345–558. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48541201>