

مراجع الكتاب

أولاً: المراجع العربية

١. أحمد عبد الحافظ: مسلمو شمال القوقاز بين دوافع الاستقلال وعوائقه من الحرب الشيشانية الأولى إلى الحرب الشيشانية الثانية، حولىة أمتي حول العالم، العدد الثاني، مركز الحضارة للدراسات السياسية، القاهرة، مارس ٢٠٠٠، نشر ٢٩ أكتوبر ٢٠١٣، وتم الحصول عليه في ٢٥ سبتمبر ٢٠١٥.
٢. أحمد عبد الله الطحلاوي: استعادة الدور .. المحددات الداخلية والدولية للسياسة الروسية، آفاق سياسية، المركز العربي للبحوث والدراسات، نوفمبر ٢٠١٤. ص ص ٥٥-٦٠.
٣. حيدر رشيد أغانين: العلاقات الروسية العربية الإعلامية والثقافية ماضيها وحاضرها ومستقبلها، ملتقى مركز الجزيرة للدراسات حول العلاقات العربية الروسية، فبراير ٢٠٠٩.
٤. سمير أمين: سمات الرأسمالية في روسيا بعد السوفيتية، السياسة الدولية، عدد (١٩٨)، سبتمبر- أكتوبر ٢٠١٤. ص ص ٦٠-٧٥.
٥. سيرجي غورييف وآليه تسيفنسكي: روسيا وحتمية التحول الديمقراطي، السياسة الدولية، عدد (١٨٨)، إبريل- يونيو ٢٠١٢. ص ص ١٢٠-١٣٥.
٦. عبد الوهاب المسيري: اليد الخفية: دراسات في الحركات اليهودية الهدامة والسرية (القاهرة: دار الشروق، ١٩٩٨).
٧. محمد حسام الدين إسماعيل: ساخرون وثوار: دراسات علامائية وثقافية في الإعلام العربي (القاهرة: العربي للنشر والتوزيع، ٢٠١٤).

٨. محمد فراج أبو النور: هيكلتة الإعلام في المراحل الانتقالية: خبرات عربية ودولية، موقع الائتلاف الوطني لحريية الإعلام، <http://ncmf.info/?p=3570>
٩. معتز سلامة: القطب العائد .. الدور الروسي في سياق إقليمي متغير، ملف مجلة السياسة الدولية، العدد (١٩٥)، يناير- مارس ٢٠١٤. ص ص ١٥٠-١٧٠.
١٠. نورمان الشيخ: مصالح ثابتة ومعطيات جديدة: السياسة الروسية تجاه المنطقة بعد الثورات العربية، السياسة الدولية، عدد (١٨٦)، أكتوبر- ديسمبر ٢٠١١. ص ص ١٥-٢٥.
١١. هاني شادي: التحول الديمقراطي في روسيا من يلتسين إلى بوتين: التجربة والدروس في ضوء الربيع العربي، القاهرة، الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، ٢٠١٥.
١٢. هاني شادي: «روسيا .. بوتين يعود إلى الكرملين»، الديمقراطية، عدد (٥٤)، مايو ٢٠١٢. ص ص ١٥١-١٦١.

ثانيا: المراجع الأجنبية

1. Abbott Gleason, Views and Re_Views: Soviet Political Posters and Cartoons, @http://library.brown.edu/cds/Views_and_Reviews/essay.html, retrieved on October 2, 2015.
2. Aglaya Snetkov, The Image of the Terrorist Threat in the Official Russian Press: The Moscow theatre Crisis (2002) and the Beslan Hostage Crisis (2004), Europe. Asia Studies, 59 (8), December 2007. pp. 1349.1365.

3. Alexander Merkushev, *the Russian and Soviet Press: A Long Journey from Suppression to Freedom*, the Joan Shorenstein Barone Center, JFK School of Government, Harvard University, August 1991. pp.12.14.
4. Alexander Verkhovsky, *Who is the Enemy Now? Islamophobia and Anti-Semitism among Russian Orthodox Nationalists before and after September 11*, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 38(2), 2004. Pp.130.143.
5. Amanda J. Alcott, *Gendered Narratives of “Black Widow” Terrorism in Russia’s Northern Caucasus Region*, MA Thesis, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, 2012. Pp. 2.10.
6. Andrei Richter, *Post-Soviet Perspective on Censorship and Freedom of the Media: An Overview*, *International Communication Gazette*, 70 (1), October 2008. Pp.307 – 324.
7. Anna Dekalchuk and Thomas Schneider, *The Image of the European Union in Russian Media*, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Center, May 2012. pp. 1.15.
8. Anna Litvinenko, *A New Definition of Journalism Functions in the Framework of Hybrid Media Systems: German and Russian Academic Perspectives*, *Global Media Journal*, 3 (1), Spring/Summer 2013. pp. 1. 12.

9. Anna Popkova, Political Criticism from the Soviet Kitchen to the Russian Internet: A Comparative Analysis of Russian Media Coverage of the December Election Protests, *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 38 (2), April 2014. Pp. 95-112.
10. Anna Sanina, Visual Political Irony in Russian New Media, *Discourse Context & Media*, Vol. 6, No.1, December 2014. pp. 11-21.
11. Benjamin Sutcliffe, Secular Victims, Religious Aggressors, *Mystical Holy Men: Muslims, Islam, and Contemporary Russian Prose*, 2013-2014 Program for Research and Training on Eastern Europe and the Independent States of the Former Soviet Union, American Councils for International Education, 2014. Pp. 1-10.
12. Brigitte Hopstad, *the Russian Media under Putin and Medvedev: Controlled Media in an Authoritarian System*, MA Thesis, Department of Sociology and Political Science, Faculty of Social sciences, University of Science and Technology, Norway NTNL, Feb 2011, pp.84-86.
13. Bruce Etling Karina Alexanyan, John Kelly, Robert Faris, John Palfrey, *Public Discourse in the Russian Blogosphere: Mapping RuNet Politics and Mobilization*, the Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard University, publication No 2010-11, October 2010. pp. 1 – 55.

14. Danesi, Melvin. *Understanding Media Semiotics*. London: Arnold; New York: Oxford Inc., 2002.
15. Daniel Chandler: *Semiotics: The Basics* (New York, Routledge Inc., 2002) p. 57.
16. Daniela Dălălaşu, the Use of Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphor in Editorial Cartoons Depicting the Euro Crisis, *Language and Discourse*, 10(2), 2013. pp. 928-937.
17. David Schimmel & Penninck van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration* (New York: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 298-300.
18. David Wedgwood Benn, *The Russian Media in Post-Soviet Conditions*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 48(3), 1996. Pp. 471 – 779.
19. DLA Piper, *Navigating the New Russian Media Law*, @ www.dlapiper.com.
20. Elena Rodina, *How Publication Type, Experience, and Ownership affect Self-Censorship among Moscow Newspaper Journalists*, MA Thesis, Department of Russian and East European Studies, University of Oregon, USA, June 2010. pp. 64 – 68.
21. Elisabeth Schimpfossl & Ilya yablokv, *Coercion or Conformism?: Censorship and Self-Censorship among Russian Media Personalities and Reporters in the 2010's*, *Demokratizatsiya, The Journal of Post-Soviet Democra-*

- tization, 22(2): 2014. pp. 295-312.
22. Elmira Akhmetova, Islam in Russia: History & Facts, @ <http://onIslam.net/> , retrieved on August 12, 2015.
 23. Emil Persson, Banning “Homosexual Propaganda”: Belonging and Visibility in Contemporary Russian Media, *Sexuality & Culture*, 14 (1), 2014, pp. 245-295.
 24. Florian Toepel, the New Networked Sphere of Social Media: A Challenge to the Russian Regime? Sciences Po., CERI, CNRS, March 2011 @ ceri.sciences-po.org/.
 25. Florian Toepfl, Four Facets of Critical News Literacy in Non-Democratic Regime: How Young Russian Navigate their News, *European Journal of Communication*, (12) 1, 2013.
 26. Florian Toepfl, Managing Public Outrage: Powers, Scandal, and New Media in Contemporary Russia, *New Media & Society*, 13(8), 2011. Pp. 1301 – 1319.
 27. Fred Weir, Russian Media: True, We’re not Free but we’re not Zimbabwe, *Christian Science Monitor*, 5th February 2012. p. 11.
 28. Galina Miazhevich et al, European Identity and Islamic Otherness in British, French and Russian TV News Broadcast, Paper Presented at the UACES 27th Annual Conference, University of Portsmouth, 3-5 September 2007. pp. 1-24.

29. Gennadi Gerasimov, Russia Media Revolution: From Party Control to Money Control, *Asia Pacific*, 37(1), June 1998. pp. 1-8.
30. Gordon Hahn, Anti-Americanism, Anti-Westernism, and Anti-Semitism among Russia's Muslims, *Demokratizatsiya*, 16(1), winter 2008. pp. 49-60.
31. Greg Simons & Dmitry Strovsky, Censorship in Contemporary Russian Journalism in the Age of the War against Terrorism: A Historical Perspective, *European Journal of Communication*, 21(2), June 2006. Pp. 189 – 211.
32. Greg Simons, The Use of Rhetoric and the Mass Media in Russia's War on Terror, @ <https://www.gwu.edu/>.
33. Gregory Simons, Russian Crisis Management: Communications and Media Management under Putin, Arbetsrapporter Working Papers, No. 85, Department of East European Studies, Uppsala University, Sweden, January 2005. Pp. 1-28.
34. Hedwing de Smaele, Limited Access of Information as a Means of Censorship in Post-Communist Russia, The Public, *Journal of the European Institute for Communication and Culture (Javnost)*, 11(2), 2004. Pp. 65-82.
35. Howard Davis, Philip Hammond & Lilia Nizamova, Media, Language Policy and Cultural Change in Tatarstan: Historic Vs. Pragmatic Claims to Nationhood, *Nations*

- and Nationalism, 6(2), 2000. pp. 203-225.
36. Hubertus F. Jahn, Kaiser, Cossacks, and Kolbasniks: Caricatures of the German in Russian Popular Culture, *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 31(4), spring 1998. pp 109 – 122.
 37. Irina Kouznetsova-Moreno, Islam in Mass Media Space of Russia and Tatarstan: Policy and Social Analysis, Open Society Institute, CPS Fellowship Program, Central European University, 2003/2004. Pp. 10- 15.
 38. Jill Dougherty, Everyone Lies: The Ukraine Conflict and Russia's Media Transformation, Discussion Paper Series, No. 88, Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics, and Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School, CA, USA, July 2014. pp.1-30.
 39. Jonathan Bignell: *Media Semiotics: An Introduction* (New York: Palgrave Inc., 2002), p.17.
 40. Josh Machleder and Gregory Asmolov, Social Change and the Russian Network Society: Redefining Development Priorities in New Information Environments, *Internews Center for Innovation and Learning NY, USA*, August 2011. pp.1-21.
 41. Jukka Pietiläinen and Dmitry Strovsky, Why Do Russian Support Censorship of the Media, *Russian Journal of communication*, Vol. 3, No. 1/2, Fall 2013. pp. 53 – 69.

42. Jukka Pietiläinen: Media Use in Putin's Russia, *Journal of Communication Studies and Transition politics*, 24 (3), 2008, pp. 365-385.
43. Karina Alexanyan, *The Map and the Territory: Russian Social Media Networks and Society*, MA Thesis, Department of Communication, Columbia University, 2013. pp. 10-15.
44. Katherine Ognyanova, *Careful What You Say: Media Control in Putin's Russia*, *International journal of E-politics*, 1(2), 2010, pp. 1-15.
45. Laura Belin, *Russian Media Policy in the First and Second Chechen Campaign*, A paper given at the 52nd Conference of the Political Studies Association, Aberdeen, Scotland, 5-8 April 2002. pp 1-35.
46. Laura Belin, *The Russian Media in the 1990's*, *Journal of Communist studies and Transition Politics*, 18 (1), 2002. Pp. 139-160.
47. Liliana Bounegru & Charles Forceville, *Metaphors in editorial cartoons representing the global financial crisis*, *Visual Communication*, 10(2): 2011. Pp. 209-229.
48. Manuel Castells & Emma Kiselyova, *Russia and the Network Society: An Analytical Exploration*, a paper presented to the conference on "Russia at the End of the 20th century", Stanford University, CA, USA, 5 - 7 November 1998. Pp. 1 - 47.

49. Marina Viktorovna Zagidullina, Non-users of Internet in the information society, *Webology*, 11(1), June 2014. Pp. 1-15.
50. Marius Laurinavicius, Do Traces of KGB, FSB and GRU lead to Islamic State? Center of Eastern Europe Studies, Analytical Report, No. 8. Jan 9 2014. p. 17.
51. Markku Lonkila, Russian Protest on-and offline: The Role of Social Media in the Moscow Opposition Demonstrations in December 2011, The Finnish Institute of International Affairs, February 2011. pp. 1-9.
52. Matteo Vergani & Dennis Zuev, Neo-Jihadist Visual Politics: Comparing YouTube Videos of North Caucasus and Uyghur Militants, *Asian Studies Review*, 39(1), 2015, pp. 1-22.
53. Michael Weiss, Russia Is Sending Jihadis to Join ISIS, @ <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/08/23/russia-s-playing-a-double-game-with-islamic-terror0.html>.
54. Natalia Mirimanova & Toby Mendel, Covering Conflict: Reporting on Conflicts in the North Caucasus in the Russian Media, Article 19, Global Campaign for Free Expression, London, UK, May 2008. Pp. 70-72.
55. Natalia Moen-Larsen, Communicating with the Nation: Russian Politicians Online, *Russian Analytical Digest*, 123, 21 Feb. 2013. pp. 10-12.

56. Natalia Rulyova, Television News and its Satirical Interpretation in Medvedev's Russia: Is Glasnost Back? *Russian Journal of Communication*, 3(3/4), Summer/Fall 2010. pp. 229 – 248.
57. Nicole Bode and Andrey Makarychev, The New Social Media in Russia: Political Blogging by the Government and the Opposition, *Problems of Post-Communism*, 60 (2), March-April 2013. pp. 53.62.
58. Nils Muiznieks, Manufacturing Enemy Images? Russian Media Portrayals of Latvia, UDK, Academic press of the University of Latvia, 2008, pp. 161.163.
59. Oleg Minin, Art and Politics in the Russian Satirical press 1905 – 1908, PhD Dissertation, University of Southern California, 2008. Pp. 2.10.
60. Oleg Minin, The Value of the Liberated Word: the Russian Satirical Press of 1905 and the Theory of Cultural Production, *The Russian Review*, 70 (1), April 2001. pp. 215.233.
61. Peter Pomerantsev, Russia: A Postmodern Dictatorship, *Global Transitions*, Institute of Modern Russia, October 2013, pp.
62. Robert Orttung and Christopher Walker: Putin and Russia's Crippled Media, *Russian Analytical Digest*, 23(1) February 2013. pp. 1.5.

63. Roland Dannreuther, Russia, the Middle East and Political Islam: Internal and External Challenges, Russia and Eurasia Programme Seminar Summary, 13 May 2009. @ www.chathamhouse.org.uk/.
64. Ruben Enikolopov, Maria Petrova and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya., Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia, Working Paper no. 113, Centre for Economic and Financial Research at New Economic School, March 2009. pp. 1 – 55.
65. Rutger Von Seth: The Language of the Press in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia: Creation of the Citizen Role through Newspaper Discourse, MA thesis, Department of Politics, University of Glasgow, 2011.
66. Sergei Guriev and Andrei Rachinsky, Oligarchs: The Past or the Future of Russian Capitalism, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 19(1), winter 2005. Pp. 131–150.
67. SREO, Russian News Media Coverage of the Syrian Conflict: A Content Analysis Report, Syria Research and Evaluation Organization, September 2014. pp. 1.30.
68. Svetlana Pasti, Two Generations of Contemporary Russian Journalists, *European Journal of Communication*, 14 (1), 2005. Pp. 89-112.
69. Terry Warburton: “Cartoons and Teacher: Mediated Visual Images as Data “ in Jone Prosser (ed.): *Image – based Research: A sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers* (London: Flamer Press, 1998) pp. 252-262.

70. Vasil Garifulliv & Layilya Sabirova, Place of Internet Resources in the System of Islamic Mass Media in Russia, *World Applied Sciences Journal*, 30(12), 2014. pp. 1808-1810.
71. Vera Ivanova, History of Russian Caricature, @http://russia.ic.com/cuture_art/, reported June 5.2012.
72. Vladimir VitalÉvich Razuvaev, Popular Humor in the Post-Soviet Period, *Anthropology and Archeology of Eurasia*, 44 (3), winter 2005/2006. pp. 37.63.
73. Vsevolod Markov, "Why not Censor the Internet?: A Case Study of Russian New Media", MA Thesis, Department of Political Science, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, 2013. pp. 48.50.
74. Wenjie Zhang: The Post-Soviet Russian Media Reform, MA Thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Center of Russian and East European studies, 2006, pp. 2.10.
75. William Andrews Evans: The Anomaly of Ekho Moskovy: Adaptation Strategies for the Survival of Diversity of Viewpoints in Russian Media during the Putin Era, MA Thesis, Department of Slavic and Eurasian studies, Duke University, 2012. pp. 85.86.
76. Yelena Sheftelevich, The State of the Media Law in the Russian Federation: A Difficult Past, an Interesting Present, and Uncertain Future, *Touro International Law Review*, 12 (1), 2009. pp. 88. 166.

الدكتور محمد حسام الدين إسماعيل

- من مواليد الجيزة بمصر عام ١٩٦٨
- حصل على درجة الدكتوراه عام ٢٠٠٢ مع مرتبة الشرف الأولى في برنامج للإشراف المشترك بين جامعة القاهرة وجامعة إنديانا بولاية بنسلفانيا الأمريكية.
- أستاذ الإعلام الدولي والدراسات الثقافية بكلية الإعلام جامعة القاهرة

صدر للمؤلف:

- المسؤولية الاجتماعية للصحافة
- الإعلام وما بعد الحداثة
- الأغاني المصورة العربية المعاصرة (بالإنجليزية)
- الصورة والجسد: دراسات نقدية في الإعلام المعاصر
- ساخرون وثور: دراسات علامائية وثقافية في الإعلام العربي
- العولمة وصورة الإسلام في الإعلام الدولي
- النجومية الإعلامية في مصر







