

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### BUKU

- Abdullah, T.A.J. 2006. *Dictatorship, Imperialism & Chaos: Iraq since 1989*. London: Zed Books.
- Ahmad, Muhammad I. 2014. *The Road to Iraq: The Making of a Neoconservative War*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Blumenthal, Max. 2019. *The Management of Savagery: How America's National Security State Fueled The Rise of Al-Qaeda, ISIS and Donald Trump*. Verso: London & Brooklyn.
- Crane, Conrad C. & Terrill, W. Andrew. 2003. *Reconstructing Iraq: Insights, Challenges, and Missions for Military Forces in a Post-Conflict Scenario*. U.S. Army War College.
- Esposito, John L. 1997. *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism, or Reform?.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.
- Freedman, Lawrence. 2013. *Strategy: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gordon, M. R. & Trinor, B. E. 2007. *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Holsti, Ole R. 2011. *American Public Opinion on the Iraq War*. Detroit: University of Michigan
- Hosken, Andrew. 2015. *Empire of Fear: Inside the Islamic State*. London: Oneworld Publications.
- Manne, Robert. 2017. *The Mind of The Islamic State ISIS and the Ideology of the Caliphate*. Carlton: Schwartz Publishing.
- Mason, Paul. 2010. *Timelines: The Iraq War*. London: Arcturus Publishing.
- McChrystal, Stanley. 2013. *My Share of the task a memoir*. New York: Penguin Group.
- Nance, Malcolm W. 2015. *The Terrorists of Iraq: Inside the Strategy and Tactics of the Iraq Insurgency 2003-2014, Second Edition*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.
- Neville, Leigh. 2008. *Special Operations Forces in Iraq*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing.
- Oliker, et al. 2007. *U.S. Policy Options for Iraq: A Reassessment*. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.
- Perry, W.L, Darilek, R.E, Rohn, L.L & Sollinger, J.M. 2015. *Operation Iraqi Freedom: Decisive War, Elusive Peace*. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

- Pollack, K., et al. 2011. *Unfinished Business: An American Strategy for Iraq Moving Forward*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Rayburn, J.D. & Sobchak, F.K. 2019. *The US Army in the Iraq War Volume 1: Invasion, Insurgency, Civil War*. Carlisle Barracks: United States Army War College Press.
- Tucker-Jones, Anthony. 2014. *Modern Warfare The Iraq War Operation Iraqi Freedom 2003-2011*. South Yorkshire: Pen &S Sword Books Limited.

### ARTIKEL DARING

War Crime, International Law. 2019. Britannica [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.britannica.com/topic/war-crime>. [Diakses: 13 September 2019].

### ARTIKEL KORAN DARING

Al-Zarqawi group vows allegiance to bin Laden. 2004. NBC News [Daring]. Dalam [http://www.nbcnews.com/id/6268680/#.XSQBco9S\\_IV](http://www.nbcnews.com/id/6268680/#.XSQBco9S_IV). [Diakses 9 Juli 2019].

Al-Qaeda in Iraq names new head. 2006. BBC [Daring]. Dalam [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/5073092.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5073092.stm). [Diakses: 9 Juli 2019].

Apuzzo, Matt. 2015. *Ex-Blackwater Guards Given Long Terms for Killing Iraqis*. The New York Times [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/14/us/ex-blackwater-guards-sentenced-to-prison-in-2007-killings-of-iraqi-civilians.html>. [Diakses: 26 Juni 2019].

Arab Reaction to Iraqi Prisoner Photos. 2004. PBS [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/arab-reaction-to-iraqi-prisoner-photos>. [Diakses: 14 Agustus 2019].

Arraf, Jane. 2018. *15 Years After U.S. Invasion, Some Iraqis Are Nostalgic For Saddam Hussein Era*. National Public Radio [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2018/04/30/605240844/15-years-after-u-s-invasion-some-iraqis-are-nostalgic-for-saddam-hussein-era>. [Diakses: 27 Agustus 2019].

Asser, Martin. 2008. *What happened at Haditha?*. BBC [Daring]. Dalam [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/5033648.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5033648.stm). [Diakses: 26 Juni 2019].

Atran, S. & Hamid, N. 2015. *Paris: The War ISIS Wants*. NYR Daily [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2015/11/16/paris-attacks-isis-strategy-chaos/>. [Diakses: 11 Juli 2019].

- Baird, Addy. 2018. *The Scariest things John Bolton has said*. Think Progress [Daring]. Dalam <https://thinkprogress.org/scariest-things-john-bolton-said-1d7911538261/>. [Diakses: 8 Agustus 2019].
- Blackwater guards fired unprovoked: Iraq police evidence. 2007. Agence France-Presse [Daring]. Dalam <https://web.archive.org/web/20120325105540/http://afp.google.com/article/ALeqM5j7X-fjd9m4DL4d1eTTdLZxoWSSpg>. [Diakses: 26 Juni 2019].
- Blustein, Paul. 2005. *Wolfowitz Strives To Quell Criticism*. Washington Post [Daring]. Dalam <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A52375-2005Mar20.html>. [Diakses: 8 Agustus 2019].
- Brown, Ely. 2016. *What to Know About ISIS Leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi*. ABC News [Daring]. Dalam <https://abcnews.go.com/International/isis-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi/story?id=43198528>. [Diakses 8 Juli 2019].
- Burke, Jason. 2015. *Islamic State 'goes global' with Paris Attacks*. The Guardian [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/14/islamic-state-goes-global-paris-attacks>. [Diakses: 11 Juli 2019].
- Bush Admin. May Not Get Iraq Security Deal Before End of Term. 2008. Fox News [Daring]. Dalam <https://web.archive.org/web/20150322070426/http://www.foxnews.com/story/2008/06/09/bush-admin-may-not-get-iraq-security-deal-before-end-term/>. [Diakses 25 Mei 2019].
- Calamur, Krishnadev. 2018. *A Shia Cleric's Radical Vision for Iraq*. The Atlantic [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/05/iraq-moqtada-sadr/559499/>. [Diakses: 16 Agustus 2019].
- Cetorelli, V., Sasson, I., Shabila, N. & Burnham, G. 2017. Demographic Evidence of the Killings and Kidnappings. Foreign Affairs [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2017-06-08/isis-yazidi-genocide>. [Diakses: 15 Juli 2019].
- Chronology: The Evolution of the Bush Doctrine. 2007. PBS Frontline [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/etc/cron.html>. [Diakses: 22 Juli 2019].
- CNN Live at Daybreak. 2004. CNN [Daring]. Dalam <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0405/06/lad.04.html>. [Diakses: 26 Juli 2019].
- Deyoung, K. & Morris, L. 2014. *U.S. airstrikes target Islamic State militants in northern Iraq*. The Washington Post [Daring]. Dalam [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\\_east/islamic-state-militants-seize-christian-town-in-northern-iraq-thousands-flee/2014/08/07/942a553a-1e2b-11e4-ab7b-](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/islamic-state-militants-seize-christian-town-in-northern-iraq-thousands-flee/2014/08/07/942a553a-1e2b-11e4-ab7b-)

696c295ddfd1\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\_term=.95a0b2d3b76d.  
[Diakses: 25 Juni 2019].

Factbox: Iraq war, the notable quotes. 2008. Reuters [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-war-quotes/factbox-iraq-war-the-notable-quotes-idUSL212762520080311>. [Diakses: 26 Juli 2019].

Fairweather, Jack. 2014. *Big and brash – the 4x4 symbol of arrogant occupiers*. The Telegraph [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/iraq/1464595/Big-and-brash-the-4x4-symbol-of-arrogant-occupiers.html>. [Diakses: 26 Juli 2019].

Fallows, James. 2008. *Karmic Justice: Gen. Eric Shinseki*. The Atlantic [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2008/12/karmic-justice-gen-eric-shinseki/9162/>. [Diakses: 26 Juli 2019].

Haditha residents outraged as Marine avoids jail. 2012. The Telegraph [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/iraq/9037595/Haditha-residents-outraged-as-Marine-avoids-jail.html>. [Diakses: 14 Agustus 2019].

Hedges, C. & Al-Arian, L. 2007. *Military Veterans speak on the records about attacks on Iraqi civilians*. The Guardian [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jul/13/usa.iraq>. [Diakses: 15 Agustus 2019].

Hentoff, Nat. 2006. *Bush's War Crime Cover-up*. Village Voice [Daring]. Dalam <https://web.archive.org/web/20080617075536/http://www.villagevoice.com/news/0650,hentoff,75255,2.html>. [Diakses: 14 Agustus 2019].

Hersh, Seymour M. 2004. *Torture at Abu Ghraib*. Newyorker Magazine [Daring]. Dalam <https://web.archive.org/web/20160801141211/http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/05/10/torture-at-abu-ghraib>. [Diakses: 9 Oktober 2019].

Iraq crisis: Islamic State accused of ethnic cleansing. 2014. BBC [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29026491>. [Diakses: 15 Juli 2019].

Irshaid, Faisal. 2015. *Isis, Isil, IS or Daesh? One Group, many names*. BBC [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27994277>. [Diakses: 11 Juli 2019].

Johnson, M. A. 2014. *Deviant and Pathological: What do ISIS Extremists Really Want?*. NBC News [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/isis-terror/deviant-pathological-what-do-isis-extremists-really-want-n194136>. [Diakses: 11 Juli 2019].

- Kami, Aseel. 2012. *Iraq says to take legal action for Haditha victims*. Reuters [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-massacre/iraq-says-to-take-legal-action-for-haditha-victims-idUSTRE80P1JA20120126>. [Diakses: 14 Agustus 2019].
- Linzer, D. & Ricks, T.E. 2006. *Anbar Picture Grows Clearer and Bleaker*. Washington Post [Daring]. Dalam <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/11/27/AR2006112701287.html>. [Diakses: 9 Juli 2019].
- Military Skill and Terrorist Technique Fuel Success of ISIS. 2014. The New York Times [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/28/world/middleeast/army-know-how-seen-as-factor-in-isis-successes.html>. [Diakses: 10 Juni 2019].
- Palmer, James. 2019. *America Loves Excusing It's War Criminals*. Foreign Policy [Daring]. Dalam <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/21/america-loves-excusing-its-war-criminals-trump-pardons/>. [Diakses 14 Agustus 2019].
- Pitney, Nico. 2008. *Iraq Retrospective: Read The Quotes That Sent Us to War*. Huffpost [Daring]. Dalam [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/iraq-retrospective-read-t\\_n\\_92575](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/iraq-retrospective-read-t_n_92575). [Diakses: 26 Juli 2019].
- Poole, Oliver. 2006. *'Worst war crime' committed by US in Iraq*. The Telegraph [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/1519608/Worst-war-crime-committed-by-US-in-Iraq.html>. [Diakses: 2 Oktober 2019].
- Purdum, Todd S. 2003. *The Brains Behind Bush's War Policy*. The New York Times [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/01/arts/the-brains-behind-bush-s-war-policy.html>. [Diakses: 8 Agustus 2019].
- Q&A: What is the Fedayeen Saddam?. 2003. The New York Times [Daring]. Dalam <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/cfr/international/backgroundiraq2032503.html>. [Diakses: 11 Oktober 2019].
- Reuter, Cristoph. 2015. *The Terror Strategist: Secret Files Reveal the Structure of the Islamic State*. Der Spiegel [Daring]. Dalam <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/islamic-state-files-show-structure-of-islamist-terror-group-a-1029274.html>. [Diakses: 11 Juli 2019].
- Rothkopf, David. 2018. *John Bolton's mustache is more qualified to be national security adviser than ne is*. CNN [Daring]. Dalam <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/03/16/opinions/boltons-mustache-more-qualified-to-be-national-security-adviser-rothkopf/index.html>. [Diakses: 8 Agustus 2019].

- Shanker, Thom. 2006. *Abu Ghraib Called Incubator for Terrorists* [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/15/world/middleeast/abu-ghraib-called-incubator-for-terrorists.html>. The New York Times. [Diakses: 1 November 2019].
- Shinkman, Paul D. 2013. *6 Predictions Days Before the Iraq War*. US News Civic [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.usnews.com/news/blogs/press-past/2013/03/19/six-predictions-days-before-the-iraq-war>. [Diakses: 12 Agustus 2019].
- Sjursen, Danny. 2019. *Whitewashing War Crimes Has Become the American Way*. Common Dreams [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.commondreams.org/views/2019/06/07/whitewashing-war-crimes-has-become-american-way>. [Diakses: 14 Agustus 2019].
- Strobel, W. P, Landsay, J.S. & Walcott, J. 2004. *Doubts Cast of Efforts to Link Saddam, al-Qaida*. Common Dreams News Center [Daring]. Dalam <https://web.archive.org/web/20061208023017/http://www.commondreams.org/headlines04/0303-01.htm>. [Diakses: 8 Agustus 2019].
- Text: President Bush Addresses the Nation. 2001. The Washington Post [Daring]. Dalam [https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress\\_092001.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress_092001.html). [Diakses: 22 Juli 2019].
- Tharoor, Ishaan. 2014. *ISIS or ISIL? The debate over what to call Iraq's terror group*. The Washington Post [Daring]. Dalam [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/06/18/isis-or-isil-the-debate-over-what-to-call-iraqs-terror-group/?utm\\_term=.5f88d5795bcc](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/06/18/isis-or-isil-the-debate-over-what-to-call-iraqs-terror-group/?utm_term=.5f88d5795bcc). [Diakses: 11 Juli 2019].
- Transcript for Sept. 14. 2003. NBC News [Daring]. Dalam [http://www.nbcnews.com/id/3080244/ns/meet\\_the\\_press/t/transcript-sept/#.XTqD5ntS\\_IU](http://www.nbcnews.com/id/3080244/ns/meet_the_press/t/transcript-sept/#.XTqD5ntS_IU). [Diakses: 26 Juli 2019].
- Weaver, Mary A. 2006. *The Short, Violent Life of Aby Musab al-Zarqawi*. The Atlantic [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2006/07/the-short-violent-life-of-abu-musab-al-zarqawi/304983/>. [Diakses: 8 Juli 2019].
- Whitaker, Brian. 2005. *Revealed: Al-Qaeda plan to seize control of Iraq*. The Guardian [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/oct/13/alqaida.iraq>. [Diakses: 9 Juli 2019].
- Whitlock, Craig. 2006. *Al-Zarqawi's Biography*. Washington Post Foreign Service [Daring]. Dalam [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/08/AR2006060800299.html?nav=rss\\_world/africa](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/08/AR2006060800299.html?nav=rss_world/africa). [Diakses: 8 Juli 2019].

- Withnall, Adam. 2014. *Isis: The first Western journalist ever to be given access to the 'Islamic State' has just returned – and this is what he discovered*. Independent [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/inside-isis-the-first-western-journalist-ever-given-access-to-the-islamic-state-has-just-returned-9938438.html>. [Diakses: 11 Juli 2019].
- Wood, Graeme. 2015. *What ISIS Really Wants*. The Atlantic [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>. [Diakses: 11 Juli 2019].
- Yuha, Alan. 2014. *US general rebrands ISIS 'Daesh' after requests from regional partners*. The Guardian [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/19/us-general-rebrands-isis>. [Diakses: 11 Juli 2019].

## ARTIKEL JURNAL

- Holzgrefe, J.L. & Keohane, R.O. 2003. *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pitchford, Jenna. 2011. "The Global War on Terror: Identity and changing perceptions: Iraqi Responses to America's war in Iraq" dalam *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 45. No. 4, hal 695-716. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

## JURNAL DARING

- Armed Humanitarian Intervention. Tt. Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.iep.utm.edu/hum-mili/>. [Diakses: 24 Juli 2019].
- Atrocities and Criminal Homicides in Iraq. T.t. Global Policy Forum [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.globalpolicy.org/invasion-and-war/atrocities-and-criminal-homicides-.html>. [Diakses: 26 Juli 2019].
- Audu, Bulus N. 2014. *Aspects of Peacekeeping and Peace-Enforcement in Conflict Resolution: West Africa and the Congo*. IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science, Volume 19, Issue 9, Ver. VI (Sep. 2014), hal. 14-19 [Daring]. Dalam [www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol19-issue9/Version-6/B019961419.pdf](http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol19-issue9/Version-6/B019961419.pdf). [Diakses 19 Juni 2019].
- Beehner, Lionel. 2006. *U.S. Military Strategy in Iraq*. Council on Foreign Relations [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-military-strategy-iraq/>. [Diakses 12 Agustus 2019].

- Byrne, Malcolm. Tt., *Iran and the United States in the Cold War* [Daring]. Dalam <https://ap.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/age-reagan/essays/iran-and-united-states-cold-war>. [Diakses: 24 Mei 2019].
- Collins, Joseph J. 2008. *Choosing War: The Decision to Invade Iraq and Its Aftermath*. Institute for National Strategic Studies National Defence University [Daring]. Dalam [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/55662/2008-04\\_Choosing\\_War.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/55662/2008-04_Choosing_War.pdf). [Diakses: 8 Agustus 2019].
- Dale, Catherine. 2008. *Operation Iraqi Freedom: Strategies, Approaches, Results and Issues for Congress*. CRS Report for Congress [Daring]. Dalam <https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a490069.pdf>. [Diakses: 24 Juni 2019].
- DePetris, Daniel R. 2018. *When Deterrence Failed: Why Saddam Hussein Invaded Kuwait*. The National Interest [Daring]. Dalam <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/skeptics/when-deterrence-failed-why-saddam-hussein-invaded-kuwait-37237>. [Diakses: 24 Mei 2019].
- Drake, Bruce. 2014. *More American say U.S. failed to achieve it's goals in Iraq*. Pew Research Center [Daring]. Dalam <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/06/12/more-americans-say-us-failed-to-achieve-its-goals-in-iraq/>. [Diakses 27 Maret 2018].
- Eland, Ivan. 2006. *U.S. Arrogance in Iraq*. Independent Institute [Daring]. Dalam <http://www.independent.org/news/article.asp?id=1840>. [Diakses: 27 Juli 2019].
- Family Members of Slain Iraqis Sue Blackwater USA for Deadly Baghdad Shooting. 2007. Democracy NOW! [Daring]. Dalam <https://web.archive.org/web/20071012010135/http://www.democracynow.org/article.pl?sid=07%2F10%2F11%2F1340205>. [Diakses: 26 Juni 2019].
- Garamone, Jim. 2014. *Dod Authorizes War on Terror Award for Inherent Resolve Ops*. Department of Defense [Daring]. Dalam <https://dod.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/603569/>. [Diakses: 25 Juni 2019].
- Guide to the Analysis of Insurgency 2012. 2012. US Government [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=713599>. [Diakses 19 Juni 2019].
- Hahn, Peter. 2012. *A Century of U.S. Relations with Iraq*. Origins [Daring]. Dalam <https://origins.osu.edu/article/century-us-relations-iraq/page/0/1>. [Diakses: 26 September 2019].
- Hanson, Jim. 2013. *The end of the warrior witch hunt*. The Washington Times [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/jan/07/when-he-walked-into-the-operations-center-during-t/>. [Diakses: 26 Juni 2019].



- Hoffmann, Stanley. 1995. 'The Politics and Ethics of Military Intervention' dalam *Survival*, vol. 37 no. 4, Winter 1995-1996 [Daring]. Dalam [https://iiss.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396339508442814?journalCode=tsur20#.XQmF\\_Y9S\\_IU](https://iiss.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396339508442814?journalCode=tsur20#.XQmF_Y9S_IU). [Diakses 19 Juni 2019].
- Human Rights. 2019. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy [Daring]. Dalam <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/rights-human/#Bib>. [Diakses: 25 September 2019].
- Iraq and Syria Operations Against ISIL Designated as Operation Inherent Resolve. 2014. U.S. Central Command [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.centcom.mil/MEDIA/NEWS-ARTICLES/News-Article-View/Article/884877/iraq-and-syria-operations-against-isil-designated-as-operation-inherent-resolve/>. [Diakses: 25 Juni 2019].
- Iraq crisis: Mosul dam recaptured from militants – Obama. 2014. BBC [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28833519>. [Diakses: 25 Juni 2019].
- Jefferis, Jennifer. 2016. *ISIS Administrative and Territorial Organization*. IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook [Daring]. Dalam [https://www.iemed.org/observatori/arees-danalisi/arxius-adjunts/anuari/med.2016/IEMed\\_MedYearBook2016\\_ISIS%20Administrative%20Organization\\_Jeniffer\\_Jefferis.pdf](https://www.iemed.org/observatori/arees-danalisi/arxius-adjunts/anuari/med.2016/IEMed_MedYearBook2016_ISIS%20Administrative%20Organization_Jeniffer_Jefferis.pdf). [Diakses: 15 Juli 2019].
- Kisangani, Emizet N.F & Pickering, J. 2008. *Codebook: International Military Intervention, 1989-2005*. Kansas State University [Daring]. Dalam [https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=15&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwjK8ar9qPTiAhWGfn0KHXCFAmsQFjAOegQIAhAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.k-state.edu%2Fpolsci%2Fintervention%2FICPSRCodebookforKisanganiPickering\\_1989-2005Data.doc&usg=AOvVaw37UvwuPw4e8WMuvxGIDsia](https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=15&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwjK8ar9qPTiAhWGfn0KHXCFAmsQFjAOegQIAhAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.k-state.edu%2Fpolsci%2Fintervention%2FICPSRCodebookforKisanganiPickering_1989-2005Data.doc&usg=AOvVaw37UvwuPw4e8WMuvxGIDsia) [Diakses 19 Juni 2019].
- Kott, A. & Skain, B. 2016. *Approaches to Modelling Insurgency* [Daring]. Dalam <https://arxiv.org/ftp/arxiv/papers/1603/1603.01787.pdf>. [Diakses: 24 Juli 2019].
- Marine Corps Warfighting Publication. Tt. *Chapter 10: Offensive Operations* [Daring]. Dalam <https://fas.org/nuke/guide/usa/doctrine/army/fm3-100/CH10.PDF>. [Diakses 19 Juni 2019].
- Marjanovic, Marko. 2011. *Is Humanitarian War the Exeption*. Mises Institute [Daring]. Dalam <https://mises.org/library/humanitarian-war-exception>. [Diakses: 24 Juli 2019].
- Mastroianni, Goerge R. 2011. *Looking Back: Understanding Abu Ghraib* [Daring]. Dalam [https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/Parameters/issues/Summer\\_2013/6\\_Mastroianni\\_Article.pdf](https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/Parameters/issues/Summer_2013/6_Mastroianni_Article.pdf). [Diakses: 26 Juni 2019].

- Mayers, Bill. 2014. *An Iraqi Perspective: How America's Destruction of Iraqi Society Led to Today's Chaos*. Bill Moyers [Daring]. Dalam <https://billmoyers.com/2014/06/20/an-iraqi-perspective-how-americas-destruction-of-iraqi-society-led-to-todays-chaos/>. [Diakses: 12 Agustus 2019].
- Operation New Dawn. T.t. [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/new-dawn.htm>. [Diakses: 25 Juni 2019].
- Pacification. 2000. Encyclopedia.com [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/political-science-and-government/military-affairs-nonnaval/pacification>. [Diakses: 23 Juli 2019].
- Partlow, Joshua. 2007. *State Dept. Convoy Attacked in Baghdad, Sparking a Shootout*. The Washington Post [Daring]. Dalam <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/09/16/AR2007091601062.html>. [Diakses: 26 Juni 2019].
- Pearson, F.S & Baumann, R.A. 2008. *International military interventions: Identification and classifications*. Tanf Online [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050628808434701?journalCode=gini20>. [Diakses: 23 Juli 2019].
- Ray, Michael. 2009. *My Lai Massacre*. Encyclopaedia Britannica [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.britannica.com/event/My-Lai-Massacre/Cover-up-investigation-and-legacy>. [Diakses: 9 Oktober 2019].
- Roser, M., Nagdy, M., & Ritchie, H. 2018. *Terrosism*. Our World in Data [Daring]. Diakses: 15-Maret-2018. Dalam <https://ourworldindata.org/terrorism#modern-terrorism-after-the-second-world-war>. [Diakses 15 Maret 2018].
- Russell, Richard L. 2002. "CIA's Strategic Alliance in Iraq" dalam *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 117 No. 2 (Summer 2002). Academy of Political Science [Daring]. Dalam [https://www.jstor.org/stable/798180?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/798180?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents). [Diakses: 26 Juni 2019].
- Saddam Hussein President of Iraq. Tt. Encyclopaedia Britannica [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Saddam-Hussein#ref284495>. [Diakses: 4 Juli 2019].
- Savage, C. & Bumiller, E. 2012. *An Iraqi Massacre, a Light Sentence and a Question of Military Justice*. The New York Times [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/28/us/an-iraqi-massacre-a-light-sentence-and-a-question-of-military-justice.html>. [Diakses: 26 Juni 2019].

- Sibley, Katherine A.S. 2002. *Foreign Aid*. Encyclopeida.com [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/political-science-and-government/international-affairs-diplomacy/foreign-aid>. [Diakses: 24 Juli 2019].
- Specia, Megan. 2019. *The Evolution of ISIS: From Rogue State to Stateless Ideology*. The New York Times [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/20/world/middleeast/isis-history-facts-islamic-state.html>. [Diakses: 25 Mei 2019].
- Teslik, Lee. H. 2006. *Profile: Abu Musab al-Zarqawi*. Council on Foreign Relations [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/profile-abu-musab-al-zarqawi>. [Diakses: 8 Juli 2019].
- The Iraqi Public on the US Presence and the Future of Iraq. 2006. World Public Opinion.org [Daring]. Dalam [https://web.archive.org/web/20160824163145/http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/sep06/Iraq\\_Sep06\\_rpt.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20160824163145/http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/sep06/Iraq_Sep06_rpt.pdf). [Diakses: 12 Agustus 2019].
- U.S. Foreign Military Assistance. T.t. Federation of American Scientists [Daring]. Dalam <https://fas.org/asmp/profiles/aid/aidindex.htm>. [Diakses: 24 Juli 2019].
- Zelin, Aaron Y. 2014. *The War between ISIS and al-Qaeda for Supremacy of Global Jihadist Movement*. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy [Daring]. Dalam [https://web.archive.org/web/20150220221134/http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/ResearchNote\\_20\\_Zelin.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20150220221134/http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/ResearchNote_20_Zelin.pdf). [Diakses: 8 Juli 2019].

## WEBSITE RESMI

- India: Investigate Unmarked Graves in Jammu and Kashmir. 2011. Human Rights Watch [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/08/24/india-investigate-unmarked-graves-jammu-and-kashmir>. [Diakses: 24 Juli 2019].
- India: Security Forces cannot claim immunity under AFSPA, must face trial for violations. 2012. Amnesty International [Daring]. Dalam <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2012/02/india-security-forces-cannot-claim-immunity-under-afspa-must-face-trial-violations/>. [Diakses: 24 Juli 2019].
- President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat. 2002. The White House Archives [Daring]. Dalam <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/print/20021007-8.html>. [Diakses: 8 Agustus 2019].

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. 2002. United Nations [Daring].  
Dalam [http://legal.un.org/icc/STATUTE/99\\_corr/cstatute.htm](http://legal.un.org/icc/STATUTE/99_corr/cstatute.htm). [Diakses:  
13 September 2019].

United Nations Peacekeeping. 2019. Department of Peace Operations [Daring].  
Dalam <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/department-of-peace-operations>.  
[Diakses: 24 Juli 2019].