

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

A. BUKU

- Aras, B., & Yorulmazla, E. (2021). *Scenarios for Power Transition in Russia: In Prospective Political Transition in Russia* (pp. 1–2). Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies.
- Azanella, L. A. (2022). Mengapa Amerika Serikat Terlibat di Perang Rusia dan Ukraina pp.15-17.
- Barry Buzan, “*An Introduction to Strategic Studies: Military Technology and International Relations*”, MacMillan Press, London, 1987, p. 136.
- Barry R.Posen; Perang Preventif Putin: Invasi Ukraina 2022. Keamanan Internasional 2025; 49 (3): 7–49. doi: https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00501
- Baylis, John & dkk. 2002. *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. Oxford University Press. Hal 161-170
- Bernard Raho, 2007, Teori Sosiologi Modern. Prestasi Pustaka Publisher, Jakarta.
- Biglaiser, G., & Lektzian, D. (2011). *The Effect of Sanctions on U.S. Foreign Direct Investment*. International Organization, 65(3), 531–551.
- Blank, S. (2022). *Nuclear Weapons In Rusias’s War Againts Ukraine*. Naval War College Review, 75(4), 53–78.
- Connolly, R., Bazoobandi, S., Biersteker, T., Giumelli, F., Portela, C., Secrieru, S., Seeberg, P., & van Bergeijk, P. A. G. (2015). *The Impact of EU Economic Sanctions on Russia*. In I. Dreyer & J. Luengo-Cabrera (Eds.), *On target?: EU sanctions as security policy tools* (pp. 29–38). European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS).
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage publications.
- Dano, D. (2023). *Ekonomi Perang: Memahami Konflik Rusia–Ukraina dari Sudut Pandang Ekonomi*. Penerbit P4I.
- Driver, D. (2019). *Deterrence in Eastern Europe in Theory and Practice*. *Connections*, 18(1/2), 11–24.
- Elvera, S. E., & Yesita Astarina, S. E. (2021). *Metodologi Penelitian*. Penerbit Andi.

- Fischer, M. (2019). *The Concept of Deterrence and Its Applicability in the Cyber Domain*. *Connections*, 18(1/2), 69–92.
- Glauben, T., Svanidze, M., Götz, L., Prehn, S., Jaghdani, T. J., Duric, I., & Kuhn, L. (2022). *The war in Ukraine, agricultural trade and risks to global food security*. *Intereconomics*, 57(3), 157–163.
- Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, 1999, *Essense of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, New York: Longman, hal. 28
- Graham. T. Allison, 1971, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cubban Missile Crisis*, Little and Brown Company, Boston, hal. 34-35.
- Habib Alwi (2016) Pengantar Studi Konflik Sosial : Sebuah Tinjauan Teoritis. Disakses pada 3 Juli 2024, pukul 22.34.
- Haffa, R. P. (2018). *The Future of Conventional Deterrence: Strategies for Great Power Competition*. *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 12(4), 94–115. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26533617>
- Hufbauer, G. (1998). *Economic Sanctions. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting (American Society of International Law)*, 92, 332–335. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25659235>
- Humphrey, A. (2005). *SWOT analysis for management consulting. SRI Alumni Newsletter. Retrieved from SRI International*, 33(2), 47-50.
- Kartodirdjo, S. (1992). Pendekatan ilmu sosial dalam metodologi sejarah. Hlm 87-90. <https://desysulistiyowati.files.wordpress.com/2012/07/bukupendekatan-ilmu-sosial-dalam-metodologi-sejarah.pdf>
- Li, J. (2024). *Navigating the Uncertain Waters: An Analysis of the Near Future Profitability of the Russian Ruble*. *Advances in Economics, Management and Political Sciences*, 73, 27-32.
- Lukman, N., Mardialina, M., & Rizki, K. (2020). Analisis pengaruh kebijakan *extended deterrence* dalam aliansi Amerika Serikat-Korea Selatan terhadap stabilitas keamanan di Asia Timur. *Indonesian Journal of Global Discourse*, 2(1), 1–13.
- MacDonald, B. R. (1983). *The Megarian Decree. Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte*, 32(4), 385–410.

- McDermott, R.N., Nygren, B., & Vendil Pallin, C. (Eds.). (2012). *The Russian Armed Forces in Transition: Economic, geopolitical and institutional uncertainties* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203156650>
- Miles, D. A. (2017, August). *A taxonomy of research gaps: Identifying and defining the seven research gaps. In Doctoral student workshop: finding research gaps-research methods and strategies*, Dallas, Texas (pp. 1-15).
- Miller, C. (2024). *The Impact of Semiconductor Sanctions on Russia*. American Enterprise Institute. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep58545>
- Mohtar Mas'oed (1990) Ilmu Hubungan Internasional : Disiplin dan Metodologi, LP3ES, Jakarta, Anggota IKAPI
- Moleong, L. J. (2017). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Ed. revisi, cet. ke-36). Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Müller-Bloch, C., & Kranz, J. (2015). *A framework for rigorously identifying research gaps in qualitative literature reviews*. AIS electronic Library (9).
- Posen, B. R. (1993). Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power. *International Security*, 18(2), 80–124. The MIT Press <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539098>
- Posen, B. R. (2003). Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony. *International Security*, 28(1), 5–46. The MIT Press <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137574>
- Rangkuti, Freddy. 2001. *Analisis SWOT Teknik membedah Kasus Bisnis*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama
- Resen, P. T. K., Ramadani, I., Sushanti, S., Retnowatik, F. W., & Gunawan, A. C (2024) . *Teori dan Analisis Kebijakan Luar Negeri: Sebuah Pengantar-Jejak Pustaka*. Jejak Pustaka.
- Ruys, T., & Ryngaert, C. (2020). Sanksi sekunder: Senjata yang tak terkendali? Legalitas internasional dan tanggapan Eropa terhadap sanksi sekunder AS. *British Yearbook of International Law*, 2020, braa007. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bybil/braa007>
- Sayidah, N. (2018). *Metodologi penelitian disertai dengan contoh penerapannya dalam penelitian*. Zifatama Jawara.

- Sedarmayanti. 2016. Manajemen Sumber Daya Manusia Reformasi Birokrasi dan Manajemen Pegawai Negeri Sipil. Bandung : PT Refika aditama, hlm.109.
Diakses pada 17 Juli 2024. Pukul 06.00
- Sever, R., & Glass, C. K. (2013, Maret). Sinyalisasi oleh reseptor nuklir. *Cold Spring Harbor Perspectives in Biology*, 5(3), a016709.
<https://doi.org/10.1101/cshperspect.a016709>
- Simola, H. (2024). *Recent trends in Russia's import substitution of technology products* (No. 5/2024). BOFIT Policy Brief.
- Sloane, W. M. (1898). *The Continental System of Napoleon. Political Science Quarterly*, 13(2), 213-231.
- Somantri, G. R. (2005). Memahami metode kualitatif. *Makara Human Behavior Studies in Asia*, 9(2), 57-65.
- Son Wandrial, Analisis Internal Perusahaan (*Strength & Weakness*), menggunakan konsep ‘*Resource-Based View of The Firma*’ Dengan Kerangka VRIO. (*Binus Business Review* Vol. 2 No.2, 2011), hlm.629.
- Sugiyono, P. D. (2019). Metode penelitian pendidikan (kuantitatif, kualitatif, kombinasi, R&D dan penelitian pendidikan). *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan*, 67, 18.
- Tagarev, T. (2019). *Theory and Current Practice of Deterrence in International Security*. *Connections*, 18(1/2), 5–10.
- Tambunan, E. (2010). Realisme Politik Morgenthau: Suatu Tinjauan Singkat. *Verity*, vol2 no, 3, 17-26.
- Wachs, J. (2023, May 15). *Digital traces of brain drain: Developers during the Russian invasion of Ukraine*. *EPJ Data Science*, 12(1), 14.
- Wahyudi (2021) Teori Konflik dan Penerapannya Pada Ilmu -ilmu Sosial. Disakses pada Senin, 1 juli 2024, pukul 18.24
- Waltz, K. N. (2000). *Structural Realism after the Cold War. International Security*, 25(1), 5–41. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2626772>
- Wellhofer, E. S. (1989). *Core and Periphery: Territorial Dimensions in Politics. Urban Studies*, 26(3), 340–355. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43192368>

B. JURNAL

- Achjar, K. A. H., Rusliyadi, M., Zaenurrosyid, A., Rumata, N. A., Nirwana, I., & Abadi, A. (2023). *Metode penelitian kualitatif: Panduan praktis untuk analisis data kualitatif dan studi kasus*. PT. Sonpedia Publishing Indonesia.
- Anjelina, D. (2023). Fenomena serangan siber Rusia terhadap Ukraina: Sebagai pembelajaran bagi Indonesia dalam pengembangan pertahanan siber. *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara*, 13(3), 231–241.
- Anwar, M. (2022). *Green economy* sebagai strategi dalam menangani masalah ekonomi dan multilateral. *Jurnal Pajak Dan Keuangan Negara (PKN)*, 4(1S), 343-356.
- Annisa Pratiwi, 1 September 2023, “Kepentingan Rusia Dalam Pengerahan Militer Ukraina Tahun 2022”: <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/74583> Diakses pada Selasa, 24 Oktober 2023 pukul 00.01
- Ashara, E. S., Subagyo, A., & Ginanjar, Y. (2024). Dampak Kerjasama Brics Terhadap Dominasi Nilai Dolar Amerika Serikat (AS) Di Tahun 2022. *Diplomacy and Global Security Journal: Jurnal Mahasiswa Magister Hubungan Internasional*, 1(1).
- Branislav L. Slantchev, “*Introduction to International Relations, Lecture 8: Deterrence and Compellence*”, *Department of Political Science*, University of California – San Diego, 2005.
- Brennan, M. C. (2008). *The Cold War World. In Wives, Mothers, and the Red Menace: Conservative Women and the Crusade against Communism* (pp. 13–30). University Press of Colorado.
- de Ornay, E. S., & Azizah, N. (2022). Kepentingan Keamanan Nasional Rusia Dalam Serangan Militer Terhadap Ukraina Tahun 2022. *Communitarian: Jurnal Prodi Ilmu Politik*, 4(1).
- Djono, D., Joebagio, H., & Abidin, N. F. (2020). Gerak sejarah integratif-multidimensional: warisan sartono kartodirdjo bagi filosofi pendidikan sejarah menuju society 5.0. *Criksetra: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah*, 9(1), 32-46.

- Doddy Monza (2016) Pengaruh Penangkapan dan Penahanan Terhadap Penjeraan Pelaku Kejahatan di Wilayah Hukum Polres Kudus, Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian : 086 . Diakses pada 8 Juli 2024, pukul 14.31.
- de Ornay, E. S., & Azizah, N. (2022). Kepentingan Keamanan Nasional Rusia Dalam Serangan Militer Terhadap Ukraina Tahun 2022. *Communitarian: Jurnal Prodi Ilmu Politik*, 4(1).
- Djono, D., Joebagio, H., & Abidin, N. F. (2020). Gerak sejarah integratif-multidimensional: warisan sartono kartodirdjo bagi filosofi pendidikan sejarah menuju society 5.0. *Criksetra: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah*, 9(1), 32-46.
- Doddy Monza (2016) Pengaruh Penangkapan dan Penahanan Terhadap Penjeraan Pelaku Kejahatan di Wilayah Hukum Polres Kudus, Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian : 086 . Diakses pada 8 Juli 2024, pukul 14.31.
- Elayne Selma Ashara, A. S. (2024). Dampak kerjasama brics terhadap dominasi nilai dolar Amerika Serikat (AS) di tahun 2022. *Diplomacy and global Security Journal* , Vol. 1, No. 1 Tahun 2024 Hal. 297-314.
- Forrer, J. (2017). *Aligning Economic Sanctions*. *Atlantic Council*.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep16794>
- Gaby Tiara Maharani Pitoyo. (2022) Respon Iran Terhadap Sanksi Ekonomi Amerika Serikat Terkait Program Pengayaan Uranium Dan Rudal Balistik Iran Periode 2018 – 2019, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (Pitoyo, 2022)
- Gayatri, P., Olivia, Y., & Nizmi, Y. E. (2024). Strategi Rusia Dalam Menghadapi Sanksi Ekonomi dari Negara-negara Barat Akibat Invasinya ke Ukraina Tahun 2022. *Innovative: Journal Of Social Science Research*, 4(3), 126-140.
- Hana Fairuz, (2023) Pengaruh Persyaratan Penangkalan Pada Penggunaan Strategi Deterrence Rusia Dalam Konflik Rusia-Ukraina Tahun 2022, Universitas Islam Indonesia,
- Hananto, D. C., & Dwi Astuti, W. R. (2025). *China's Dedollarization Policy Through BRICS Cooperation in 2022-2023*. *Global Strategis*, 19(1).

- Idris, F. N., & Mu'tashim, M. R. (2023). Sanksi uni eropa terhadap rusia atas pelanggaran teritorial ukraina: Pendekatan multi-tujuan. *Dinamika Global: Jurnal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, 8(01), 16-38.
- Iqbal, U., & Azam, S. (2024). *Economic Sanctions As A Tool Of Foreign Policy: Effectiveness And Ethical Consideration*. *Journal of Business Strategies*, 18(1), 43.
- Irawan, D., Djemat, Y. O., & Nastiti, N. N. (2024). Strategi Rusia Dalam Menghadapi Embargo Minyak Oleh Uni Eropa Tahun 2022-2023. *Global Insights Journal: Jurnal Mahasiswa Hubungan Internasional*, 1(1).
- Kusuma, E. M. A. I. (2025). Analisis Sanksi Ekonomi Uni Eropa Terhadap Rusia dalam menghentikan Invasi Rusia Ke Ukraina 2022-2024 (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Islam Indonesia).
- Li, J. (2024). *Navigating the Uncertain Waters: An Analysis of the Near Future Profitability of the Russian Ruble*. *Advances in Economics, Management and Political Sciences*, 73, 27-32.
- Lukman, N., Mardialina, M., & Rizki, K. (2020). Analisis pengaruh kebijakan *extended deterrence* dalam aliansi Amerika Serikat-Korea Selatan terhadap stabilitas keamanan di Asia Timur. *Indonesian Journal of Global Discourse*, 2(1), 1–13.
- Mahendra, I. I. (2022). Kebijakan Rusia untuk Bertahan Menghadapi Sanksi Ekonomi Uni-Eropa di Tahun 2016-2020 Melalui Strategi *Import Substitution*. *Jurnal Pena Wimaya*, 2(1).
- Muhammad, A., & Athifi, M. F. (2021). Aneksasi Rusia atas Krimea, Sanksi Uni Eropa, dan Penguatan Hubungan Strategis antara Rusia-Tiongkok. *Insignia: Journal of International Relations*, 8(2), 132-144.
- Musayyab, S., Soemantri, A. I., & Prakoso, L. Y. (2024). *Peloponnesian War Perpetual Conflict and Future Challenges*. *Indonesian Journal of Applied and Industrial Sciences (ESA)*, 3(2), 235-246.
- Najmi, C. S., & Lestiyarningsih, R. (2022). Upaya Resolusi Konflik Dalam Perang Rusia-Ukraina 2022. *no. March*.

- Nursyahbani, A. A., & Marzaman, A. P. (2023). Dampak invasi Rusia ke Ukraina terhadap stabilitas suplai energi di Eropa. *Jurnal Ilmu Politik dan Komunikasi*, 13(2), 34–48
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2022). *Impacts of the Russian invasion of Ukraine on financial market conditions and resilience: Assessment of global financial markets*. OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/879c9322-en>
- Pamungkas, A. C., Alunaza, H., Shafitri, D. N., & Putri, A. (2022). Implikasi Sanksi Ekonomi Bagi Rusia Terhadap Potensi Eskalasi Harga Minyak dan Gas Alam Pada Distribusi Pasar Dunia. *Journal of International Relations (JoS)*, 1(2), 50-66.
- Saeri, M., Jamaan, A., Surez, M. F., Gayatri, P., Utami, H. I., & Zarina. (2023). Konflik Rusia–Ukraina tahun 2014–2022. *Jurnal Dinamika Global*, 8(2), 319–332. <https://doi.org/>
- Selly Meilinawati (2016) Pengaruh Implementasi Kebijakan *Extended Deterrence* Amerika Serikat Terhadap Kondisi Stabilitas Keamanan Semenanjung Korea. *eJournal Hubungan Internasional*, 2017, 5(4) 1331 – 1338 ISSN 2477-2623. Universitas Mulawarman, Kalimantan Timur.
- Setiawan, A., & Mbae, I. (2023). Analisis Perbandingan Harga Minyak Mentah Dunia Sebelum dan Semasa Perang Rusia-Ukraina: Event Study. *Ekomen*, 22(2), 20-28.
- Skerritt, L. (2019). *Reconceptualizing hegemony in a global American century*. *Journal of Global Faultlines*, 6(2), 150–165.
- Stewart, T. L. C. (2022). *Evaluating the US and NATO's response to Russia's nuclear threats during Putin's war on Ukraine*. *FAO Journal of International Affairs*. <https://faoajournal.substack.com/p/evaluating-the-us-and-natos-response>.
- Shuya, M. (2018). *Russian Cyber Aggression and the New Cold War*. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 11(1), 1–18. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26466903>
- Sundari, R. (2013). *Wacana program nuklir Iran sebagai upaya deterrence terhadap Amerika Serikat* (Tesis Magister, Universitas Gadjah Mada).

Program Pascasarjana Hubungan Internasional, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Talbot, B. J. (2020). Getting Deterrence Right: The Case for Stratified Deterrence. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 13(1), 26–40.

Tualeka, M. W. N. (2017). Teori konflik sosiologi klasik dan modern. *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal studi Agama-agama*, 3(1), 32-48.

Utsalina, D. S., & Primandari, L. A. (2020). Analisis SWOT dalam penentuan bobot kriteria pada pemilihan strategi pemasaran menggunakan Analytic Network Process. *Antivirus: Jurnal Ilmiah Teknik Informatika*, 14(1), 51-60.

Wachs, J. (2023, May 15). *Digital traces of brain drain: Developers during the Russian invasion of Ukraine*. *EPJ Data Science*, 12(1), 14.

Wahyudi, R. (2020). Analisis strategi pemasaran dengan menggunakan metode SWOT dan QSPM pada PT. Sentral Perkasa Jaya. *JKIE (Journal Knowledge Industrial Engineering)*, 7(1), 19-29.

Zulfa, K. K., Arisanto, T. P., & Mahadana, R. K. (2022). Analisis Sanksi Ekonomi Terhadap Rusia Atas Invasinya Di Ukraina 2022. *Jurnal Transformasi Global Universitas Brawijaya*, 9(2), 158–160. Diakses pada Selasa, 24 Oktober 2023 pukul 22.05

Zulkarnain, A., Wahyuningtias, D., & Putranto, T. S. (2018, March). Analysis of IFE, EFE and QSPM matrix on business development strategy. In *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* (Vol. 126, No. 1, p. 012062). IOP Publishing.

Zysk, K. (2019). *Russia's Strategic Underbelly: Military Strategy, Capabilities, and Operations in the Arctic*. In s. J. Blank (ed.), *the Russian Military in Contemporary Perspective* (pp. 687–724). Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep20098.18>

C. LAPORAN

- Becca Wasser, B. C. (2018). *Comprehensive Deterrence Forum*. RAND (hal. 11-20). Santa Monica, Calif: RAND Corporation.
- Biden, J. R. (2022, 21 Februari). *Executive order on blocking property of certain persons and prohibiting certain transactions with respect to continued Russian efforts to undermine the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine*. The White House. <https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2022/02/21/executive-order-on-blocking-property-of-certain-persons-and-prohibiting-certain-transactions-with-respect-to-continued-russian-efforts-to-undermine-the-sovereignty-and-territorial-integrity-of-ukraine/> Diakses pada 27 Mei 2025.
- Clark, M. (2020). *The Russian View of Future War: Unconventional, Diverse, and Rapid*. In *Russian Hybrid Warfare* (pp. 15–24). Institute for the Study of War. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep26547.5>
- Council of the EU. (2023a). *EU response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine*. The Council of the European Union and the European Council. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-response-ukraineinvasion/>
- Council of the EU. (2023b). *EU restrictive measures against Russia over Ukraine (since 2014)*. The Council of the European Union and the European Council. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/sanctions/restrictivemeasures-against-russia-over-ukraine/>
- Crippa, L. (2024). *Putin's Henchmen: The Russian National Guard in the Invasion of Ukraine*. International Centre for Defence and Security (ICDS). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep58519>
- Dagher, M. (2022). *Iran: Strength, Weakness, Opportunity, and Threat (SWOT) Analysis*. In *How Will a Revival of the JCPOA Affect Regional Politics and Iranian Militias?* (pp. 4–9). Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).
- European Council (2022) *UE Sanctions Againsts Belarus*, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/sanctions-against-belarus/>

- Gorbachev, M. (2022). *The De-Stalinizer*. In *Russia's invasion of Ukraine: University of Virginia experts assess Russia's assault on European stability*. Miller Center, University of Virginia. <https://millercenter.org/ukraine>
- International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). (2020, 30 September). *Russia's military modernisation: An assessment*. IISS. <https://www.iiss.org/online-analysis/online-analysis/2020/09/rmm-introduction/> Diakses pada 21 Mei 2025.
- Kristensen, H. M., & Korda, M. (2022). *Russian nuclear weapons, 2022*. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 78(2), 98–121
- Mazarr, M. J. (2018). *Understanding Deterrence*. RAND Corporation. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep19896>
- Mazarr, M. J., Chan, A., Demus, A., Frederick, B., Nader, A., Pezard, S., ... & Treyger, E. (2018). *What deters and why: Exploring requirements for effective deterrence of interstate aggression*. Rand Corporation.
- Oliker, O Crane, K, Schwartz, L.H, & Yusupov, C. (2009). Russia's Defense and Security Policy. In *Russian Foreign Policy: Source and Implications* (pp.139-174). RAND Cooperation.
- Peters, R., Anderson, J., & Menke, H. (2018). *Deterrence in the 21st Century: Integrating Nuclear and Conventional Force*. *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 12(4), 15–43. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26533613>
- Pezard, S. (2022). *U.S. Strategic Competition with Russia: A RAND Research Primer*. RAND Corporation. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep39903>
- Prokopenko, A. (2023, May 30). *Coping with technology sanctions in the Russian financial sector* (DGAP Policy Brief No. 12). German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP). <https://dgap.org/en/research/publications/coping-technology-sanctions-russian-financial-sector>
- Wasser, B., Connable, B., Atler, A., & Sladden, J. (Eds.). (2018). *Comprehensive deterrence forum: Proceedings and commissioned papers*. RAND Corporation. https://www.rand.org/pubs/conf_proceedings/CF345.html
- Reuters. (2022, November 23). *Analysis – Surge in Russia's defence and security spending means cuts for schools and hospitals in 2023*. Euronews.

<https://www.euronews.com/2022/11/23/ukraine-crisis-russia-spending-analysis>

Ribakova, E. (2025). *China-Russia 2024 Trade Value Hits Record High - Chinese Customs.* Reuters. US: www.uscc.gov.

Romeo, Silvia. “Coercive Diplomacy, Theories and Application: A Case Study on U.S Administration and Libya”. LUISS, Department of Political Science, Major in Politics, Philosophy and Economics Chair in Conflict and Development. 2015

Rostker, B. (2013). *The World War. In Providing for the Casualties of War: The American Experience Through World War II* (pp. 123–174). RAND Corporation. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/j.ctt2tt90p.16>

Schwartz, P., Sendstad, C., Hakvåg, U., Nouwens, M., Hart, B., Lin, B., Wilson, R. S., Julianne, M., Pynnöniemi, K., & Patalano, A. (2022). *Russia-China Joint Military Exercises: The View from Russia. In M. Bergmann & A. Lohsen (Eds.), Understanding the Broader Transatlantic Security Implications of Greater Sino-Russian Military Alignment* (pp. 18–27). Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep45513.6>

Siaran Pers, 3 Maret 2022, U.S Departemen Of The Treasury : <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy0628>

U.S. Department of the Treasury. (2022, February 24). *U.S. Treasury announces unprecedented & expansive sanctions against Russia, imposing swift and severe economic costs.* Link : <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy0618> diakses 24 Maret 2025 (20.10)

U.S. Energy Information Administration. (2022). *Country analysis brief: Russia.* U.S. Department of Energy. <https://www.eia.gov/international/analysis/country/RUS>

Whitmore, B., Khakova, O., Nikoladze, M., Donovan, K., Yanchik, O., Sapuppo, M., Lichfield, C., & Kmiolek, C. (2024, February 23). *The toll on Russia from its war in Ukraine, by the numbers.* Atlantic Council. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/the-toll-on-russia-from-its-war-in-ukraine-by-the-numbers/>

World Bank. (2023). *Food Security Update: Rising prices and food insecurity*.

<https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/agriculture/brief/food-security-update>

World Trade Organization. (2022). *Australia, Canada, European Union, Japan, New Zealand, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and the United States – Unilateral trade restrictive measures against Russia* (ID 77). Trade Concern

Database. <https://tradeconcern.wto.org>

World Nuclear Association. (2022). Nuclear reactors in Russia. World Nuclear

Reactor Database. <https://world-nuclear.org/nuclear-reactor-database/summary/Russia>

D. INTERNET

- A & O Sherman (2023) Us Announces New Round of Sanctions, Export Controls, and Trade Restrictions on Russia, Di akses pada 20 September 2024.
<https://www.shearman.com/en/perspectives/2023/02/us-announces-new-round-of-sanctions-export-controls-and-trade-restrictions-on-russia>.
- Agstiyanti, (2022) Daftar Sanksi Ekonomi AS dan sekutu ke Rusia memicu perang.
<https://katadata.co.id/agustiyanti/finansial/62187d258bf4a/daftar-sanksi-ekonomi-as-dan-sekutu-ke-rusia-karena-memicu-perang> diakses pada 28 Januari 2025 (22.05)
- Agustina, R. (2022, 1 September). Rusia mulai latihan Vostok 2022: Libatkan 50.000 tentara, 5.000 unit senjata hingga 60 kapal perang. Tribunnews.com.
<https://www.tribunnews.com/internasional/2022/09/01/rusia-mulai-latihan-vostok-2022-libatkan-50000-tentara-5000-unit-senjata-hingga-60-kapal-perang> Diakses pada 28 Mei 2025 (17.45).
- ALURD (2022) *Overview of Russian counter-sanctions measures*.
<https://alrud.com/publications/62693dc8af5f2a5e0d0bb0f2> diakses pada 27 april 2025 (16.15)
- Arbar, T. F. (2022, 9 Maret). McDonalds, Coca Cola hingga Pepsi setop bisnis di Rusia.CNBCIndonesia.web<https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20220309100807-4-321227/mcdonalds-coca-cola-hingga-pepsi-setop-bisnis-di-rusia> Diakses pada 28 januari 2025 (22.20).
- BBC News. (2022). *Russia's response to Western sanctions: Oil exports, payment systems, and countersanctions*. <https://www.bbc.com/news> diakses pada 29 Mei 2025 (21.09)
- Beaupré, N. (2014, 8 Oktober). *Perancis*. International Encyclopedia of the First World War (versi 1.0). <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/france/> Diakses pada 27 Januari 2025 (13.06).
- Berlianto. (2022, Januari 20). AS curiga latgab Rusia-Belarusia kedok untuk invasi Ukraina.SINDOnews.<https://international.sindonews.com/read/668103/41/as-curiga-latgab-rusia-belarus-kedok-untuk-invasi-ukraina-1642636790> 9diakses pada 24 Mei 2025)

- Carvalho, D., Zhou, Y., Patel, U., Baimbetov, D., Bandmann, C., Griffin, R., Knutson, A., & Trivedi, C. (2024, May 29). *How do Western sanctions on Russia impact the global metals, mining and coal markets?* Wood Mackenzie. <https://www.woodmac.com/news/opinion/how-do-western-sanctions-on-russia-impact-global-metals-mining-and-coal-markets/> Diakses pada 28 januari 2025 (22.20).
- Chávez, K. (2023, January/February). Learning on the fly: Drones in the Russian-Ukrainian war. Arms Control Association. Link : <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2023-01/features/learning-fly-drones-russian-ukrainian-war> diakses pada 12 Mei 2025 (21.36)
- CFR.org Editors. (2022). *Three years of war in Ukraine: Are sanctions against Russia making a difference?* Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/three-years-war-ukraine-are-sanctions-against-russia-making-difference> diakses pada 12 Mei 2025 (21.15)
- CNBC Indonesia. (2022). Iran, China, dan Rusia mulai latihan perang di Samudra Hindia. Link : <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20220122182024-4-309783/iran-china-dan-rusia-mulai-latihan-perang-di-samudra-hindia> di akses 28 Februari 2025 (20.46)
- CNN Indonesia. (2023). Rusia bakal tempatkan kapal selam nuklir Generalissimo di Laut Pasifik. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20230524132022-134-953424/rusia-bakal-tempatkan-kapal-selam-nuklir-generalissimo-di-laut-pasifik> Diakses pada 21 Mei 2025 (21.31).
- Coyle, C. (2022, May 16). *Russia's 1998 currency crisis: What lessons for today?* Economics Observatory. <https://economicsobservatory.com/russias-1998-currency-crisis-what-lessons-for-today>
- Data kekuatan nuklir rusia tahun 2022 dari nuclear notebook : <https://thebulletin.org/premium/2022-02/nuclear-notebook-how-many-nuclear-weapons-does-russia-have-in-2022/>
- Hayes, A. (2024). *Conflict theory: Definition, founder, and examples.* Investopedia. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/conflict-theory.asp>

- Jocelyn, P., Lokker, N., Taylor, K., & Certan, U. (2024, April 4). Sanksi dalam angka: Sektor energi Rusia. *Center for a New American Security* (CNAS). <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/sanctions-by-the-numbers-the-russian-energy-sector>
- Keliauskaitė U., B. McWilliams, G. Sgaravatti, G. Zachmann (2021) 'Impor gas alam Eropa', Bruegel Datasets, terakhir diperbarui 5 Februari 2025, tersedia di <https://www.bruegel.org/publications/datasets/european-natural-gas-imports/>
- Kilfoyle, M. (2023). *Ukraine: What's the global economic impact of Russia's invasion?* *Economics Observatory*. <https://www.economicsobservatory.com/ukraine-whats-the-global-economic-impact-of-russias-invasion>. Diakses pada 7 Februari 2025
- Korhonen, I. (2023). *Sanctions against Russia: What have been the effects so far?* *Economics Observatory*. <https://economicsobservatory.com/sanctions-against-russia-what-have-been-the-effects-so-far>.
- Kristensen, H. M., Korda, M., Johns, E., & Knight, M. (2023). *Russian nuclear weapons, 2023. Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. <https://thebulletin.org/premium/2023-05/russian-nuclear-weapons-2023/> Diakses pada 26 Mei 2025.
- Luzin, P. (2025, January 22). *Russia's year of truth: The runaway military budget. Riddle Russia*. <https://ridl.io/russias-year-of-truth-the-runaway-military-budget/>
- Michael Ray (2023). "Russia-Ukraine War" *The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica* : <https://www.britannica.com/event/2022-Russian-invasion-of-Ukraine> Diakses pada Selasa, Oktober 2023 pukul 23.26
- Nugent, C. (2022, February 25). *Why sanctions on Russia aren't targeting oil and gas. Time*. <https://time.com/6151112/russia-sanctions-oil-gas/>
- Reza Pahlefi (2022) Sudah 5.532 Sanksi Internasional Di Berikan ke Rusia Terbanyak dari AS <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2022/03/09/sudah-5532-sanksi-internasional-diberikan-ke-rusia-terbanyak-dari-as>

- Salamatin, M. (2022, Agustus). *Heightened US sanctions and export restrictions targeting Russia*. Norton Rose Fulbright. Diakses pada 27 Januari 2025, dari <https://www.nortonrosefulbright.com/en/knowledge/publications/61bb1a62/heightened-us-sanctions-and-export-restrictions-targeting-russia>
- Suhandoko. (2024, Oktober 24). *Kekaisaran Romawi: Kebangkrutan militer atau krisis kepemimpinan?*.co.id. https://wisata.viva.co.id/pendidikan/13153-kekaisaran-romawi-kebangkrutan-militer-atau-krisiskepemimpinan?page=2#goog_rewarded. Diakses pada 8 Januari 2025.
- Szyszczak, E. (2022). *Sanctions effectiveness: What lessons three years into the war on Ukraine?* Economics Observatory. Link : <https://www.economicsobservatory.com/sanctions-effectiveness-what-lessons-three-years-into-the-war-on-ukraine> Diakses pada 20 Mei 2025.
- Trinugraheni, N. F. (2022). Rusia dan China selesaikan latihan gabungan angkatan laut di Laut China Timur. Tribunnews. Link : <https://www.tribunnews.com/internasional/2022/12/28/rusia-dan-china-selesaikan-latihan-gabungan-angkatan-laut-di-laut-china-timur>
- Zak, A. (2023). *Submarine-launched ballistic missiles*. RussianSpaceWeb.com. https://www.russianspaceweb.com/rockets_slbm.html. Diakses pada 28 Mei 2025.

E. TESIS DAN DISERTASI

Kusuma, E. M. A. I. (2025). Analisis Sanksi Ekonomi Uni Eropa Terhadap Rusia dalam menghentikan Invasi Rusia Ke Ukraina 2022-2024 (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Islam Indonesia).

Satriawan, B. (2025). Kepentingan Nasional Pakistan Dalam Melakukan Kerjasama Militer Dengan Rusia 2018-2023. *Diplomacy and Global Security Journal: Jurnal Mahasiswa Magister Hubungan Internasional*, 2(1), 211-235.

Sparringa, H. R. R. (2023). *The Legality of Unilateral Sanctions by The United States and European Union Countries Against Russia for Its Invasion to Ukraine in 2022* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Islam Indonesia).