References

- Aloisi, S., & Daniel, F. J. (2022, March 1). *Timeline: The events leading up to Russia's invasion of Ukraine*. Reuters. Retrieved December 13, 2023, from https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/events-leading-up-russias-invasion-ukraine-2022-02-28/
- Austin, G. (2022, February 4). *Russia's 'military-technical solution' for Ukraine*. The International Institute for Strategic Studies. Retrieved December 13, 2023, from https://www.iiss.org/en/online-analysis/online-analysis/2022/02/russias-military-technical-solution-for-ukraine/
- Bokhari, K. (2017, March 6). *Water and Geopolitical Imperatives*. Geopolitical Futures. Retrieved March 23, 2024, from https://geopoliticalfutures.com/water-geopolitical-imperatives/
- Center for Countering Disinformation. (2023, March 16). *The history of the creeping annexation of Crimea: February 2014 - 2023* | *Center for Countering Disinformation*. Центр протидії дезінформації. Retrieved December 14, 2023, from https://cpd.gov.ua/en/articles-en/the-history-of-the-creeping-annexation-ofcrimea-february-2014-2023/
- CFA Institute. (n.d.). *Introduction to Geopolitics*. CFA Institute. Retrieved December 14, 2023, from https://www.cfainstitute.org/en/membership/professional-development/refresher-readings/introduction-geopolitics
- Chitadze, N. (Ed.). (2022). World Politics and the Challenges for International Security. IGI Global. https://www.igi-global.com/book/world-politics-challengesinternational-security/279369
- Chitadze, N. (Ed.). (2022). World Politics and the Challenges for International Security. IGI Global.
- Chitadze, N. (Ed.). (2023). The Russia-Ukraine War and Its Consequences on the Geopolitics of the World. IGI Global.
- Dannreuther, R., & Ostrowski, W. (Eds.). (2013). Global Resources: Conflict and Cooperation. Palgrave Macmillan. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781137349149 5
- Dartmouth Libraries. (2024, April 12). *Geopolitics Human Geography Research Guides at Dartmouth College*. Research Guides. Retrieved May 3, 2024, from https://researchguides.dartmouth.edu/human_geography/geopolitics
- Deudney, D. H., & Crone, G. R. (2023, December 1). *Geopolitics* | *Political Science, Global Relations & International Security*. Britannica. Retrieved December 14, 2023, from https://www.britannica.com/topic/geopolitics
- Devetak, R., Burke, A., & George, J. (Eds.). (2012). An Introduction to International Relations (2nd Edition ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139196598
- Devetak, R., George, J., & Percy, S. (Eds.). (2017). An Introduction to International Relations (3rd Edition ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://search.worldcat.org/title/introduction-to-internationalrelations/oclc/1058982143

- Febrian, K. C. (2019, Januari 16). Latar Belakang Rusia Melakukan Aneksasi Terhadap Krimea [Skripsi Penelitian Untuk Jenjang Sarjana]. Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Jawa TImur.
- ISACHENKOV, V., & KARMANAU, Y. (2022, January 17). Russia denies looking for pretext to invade Ukraine. AP News. Retrieved December 13, 2023, from https://apnews.com/article/russia-officials-ukraine-invasionf58cbbd7eca51cccf74ebd4be68484e8
- Kootneti Team. (2022, September 19). National Interests in International Relations: Definition and Types. The Kootneeti. Retrieved April 29, 2024, from https://thekootneeti.in/2022/09/19/national-interests-in-international-relationsdefinition-and-types/#google vignette
- Kosmos, P. (2023, November 23). Cara Memilihan Teknik Analisis Data yang Tepat dan benar. D3 Sistem Informasi Akuntansi. Retrieved March 15, 2024, from https://dac.telkomuniversity.ac.id/cara-memilihan-teknik-analisis-data-yang-tepatdan-benar/
- Lesniewski, R. (2013, August 30). *Black Sea Map*. Shutterstock. Retrieved May 2, 2024, from https://www.shutterstock.com/image-vector/black-sea-map-152045258
- Mardiastuti, A. (2022, August 20). *Jenis-jenis Penelitian dengan Contoh dan Manfaatnya*. detikcom. Retrieved March 15, 2024, from https://www.detik.com/jabar/berita/d-6243332/jenis-jenis-penelitian-dengan-contoh-dan-manfaatnya
- McGlinchey, S. (2023). *International Relation*. LibreTexts. https://socialsci.libretexts.org/Bookshelves/Sociology/International_Sociology/Bo ok%3A_International_Relations_(McGlinchey)/04%3A_International_Relations_ Theory/4.04%3A_Theory_in_Practice-_Examining_the_United_Nations
- Medhekar, A., Saha, S., & Haq, F. (Eds.). (2022). Strategic Cooperation and Partnerships Between Australia and South Asia: Economic Development, Trade, and Investment Opportunities Post COVID-19. IGI Global. https://www.igiglobal.com/book/strategic-cooperation-partnerships-between-australia/272195
- Mintz, A., & DeRouen, K. R. (2014). Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making. Cambridge University Press.
- Pifer, S. (2020, March 17). Crimea: Six years after illegal annexation | Brookings. Brookings Institution. Retrieved December 14, 2023, from https://www.brookings.edu/articles/crimea-six-years-after-illegal-annexation/
- Salma. (2023, March 2). *Teknik Pengumpulan Data: Pengertian, Jenis, dan Contoh*. Penerbit Deepublish. Retrieved April 26, 2024, from https://penerbitdeepublish.com/teknik-pengumpulandata/#4 Document Dokumen
- Ukraine Government. (2022). Russia's invasion timeline. Russia's war in Ukraine. Retrieved December 15, 2023, from https://war.ukraine.ua/russia-s-invasion-timeline/
- Universitas Medan Area. (2023, January 13). *Teknik pengumpulan data Artikel*. Prodi Agribisnis. Retrieved April 26, 2024, from https://agribisnis.uma.ac.id/2023/01/13/teknik-pengumpulan-data/
- Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona. (n.d.). *GEOPOLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS Economics and Politics*. UAB. Retrieved December 14, 2023, from https://www.uab.cat/doc/Geopolitics_and_Int_relations

- UtahStateUniversity. (n.d.). *Geopolitical Power* | *Aggies GO* | *USU*. College of Humanities & Social Sciences. Retrieved May 1, 2024, from https://chass.usu.edu/international-studies/aggies-go/power
- UtahStateUniversity. (n.d.). Geopolitics Defined | Aggies GO | USU. chass@usu.edu. Retrieved December 14, 2023, from https://chass.usu.edu/internationalstudies/aggies-go/geopolitics-defined
- AFP. (2023, September 22). Missile Strike Hits Russia's Black Sea Fleet HQ. The Moscow Times. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2023/09/22/missile-strike-hits-russias-blacksea-fleet-hq-a82538
- Agenzia Nova. (2024, March 19). "We will strengthen our defenses in the Black Sea, we must be ready". Nova News. Retrieved May 21, 2024, from https://www.agenzianova.com/en/news/putin-annuncia-rafforzeremo-le-nostre-forze-nel-mar-nero-bisogna-essere-pronti/?amp
- Aljazeera. (2022, September 30). Putin announces Russian annexation of four Ukrainian regions. Al Jazeera. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/30/putin-announces-russian-annexationof-four-ukrainian-regions
- Barros, G., Stepanenko, K., Mikkelsen, N., & Mealie, D. (2022, August 19). Interactive Time-lapse: Russia's War in Ukraine. ArcGIS StoryMaps. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from

https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/733fe90805894bfc8562d90b106aa895

- Beaule, V. (2023, October 6). Satellite images show Russia moved military ships after Ukrainian attacks. ABC News. Retrieved May 31, 2024, from https://abcnews.go.com/International/satellite-images-show-russia-movedmilitary-ships-after/story?id=103776620
- Affianty, D. (2015). *Analisa Politik Luar Negeri*. UIN Press. https://repository.umj.ac.id/8533/1/Buku%20Ajar-Analisa%20Politik%20Luar%20Negeri.pdf
- Bell, A. (2016). Mediterranean Sea Region Mental Map | History, World History, Ancient Greece, Ancient Rome, Mediterranean Sea, Mapping. ShowMe. Retrieved May 16, 2024, from https://www.showme.com/sh/?h=qdte3yS
- Black Sea NGO. (n.d.). *Our Black Sea*. Black Sea NGO Network. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from https://www.bsnn.org/black_sea.html
- Britannica. (2024, May 23). *Sevastopol*. Britannica. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from https://www.britannica.com/place/Sevastopol
- Chandra, G. (2020, August 23). Russia & Turkey Likely To Sign S-400 Missile Deal. DefenceXP. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.defencexp.com/russiaturkey-likely-to-sign-s-400-missile-deal/
- Clyatt, O. W. (1993, Febuari 1). *Bulgaria's Quest for Security After the Cold War*. DTIC. Retrieved May 11, 2024, from https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/citations/ADA271350
- da Vinci, L. (2023, October 9). *Iskenderun* | *Turkey, Map, & History*. Britannica. Retrieved May 14, 2024, from https://www.britannica.com/place/Iskenderun-Turkey

- Denomme, D., & Clere, B. (2023, November 21). *Agean Sea Location & Definition*. Study.com. Retrieved May 8, 2024, from https://study.com/academy/lesson/aegean-sea-definition-location-facts.html
- Dettmer, J. (2021, May 12). *Russia Expands Military Facilities in Syria*. VOA News. Retrieved May 14, 2024, from https://www.voanews.com/a/middle-east_russiaexpands-military-facilities-syria/6205742.html
- de Waal, T. (2019, February 11). A Brief Guide to Understanding the Countries of the South Caucasus. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Retrieved May 14, 2024, from https://carnegieeurope.eu/posts/2019/02/a-brief-guide-tounderstanding-the-countries-of-the-south-caucasus?lang=en¢er=europe
- Dorinel, M., Plamen, P., & Matthew, R. (2009, September). Joint Task Force East and Shared Military Basing In Romania and Bulgaria. George C. Marshall European Center For Security Studies. Retrieved May 9, 2024, from https://www.marshallcenter.org/en/publications/occasional-papers/joint-taskforce-east-and-shared-military-basing-romania-and-bulgaria-0
- Drishtiias. (2022, March 3). *Montreux Convention*. Drishti IAS. Retrieved May 8, 2024, from https://www.drishtiias.com/daily-news-analysis/montreux-convention
- Felbab, V., García, D. P., & Baev, P. K. (2024, February 15). Does the West's Ukraine policy need a reality check? A Brookings debate | Brookings. Brookings Institution. Retrieved May 23, 2024, from https://www.brookings.edu/articles/does-the-wests-ukraine-policy-need-a-realitycheck-a-brookings-debate/
- Fisher, M., Shevchenko, V., & BBC News. (2023, September 23). Ukraine hits HQ of Russia's symbolic Black Sea navy. BBC. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-66887524
- Gaber, Y. (2022, December 7). *Turkey can become an energy hub—but not by going allin on Russian gas.* Atlantic Council. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/turkeysource/turkey-can-become-anenergy-hub-but-not-by-going-all-in-on-russian-gas/
- Ghazali, A. S. (2016, December 27). Putin Orders Expansion Of Russia's Naval Base In Tartus, Syria. Countercurrents. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://countercurrents.org/2016/12/putin-orders-expansion-of-russias-naval-basein-tartus-syria/
- Global Euronews. (2023, September 25). US Intelligence Officer: The Strike on the Black Sea Fleet Headquarters Was a NATO Attack, Not Kiev's Attack. Global Euronews. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from https://globaleuronews.com/2023/09/25/usintelligence-officer-the-strike-on-the-black-sea-fleet-headquarters-was-a-natoattack-not-kievs-attack/
- Indomiliter. (2015, March 18). *Boeing P-8 Poseidon: Sang Dewa Laut Incaran Patroli Maritim TNI AU.* Indomiliter. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from https://www.indomiliter.com/boeing-p-8-poseidon-sang-dewa-laut-incaranpatroli-maritim-tni-au/
- The International Institute for Strategic Studies. (2019, August). *Turkey, the S-400 and the F-35*. The International Institute for Strategic Studies. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from https://www.iiss.org/en/publications/strategic-comments/2019/turkey-the-s400-and-the-f35/

- Januarta, F. (2021, August 22). Fregat Admiral Essen, Kapal Perang Rusia Penghancur Kapal Selam. Tempo Foto. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://foto.tempo.co/read/91049/fregat-admiral-essen-kapal-perang-rusiapenghancur-kapal-selam
- Joja, L.-S. (2019, October 16). *Black Sea Strategic Volatility: Players and Patterns*. Foreign Policy Research Institute. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from https://www.fpri.org/article/2019/10/black-sea-strategic-volatility-players-and-patterns/
- Jozwiak, R., Sharifi, K., & Tayebi, A. (2023, December 5). *Russian Parliament To Declare Sea Of Azov As Internal Waters*. RFE/RL. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-azov-internal-ukraine/32714680.html
- Kahn, H., & Coffey, L. (2023, March 16). NATO's Black Sea Frontier Is the Southern Shore of the Caspian Sea. Hudson Institute. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.hudson.org/security-alliances/natos-black-sea-frontier-southernshore-caspian-sea
- Karmanau, Y. (2019, September 26). Naval base in Syria anchors Russia to Mediterranean. Navy Times. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.navytimes.com/news/your-navy/2019/09/27/naval-base-in-syriaanchors-russia-to-mediterranean/
- Kimball, S. (2014, March 11). Bound by treaty DW 03/11/2014. DW. Retrieved May 14, 2024, from https://www.dw.com/en/bound-by-treaty-russia-ukraine-andcrimea/a-17487632
- Klymenko, A., Guchakova, T., the Monitoring Group of the Black Sea Institute of Strategic Studies, & BlackSeaNews. (2021, August 21). The Militarization of Crimea as a Pan-European Threat and NATO Response. Third Edition. BlackSeaNews. Retrieved May 13, 2024, from https://www.blackseanews.net/en/read/179147#
- Kollakowski, T. (2023, June 2). Interpreting Russian aims to control the Black Sea region through naval geostrategy (Part One): 'The Azov-Black Sea basin as a whole [...] This is, in fact, a zone of our strategic interests. Taylor & Francis Online. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13518046.2023.2201112
- Kollakowski, T. (2023, October 9). ,Interpreting Russian aims to control the Black Sea region through naval geostrategy (Part Two): 'Establishing full control over Southern Ukraine and the Donbas is one of the tasks of the Russian Army'. Taylor & Francis Online. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13518046.2023.2251306
- Lister, T. (2022, February 24). Russia launches military attack on Ukraine with reports of explosions and troops crossing border. CNN. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from https://edition.cnn.com/2022/02/23/europe/russia-ukraine-putin-military-operation-donbas-intl-hnk/index.html
- Mambra, S. (2024, March 29). 8 Amazing Facts about the Black Sea. Marine Insight. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.marineinsight.com/know-more/8amazing-facts-about-the-black-sea/
- Meduza. (2022, Febuary 24). Putin announces formal start of Russia's invasion in eastern Ukraine. Meduza. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from

https://meduza.io/en/news/2022/02/24/putin-announces-start-of-military-operation-in-eastern-ukraine

- Melvin, N. J. (2018, December 1). *The post-2014 Black Sea security environment*. JSTOR. Retrieved May 13, 2024, from https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep19176.9?searchText=Post-2014&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DPost-2014%26so%3Drel&ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_search_gsv2%2Fcontrol&refreqid =fastly-default%3A99865b5d1c7d8a35c889afa8d93caf42
- The Moscow Times. (2023, October 5). Russian Warships Leave Annexed Crimea Amid Growing Missile Threats – Reports. The Moscow Times. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2023/10/05/russian-warships-leaveannexed-crimea-amid-growing-missile-threats-reports-a82668
- Mutler, A. (2019, November 25). NATO Shows Off Missile Base In Romania, Calling It 'Purely Defensive'. RFE/RL. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.rferl.org/a/nato-shows-off-missile-base-in-romania-calling-it-purelydefensive-/30291193.html
- NATO. (2021, July 19). *NATO ships exercise in the Black Sea*. NATO.int. Retrieved May 9, 2024, from https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news 185879.htm
- NATO. (2023, April 11). *Topic: Interoperability: connecting forces*. NATO.int. Retrieved May 12, 2024, from https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics 84112.htm
- NATO. (2023, July 4). *Collective defence and Article 5*. NATO. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics 110496.htm
- Necsutu, M. (2024, March 21). Romania To Host Largest NATO Military Base in Europe. Balkan Insight. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from https://balkaninsight.com/2024/03/21/romania-to-host-largest-nato-military-basein-europe/
- NUS Centre for International Law. (2019, Febuary). 1936 CONVENTION REGARDING THE REGIME OF THE STRAITS. NUS Centre for International Law. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from https://cil.nus.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/1936-Convention-Regarding-the-Regime-of-the-Straits-1.pdf
- O'Higgins, T., Goulding, I. C., & Stobberup, K. A. (2014, September). Potential economic impacts of achieving good environmental status in Black Sea Fisheries. Retrieved May 9, 2024, from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265905481_Potential_economic_impact s of achieving good environmental status in Black Sea Fisheries
- outrider. (2018). *Kharkiv Pact*. Outriders. Retrieved May 14, 2024, from https://outride.rs/en/topic/kharkiv-pact/
- Ozerdem, A. (2022, March 1). What the Montreux Convention is, and what it means for the Ukraine war. The Conversation. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from https://theconversation.com/what-the-montreux-convention-is-and-what-it-meansfor-the-ukraine-war-178136
- Petkova, M. (2020, October 1). What has Russia gained from five years of fighting in Syria? Al Jazeera. Retrieved May 16, 2024, from https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2020/10/1/what-has-russia-gained-from-fiveyears-of-fighting-in-syria

- Port Europe. (2022, December 23). *Reference Volga-Don Canal (VCSNC Volga-Caspian Sea Navigation Canal)*. Ports Europe. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.portseurope.com/reference-volga-don-canal-vcsnc-volga-caspian-sea-navigation-canal/
- Reuters. (2014, April 18). *Putin says annexation of Crimea partly a response to NATO enlargement.* Reuters. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSBREA3G22A/
- Russia Government. (2022, July 31). Указ Президента Российской Федерации от 31.07.2022 № 512 · Официальное опубликование правовых актов. Официальное опубликование. Retrieved May 15, 2024, from http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001202207310001?index=1
- Satam, P. (2023, October 8). Russia 'Baits' Ukraine To Attack Its New Black Sea Fleet HQ To Justify Retaliatory Strike On NATO Assets: OPED. The EurAsian Times. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from https://www.eurasiantimes.com/russia-baits-ukraineto-attack-its-new-black-sea-fleet-hq-to-justify-retaliatory-strike-on-nato-assetsoped/amp/
- Schatz, V. J., & Koval, D. (2018, January 10). Ukraine v. Russia: Passage through Kerch Strait and the Sea of Azov. Völkerrechtsblog. Retrieved May 16, 2024, from https://voelkerrechtsblog.org/ukraine-v-russia-passage-through-kerch-strait-andthe-sea-of-azov/
- Shkarlat, K. (2024, April 8). Fire on Russian missile ship Serpukhov: Intelligence revealed details of damage. RBC-Ukraine. Retrieved May 21, 2024, from https://newsukraine.rbc.ua/news/fire-on-russian-missile-ship-serpukhov-intelligence-1712588895.html
- Shukla, A. (2023, December 25). *Why US is dithering on Houthis in Red Sea*. Ashish Shukla. Retrieved May 14, 2024, from https://ashishshukla-92505.medium.com/why-us-is-dithering-on-houthis-in-red-sea-2ba2553cbcfd
- Sky News. (2021, December 23). Russia's Putin: The US is parking missiles "on the porch of our house". YouTube. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MOkl2XgZlw0
- Sputnik. (2019, May 21). Bulgarian Defence Minister Calls Price of US F-16 Fighters Unreasonably High. Sputnik. Retrieved May 12, 2024, from https://sputnikglobe.com/20190521/bulgaria-price-f16-high-1075163135.html
- Stubbs, J., & Solovyov, D. (2016, June 27). Kremlin says Turkey apologised for shooting down Russian jet. Reuters. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKCN0ZD1NW/
- Swiss Foreign Ministry. (2023, October 9). Swiss Foreign Ministry Department. South Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan). Retrieved May 14, 2024, from https://www.eda.admin.ch/deza/en/home/countries/south-caucasus.html
- TROUILLARD, S. (2019, April 14). 'No NATO country will taunt the Russians' in the Black Sea. France 24. Retrieved May 21, 2024, from https://www.france24.com/en/20190414-russia-putin-crimea-ukraine-nato-blacksea-kerch-usa-romania-hungary
- Ukrayinska Pravda. (2010, May 14). The "Kharkiv Pact" does not guarantee that there will be no problems with the Black Sea Fleet of the Russian Federation.

Ukrayinska Pravda. Retrieved May 31, 2024, from https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2010/05/14/5040281/

University of British Columbia. (n.d.). *Fisheries, Ecosystems and Biodiversity*. Sea Around Us. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from http://www.seaaroundus.org/data/#/eez

Vavasseur, X., & Grotnik, T. (2020, April 27). Russia's Bastion Missile Systems Pass Winter Tests in the Arctic. Naval News. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from https://www.navalnews.com/naval-news/2020/04/russias-bastion-missile-systemspass-winter-tests-in-the-arctic/