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This syllabus is designed in accordance with the MGIMO Educational Standard for the Bachelor Program in International Affairs.

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## **PART 1. COURSE DESCRIPTION AND TEACHING METHODS**

### **1.1 General Information**

- Full course title: Syrian Conflict in World Politics
- Type of course: Elective
- Level of course B.A.
- Year of study: 4<sup>th</sup>
- Number of ECTS credits allocated: 2
- Name of lecturer(s) and office hours:

Lecturer Igor Matveev

Email: matveev1972@gmail.com

#### **The Place and Role of the Course in the Program of Study:**

The course “The Syria Conflict in World Politics” is an undergraduate elective course within the International Relations program. It aims at providing students with a broad, complex and systematic vision and understanding of the domestic and outside roots and causes of the Syria crisis with historical retrospective, as well as with detailed analysis of the major political-military and socioeconomic developments, assessments of the future and impact of the conflict on regional and international security and environment.

The course will be taught in a chronological manner, starting from identification of the fundamental notions of the “Syrian state” and the “Syrian people”, roots and causes of the conflict. It covers various time periods of pre-war Syria, uprising, and its escalation into a full-scale civil war conflict, accompanied by terrorist assaults and humanitarian crisis, reaching the turning point of the conflict, along with assessments of its major lessons. A separate segment of the course reviews prospects for settlement of the Syria conflict, post-crisis stabilization and rebuilding of the country in relation to the emerging and existing challenges and driving forces.

The course is based on a large body of academic literature and expert researches on the Syria crisis, combined with the first-hand experiences of the instructor, accumulated during his previous diplomatic stints in Damascus.

#### **1.2 The Course Goals and Objectives:**

The course has the following objectives:

1. To illustrate how historical, geographical, geopolitical and ethnical/religious contradictions, ambiguities, ambitions and rivalries between different states can generate and provoke regional unbalances, disturbances, disputes and war conflicts in the Middle East.
2. To analyse with use of the Syria conflict's case the newly emerged unique phenomenon as hybrid between the civil war and a large-scale assault, committed by international terrorism, in terms of its nature, inner logic, developments and countermeasures.
3. To examine and present to students comprehensive scope of tensile strength, safety margins, survival potentials and anti-crisis capabilities of national states in relation to world politics and challenges.
4. To orient students to understand how a certain country-conflict can affect and bring deep correctives to the mainstream modalities and trends of the current system of international relations and security.
5. To offer students the opportunity to develop their own views, free from ideological stamps and clichés.

### **1.3 Learning Outcomes:**

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

1. To recognize core cause-and-effect linkages related to emergence, dynamics and settlement of conflicts and threats to international peace and security.
2. To make assessments and calculations of political perspectives in terms of conflicts in global politics.
3. To understand interconnections and reciprocal influence between conflicts and environment on national, regional and international levels.
4. To participate in academic/practical discussions and to prepare research papers with detailing of concrete aspects of the course.

### **1.4. Course Requirements and Evaluation:**

*Format:*

The format of this course is a combination of eight lectures. Each lecture consists of general presentation of a particular topic, provided by the lecturer in PowerPoint, and followed by a class discussion, based on the material previously read.

Full-time attendance is important to success in the course. Students will be required to attend not less than seven of the lectures and to be prepared for the

discussions on a regular basis. All attendees will be officially registered during the lectures. Those being late for more than 5 minutes will not be permitted to attend - which correlates with the Charter of MGIMO. Unauthorized leaving the lecture room especially with mobile phone in hand will be strictly prohibited.

Two in-class written tests, aimed to check students' knowledge of the reading material will be organized during the lectures (up to 25 minutes each). Students will be notified about the results within 7-day period after completion of the tests.

#### *Reading:*

Lectures and reading are the two integral parts of the learning process. Students will be provided with required and supplement reading lists in advance. The relevant books and articles can be found either in internet and libraries or in some cases will be circulated as photocopies among students. Students must do all the readings prior to each lecture.

#### *Plagiarism:*

Since MGIMO has been always preserving universal academic values, plagiarism is recognized as a most serious violation of them. Practically, plagiarism means turning in a paper written by someone else, or using in full or in part of a book or an article without making referrals to the relevant sources. Thus, all references to someone else's ideas must be cited accordingly by identifying the author, the research paper, the publisher, the place and the year of publication, and the page number (if any). Students should be aware that any violation of the code of academic integrity results in the person's immediate failure of the course, followed by possible disciplinary penalty.

#### *Grading:*

Final grades will be assigned as follows:

- Class attendance – 15 %
- Participation in class discussions – 15 %
- Two in-class written tests – 70 % (35 % each)

Grades will be assigned according to the following criteria: A – outstanding work; B – solid, capable work; C – good work; D – satisfactory work; F – failure to meet minimum goals.

### **1.5. Note on the Lecturer:**

Dr. Igor A. Matveev was born in 1972 in Sochi, Russia. In 1995 graduated from MGIMO-University with distinction. In 2003 defended Ph.D. in MGIMO under the title: "Pan-Arab and National Trends in the Independent Syria's Policy in the Middle East".

In 1993-1994 for the first time visited Syria as a MGIMO student (intern). In 1998-2008 served as a Russian diplomatic officer in Syria, MFA Moscow staff member and in the United States.

In 2003 graduated from the European Training Course, Geneva Center for Security Policy in Switzerland. During 2008-2014 was Deputy Head of the International Relations Department at the Council of Federation, RF Federal Assembly.

From 2014 and until October 2017 was occupying diplomatic post of the Head of Trade and Economic Division - Senior Counselor at the Russian Embassy in Damascus, Syria.

Author of series of books and articles on Syria, including “The Economic Impact of the Syria Crisis: Lessons and Prospects”, published in 2017 in Beirut, Lebanon.

Fluently speaks Arabic and English.

## **PART 2. COURSE CONTENT**

### **2.1 Types of Work:**

<b>Types of work</b>	<b>Academic hours</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>Total for lectures, seminars</b>	<b>16</b>
Lectures	8
Seminars	8
<b>Homework</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>Course assessment</b>	Class attendance, class participation, two in-class written tests

### **2.2. Course Content:**

#### ***Lecture 1. The Syrian State.***

This lecture provides detailed description of the historical area of “natural Syria” in terms of geographical position and geopolitics, claimed boundaries and neighbors. It covers the “Greater Syria” and “Fertile Crescent” projects, along with emergence of the independent Syrian state. The lecture also contains comparative analysis of nationalistic and pan-Arab trends in the Syrian foreign policy, including

approaches toward Arabic political and economic integration. Students will also learn about relations of Syria with Western countries and major regional powers, as well as about Syria's stance toward problem of peace in the Middle East.

### **Required Reading List:**

Devlin, John F. Syria. Modern State in an Ancient Land. Westview Press. Boulder, Colorado, 1983. Chapter 8, pp. 97-112.

Pipes, Daniel. "Syria Beyond the Peace Process". The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Policy Papers, No. 40. Washington D.C., 1996. Chapter 1, pp. 1-8:

[https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PP\\_40\\_SyriaBeyondthePeaceProcess.pdf](https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PP_40_SyriaBeyondthePeaceProcess.pdf)

### **Supplemental Reading:**

Matveev, Igor A. National and Pan-Arab Components of the Syrian Policy in the Middle East (1946-2003). The Institute of Israeli and the Middle Eastern Studies. Moscow, 2004 (in Russian), pp. 8-33, 87-123, 124-139.

Seale, Patrick. Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East. University of California Press. Berkeley, California, 1989. Part Two/Chapter 15, pp. 226-249, Chapter 17, pp. 267-289, Chapter 21, pp. 351-365, Chapter 22, pp. 366-393.

### ***Lecture 2. The Syrian People.***

The lecturer will present analysis of genesis and development of the Syrian nation (al-umma al-suriya). Students will get familiar with the phenomenon of the "Syrian civilization", implying the slogan "each human has got two homelands: mother country and Syria". Syrian political culture, national character and business ethics will be depicted as influenced by the West and the East, with an emphasis on ethnical, confessional and local diversity of the Syrian people, as well as secular and religious traditions and tensions in the local society.

### **Required Reading List:**

Van Dam, Nikolaos. The Struggle for Power in Syria: Politics and Society Under Asad and the Ba'th Party. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. I.B.Tauris. London, 2011. Introduction, pp. 1-14.

Wieland, Carsten. Syria. Ballots or Bullets? Democracy, Islamism, and Secularism in the Levant. Cune Press. Seattle, 2006. Chapter 3, pp. 31-37, Chapter 6, pp. 87-93.

### **Supplemental Reading:**

Matveev, Igor A. National and Pan-Arab Components of the Syrian Policy in the Middle East (1946-2003), pp. 33-52.

Kerr, Michael/Larkin Craig (ed.). The Alawis of Syria: War, Faith and Politics in the Levant (Urban Conflicts, Divided Societies). Oxford University Press. New York, 2015. Chapter 5, pp. 107-124.

### ***Lecture 3. The pre-Crisis Syria (2000-2011).***

Students will be provided with overview of the attempts to build a “modern state” under Bashar Al-Assad’s Presidency. These attempts are characterized by:

- modernizing “from above” of the state-run economy;
- reforming of the “Baathist” political system, including cultivating of selective elements of civil society;
- trying to attract foreign investments and gain access to the XXI century technologies;
- establishment of political dialogue and economic partnerships with Western countries, especially the EU, along with enhancing cooperation with the Arab Gulf states, Turkey, China and India.

### **Required Reading List:**

Al Wazani, Khalid W. The Socio-Economic Implications of Syrian Refugees on Jordan. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. Amman, 2014 (ed. 2017). Chapter II, pp. 33-40:

[https://www.kas.de/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?uuid=f96ff4af-35e2-e9f6-39fd-980c3e0929a2&groupId=252038](https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=f96ff4af-35e2-e9f6-39fd-980c3e0929a2&groupId=252038)

Matveev, Igor A. The Economic Impact of the Syria Crisis: Lessons and Prospects. Arab Scientific Publishers. Beirut, 2018. Chapter 1, pp. 4-17.

### **Supplemental Reading:**

Bishku, Michael. “Turkish-Syrian Relations: a Checkered History”. Middle East Policy Council Journal, volume XIX, Fall 2012, issue 3:

<http://www.mepc.org/turkish-syrian-relations-checkered-history>

Turkmani, Rim/ Haid, Mustafa. The Role of the EU in the Syrian Conflict. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. London, 2016, pp. 6-7:

[http://www.securityintransition.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/WP05\\_Syria\\_FinalEditedVersion.pdf](http://www.securityintransition.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/WP05_Syria_FinalEditedVersion.pdf)



#### ***Lecture 4. Roots and Causes of the Syria Crisis.***

The lecturer will highlight the major problems, domestic and international, leading to the outbreak of the crisis and civil war. Among them:

- high social expectations versus low-profile political life;
- “bottleneck” economic difficulties and unbalances;
- unresolved “over-bureaucracy” and corruption public practices;
- access of the Syrian population, especially the youth, to overseas open information via communication networks, as incubator of protests;
- growing sectarian and ethnic tensions in the Syrian society;
- mounting anti-Al-Assad frustration on international and regional levels as a result of the second Lebanon war in 2006; as result, expanding Iranian influence in Syria.

#### **Required Reading List:**

Nasser, Rabie (lead author)/Mehchi, Zaki/Abu Ismail, Khaled. Socioeconomic Roots and Impact of the Syrian Crisis. Syrian Center for Policy Research. Damascus, January 2013. Chapter 1, pp. 17-33:

<http://scpr-syria.org/publications/policy-reports/socioeconomic-roots-and-impact-of-the-syrian-crisis-2013/>

Phillips, Christopher. The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East. Yale University Press. 2016. Chapter 1, pp. 18-22, 26-38:

<https://books.google.ru/books/yup?id=wHnsDAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=ru#v=onepage&q&f=false>

#### **Supplemental Reading:**

Balanche, Fabrice. Sectarianism in Syria’s Civil War. The Washington Institute for the Near East Policy. Washington D.C., 2018. Chapter II, pp. 109-131:

<https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/SyriaAtlasCOMPLETE-3.pdf>

Mohsen, Adel Shakeeb/Chua, Soo Y./ Che Sab, Normee. “Determinants of Economic Growth in Syria Between 1980 and 2010”. Eurasian Journal of Business and Economics 2017, 10 (19), pp. 81-98:

<http://www.ejbe.org/EJBE2017Vol10No19p081MOHSEN-CHUA-CHESAB.pdf>

#### ***Lecture 5. “Arab Spring” in Syria (2011-2013).***

Consecutive retrospective of the Syrian uprising will be provided: from flash mob street rallies in Southern Syria to hostilities wide-spread across the country. Students will monitor:

- emergence on the local pol-mil scene of the rebel Free Syrian Army, followed by appearance of the terrorist radicals of “Jabhat Al-Nusra” and “Islamic State of Iraq and Syria”;
- occurrence of tough humanitarian crisis and refugee problem, heavily affecting neighboring countries;
- socioeconomic deterioration;
- losing of governmental control over vast territories, including Raqqa, Idlib, Eastern Aleppo and Jobar district in Damascus;
- growing negative impact of international sanctions.

### **Required Reading List:**

Lister, Charles R. *The Syrian Jihad. The Evolution of an Insurgency*. C.Hurst & Co. (Publishers). London, 2017. Preface, pp. xi-xiv, Introduction, pp. 1-8:  
[https://www.amazon.com/dp/184904872X/ref=rdr\\_ext\\_tmb](https://www.amazon.com/dp/184904872X/ref=rdr_ext_tmb)

Al-Jazaeri, Humam (former SAR Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade). *Adverse Consequences of Non-UN Sanctions on the Syrian Economy: an External Sector Approach*. Presentation delivered during the conference organized in Damascus by the British Syrian Society under the title: “The Ramifications of the War in Syria” on October 30, 2016, 20 p. (unpublished).

### **Supplemental Reading:**

*Impact of the Conflict on Syrian Economy and Livelihoods*. Syria Needs Analysis Project – July 2013. ACAPS, pp. 1-22:  
[https://www.acaps.org/sites/acaps/files/products/files/23\\_impact\\_of\\_the\\_conflict\\_on\\_syrian\\_economy\\_and\\_livelihoods\\_july\\_2013.pdf](https://www.acaps.org/sites/acaps/files/products/files/23_impact_of_the_conflict_on_syrian_economy_and_livelihoods_july_2013.pdf)

*Quick Facts: What You Need to Know About the Syria Crisis*. Mercy Corps:  
<https://www.mercycorps.org/articles/iraq-jordan-lebanon-syria-turkey/quick-facts-what-you-need-know-about-syria-crisis>

### ***Lecture 6. Syria, Inflamed by Civil War and Terrorist Assaults (2013-2015).***

This lecture contains chronicles of further military escalation of the Syria crisis as hybrid of civil war and war against terrorism. It was accompanied by:

- further losing of governmental control over the national boundaries;
- disruption of nation-wide economic ties and transport routes;
- building of an “economy of war” in Syria, along with governmental attempts to avoid socioeconomic and financial collapse;
- seeking by Damascus for foreign donors and closer humanitarian cooperation with the UN and NGOs;
- growth of “parallel terrorist quasi-economies” in Syria.

### **Required Reading List:**

Matveev, Igor A. *The Economic Impact of the Syria Crisis: Lessons and Prospects*. Chapter 3, pp. 48-64.

Haid, Haid. "The Evolving Economic Model of ISIS Post-Caliphate". Atlantic Council, July 13, 2017:

<http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/syriasource/the-evolving-economic-model-of-isis-post-caliphate>

### **Supplemental Reading:**

Almohamad, Hussein/ Dittmann, Andreas. "Oil in Syria Between Terrorism and Dictatorship". Department of Geography, Justus Liebig University of Giessen, Germany. MDPI, May 17, 2016:

<https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0760/5/2/20/htm>

Westall, Sylvia/ Al-Khalidi, Suleiman. "Syria Ratifies Fresh \$1 billion Credit Line from Iran". Reuters, July 8, 2015: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-iran/syria-ratifies-fresh-1-billion-credit-line-from-iran-idUSKCN0PI1RD20150708>

### ***Lecture 7. Reaching a Turning Point in the Syria Crisis (2015-2017).***

This lecture describes appearance of the Russian and Iranian direct military involvement in the Syria crisis, with a focus on:

- military victory of the Syrian government and its allies in Aleppo;
- unblocking of Deir Al-Zor;
- creation of de-escalation zones by agreement between Russia, Turkey and Iran (in Idlib and Homs provinces, Western Ghouta in the Damascus Rural area, and in Southern Syria);
- emergence of the Kurdish factor on the pol-mil scene;
- Geneva peaceful talks on Syria, activities of so-called "Al-Riyadh", "Moscow", "Cairo" and domestic Syrian opposition groups;
- new economy-stimulating legislation in Syria.

### **Required Reading List:**

Esber, Fadi. "De-escalation Zones Offer an Economic Path to Peace in Syria".

Assyrian International News Agency, May 13, 2017:

<http://www.atimes.com/article/de-escalation-zones-offer-economic-path-peace-syria/>

Lund, Aron. "Syria's Kurds at the Center of America's Anti-Jihadi Strategy".

Carnegie Middle East Center, December 2, 2015:

<http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/62158?lang=en>

### **Supplemental Reading:**

Cherkaoui, Mohammed. From Geneva to Sochi: The Revolving - Door Diplomacy of the Syrian Crisis. Al Jazeera Centre for Studies, 25 March 2018. 13 p.

[http://studies.aljazeera.net/mritems/Documents/2018/3/25/1022d239d8f64ad995b7606b2c43312b\\_100.pdf](http://studies.aljazeera.net/mritems/Documents/2018/3/25/1022d239d8f64ad995b7606b2c43312b_100.pdf)

Matveev, Igor A. The Economic Impact of the Syria Crisis: Lessons and Prospects. Chapter 4, pp. 82-88.

### ***Lecture 8. Prospects for Settlement of the Syria Crisis (since 2017).***

The lecturer will comment on timeline of restoring of the governmental control over the majority of territories in Syria and on the associated events. The following topics will be covered:

- international peacemaking and de-escalation efforts;
- disputed cases of use of chemical weapons in Syria and the relevant Western reactions, including airstrike on Syria (April 2018);
- declaration of an ambitious national strategy of “Rebuilding Syria”;
- lack of unified outside approaches toward socioeconomic recovery of Syria;
- attempts of Damascus to re-establish economic integrity on national scale (in terms of “donor” and “recipient” regions);
- future of foreign military presence on the Syrian soil: the Iranians, the US with its allies;
- the current situation in the Kurdish areas and in the still rebel province of Idlib;
- estimates of possible pol-mil developments in Syria.

### **Required Reading List:**

Four Perspectives on Syria, Round II. The Century Foundation online discussion, March 30, 2017:

<https://tcf.org/content/report/four-perspectives-syria-round-ii/>

Tabrizi, Aniseh Bassiri/ Pantucci, Raffaello ed. Understanding Iran’s Role in the Syrian Conflict. RUSI, August 2016. Chapter VII, pp. 45-50, Appendix, pp. 51-52:

[https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/201608\\_op\\_understanding\\_irans\\_role\\_in\\_the\\_syrian\\_conflict\\_0.pdf](https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/201608_op_understanding_irans_role_in_the_syrian_conflict_0.pdf)

### **Supplemental Reading:**

Calculating the Economic Impacts of the Syrian Conflict. The World Bank (in collaboration with RAND). The online Calculator of Damage:

<http://menaviz.worldbank.org/calculator/>

Heydemann, Steven. "Rules for Reconstruction in Syria". Brookings Institute. Washington DC, August 24, 2017:  
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/08/24/rules-for-reconstruction-in-syria/>

### **2.3. Consolidated Bibliography:**

#### *Main Reading:*

Devlin, John F. Syria. Modern State in an Ancient Land. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1983.

Lund, Aron. "Syria's Kurds at the Center of America's Anti-Jihadi Strategy". Carnegie Middle East Center, December 2, 2015. <http://carnegie-mec.org>

Matveev, Igor A. The Economic Impact of the Syria Crisis: Lessons and Prospects. Arab Scientific Publishers. Beirut, 2018.

Nasser, Rabie (lead author)/Mehchi, Zaki/Abu Ismail, Khaled. Socioeconomic Roots and Impact of the Syrian Crisis. Syrian Center for Policy Research. Damascus, January 2013.

Van Dam, Nikolaos. The Struggle for Power in Syria: Politics and Society Under Asad and the Ba'th Party. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. I.B.Tauris. London, 2011.

Wieland, Carsten. Syria. Ballots or Bullets? Democracy, Islamism, and Secularism in the Levant. Cune Press. Seattle, 2006.

#### *Additional Reading:*

Al Wazani, Khalid W. The Socio-Economic Implications of Syrian Refugees on Jordan. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. Amman, 2014 (ed. 2017).

Al-Jazaeri, Humam. Adverse Consequences of Non-UN Sanctions on the Syrian Economy: an External Sector Approach. Damascus, October 30, 2016 (unpublished).

Almohamad, Hussein/ Dittmann, Andreas. "Oil in Syria Between Terrorism and Dictatorship". Department of Geography, Justus Liebig University of Giessen, Germany. MDPI, May 17, 2016.

Balanche, Fabrice. Sectarianism in Syria's Civil War. The Washington Institute for the Near East Policy. Washington D.C., 2018.  
<https://www.washingtoninstitute.org>

Bishku, Michael. "Turkish-Syrian Relations: a Checkered History". Middle East Policy Council Journal, volume XIX, Fall 2012, issue 3. <http://www.mepc.org>

Calculating the Economic Impacts of the Syrian Conflict. The World Bank (in collaboration with RAND). The online Calculator of Damage. <http://menaviz.worldbank.org>

Cherkaoui, Mohammed. From Geneva to Sochi: The Revolving - Door Diplomacy of the Syrian Crisis. Al Jazeera Centre for Studies. 25 March 2018.

Esber, Fadi. "De-escalation Zones Offer an Economic Path to Peace in Syria". Assyrian International News Agency, May 13, 2017. <http://www.atimes.com>

Four Perspectives on Syria, Round II. The Century Foundation online discussion, March 30, 2017. <https://tcf.org>

Haid, Haid. "The Evolving Economic Model of ISIS Post-Caliphate". Atlantic Council, July 13, 2017. <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org>

Heydemann, Steven. "Rules for Reconstruction in Syria". Brookings Institute. Washington DC, August 24, 2017. <https://www.brookings.edu>

Impact of the Conflict on Syrian Economy and Livelihoods. Syria Needs Analysis Project – July 2013. ACAPS. <https://www.acaps.org>

Kerr, Michael/Larkin Craig (ed.). The Alawis of Syria: War, Faith and Politics in the Levant (Urban Conflicts, Divided Societies). Oxford University Press. New York, 2015.

Lister, Charles R. The Syrian Jihad. The Evolution of an Insurgency. C.Hurst & Co. (Publishers). London, 2017.

Matveev, Igor A. National and Pan-Arab Components of the Syrian Policy in the Middle East (1946-2003). The Institute of Israeli and the Middle Eastern Studies. Moscow, 2004 (in Russian).

Mohsen, Adel Shakeeb/Chua, Soo Y./ Che Sab, Normee. "Determinants of Economic Growth in Syria Between 1980 and 2010". Eurasian Journal of Business and Economics 2017, 10(19), pp. 81-98. <http://www.ejbe.org>

Phillips, Christopher. The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East. Yale University Press, 2016.

Pipes, Daniel. "Syria Beyond the Peace Process". The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Policy Papers, No. 40, Washington D.C., 1996. <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org>

Quick Facts: What You Need to Know About the Syria Crisis. Mercy Corps.  
<https://www.mercycorps.org>

Seale, Patrick. *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East*. University of California Press. Berkeley, California, 1989.

Tabrizi, Aniseh Bassiri/ Pantucci, Raffaello ed. *Understanding Iran's Role in the Syrian Conflict*. RUSI, August 2016.

Turkmani, Rim/ Haid, Mustafa. *The Role of the EU in the Syrian Conflict*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. London, 2016.

Westall, Sylvia/ Al-Khalidi, Suleiman. "Syria Ratifies Fresh \$1 billion Credit Line from Iran". Reuters, July 8, 2015. <https://www.reuters.com>