

DAFTAR REFERENSI

BUKU & ARTIKEL DALAM BUKU:

- Barany, Zoltan. *Democratic Breakdown and the Decline of the Russian Military*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Bennett, Andrew. "Case Study Methods: Design, Use, and Comparative Advantages". *Models, Numbers, and Cases: Methods for Studying International Relations*. Eds. Detlef F. Sprinz & Yael Wolinsky-Nahmias. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004: 19-55.
- Boilard, Steve D. *Russia at the Twenty-First Century: Politics and Social Change in the Post-Soviet Era*. Orlando: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1998.
- Brown, Chris & Kirsten Ainley. *Understanding International Relations* (3rd ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Bryman, Alan. *Social Research Methods* (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Cornell, Svante E. *Autonomy and Conflict: Ethnoterritoriality and Separatism in the South Caucasus – Cases in Georgia*. Disertasi untuk gelar Ph.D. di Uppsala University, Uppsala, Swedia, 2002.
- .. *Small Nations and Great Powers: A Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict in the Caucasus*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2001.
- Donaldson, Robert H. & Joseph L. Noguee. *Soviet Foreign Policy Since World War II* (4th ed.). New York: MacMillan, 1992.
- .. *The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998.
- Eisenhower, Susan. "The Perils of Victory". *NATO Enlargement: Illusions and Reality*. (Eds.) Ted Galen Carpenter & Barbara Conry. Washington, DC: The Cato Institute, 1998.
- Ekiert, Grzegorz. *The State Against Society: Political Crises and Their Aftermath in East Central Europe*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Evangelista, Matthew. *The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union?* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2002.

- Feifer, Gregory. *The Great Gamble: The Soviet War in Afghanistan*. New York: HarperCollins, 2008.
- Holsti, K. J. *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis* (7th ed.). New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1995.
- King, Charles. *The Ghost of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Kotz, David M. & Fred Weir. *Russia's Path from Gorbachev to Putin: The Demise of the Soviet System and the New Russia*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Lieven, Anatol. *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Light, Margot. "Russia and Transcaucasia". *Transcaucasian Boundaries*. Eds. John F. R. Wright *et al.* London: UCL Press, 1996: 34-53.
- Lo, Bobo. *Russian Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Era: Reality, Illusion and Mythmaking*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Lucas, Edward. *The New Cold War: Putin's Russia and the Threat to the West*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Miller, Steven E. "Moscow's Military Power: Russia's Search for Security in an Age of Transition". *The Russian Military: Power and Policy*. Eds. Steven E. Miller & Dmitry Trenin. Cambridge, MA: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004: 1-41.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. & Kenneth W. Thompson. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (6th ed.). New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.
- Neumann, Iver B. "Russia as a great power". *Russia as a Great Power: Dimensions of Security under Putin*. Eds. Jakob Hedenskog *et al.* London: Routledge, 2005: 13-28.
- Nygren, Bertil. *The Rebuilding of Greater Russia: Putin's Foreign Policy towards the CIS Countries*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- O'Neill, Barry. *Honor, Symbols, and War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.

- Oppenheim, L. F. L. *International Law: A Treatise (Vol. I: Peace)* (8th ed.). Ed. H. Lauterpacht. London: Longmans Green, 1955.
- Papp, Daniel S. *Contemporary International Relations: Frameworks for Understanding* (5th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1997.
- Rosenau, James N. *The Study of World Politics (Vol. 1: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges)*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Rothschild, Joseph & Nancy M. Wingfield. *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War II* (3rd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Sakwa, Richard. *Putin: Russia's Choice* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge, 2008.
- *Russian Politics and Society* (4th ed.). London: Routledge, 2008.
- Saragih, Simon. *Bangkitnya Rusia: Peran Putin dan Eks KGB*. Jakarta: Kompas, 2008.
- Service, Robert. *A History of Modern Russia: From Nicholas II to Putin*. London: Penguin Books, 2003.
- Shlykov, Vitaly V. "The Economics of Defense in Russia and the Legacy of Structural Militarization". *The Russian Military: Power and Policy*. Eds. Steven E. Miller & Dmitry Trenin. Cambridge, MA: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004: 157-182.
- Tchantouridze, Lacha. *Awakening of Spirits: Eurasianism and Geopolitics in the Foreign Policy of Russia*. Disertasi untuk gelar Ph.D. di Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Kanada, September 2001.
- Trenin, Dmitry. "Gold Eagle, Red Star". *The Russian Military: Power and Policy*. Eds. Steven E. Miller & Dmitry Trenin. Cambridge, MA: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004: 217-232.
- Viotti, Paul R. & Mark V. Kauppi. *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism and Beyond* (3rd ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1999.

JURNAL & MONOGRAF:

- Adomeit, Hannes. "Russia as a 'Great Power' in World Affairs: Images and Reality". *International Affairs* 71:1 (Januari 1995): 35-68.

- Allison, Roy. "Russia resurgent? Moscow's campaign to 'coerce Georgia to peace'". *International Affairs* 84:6 (2008): 1145-1171.
- Arbatov, Alexei G. "Russia's Foreign Policy Alternatives". *International Security* 18:2 (Autumn, 1993): 5-43.
- . "The Transformation of Russian Military Doctrine: Lessons Learned from Kosovo and Chechnya". *The Marshall Center Papers No. 2*, Juli 2000. <www.marshallcenter.org>
- Baranovsky, Vladimir. "Russia: A Part of Europe or Apart from Europe?". *International Affairs* 76: 3 (Juli 2000): 443-458.
- Bradley, Bill. "Eurasia Letter: A Misguided Russia Policy". *Foreign Policy* No. 101 (Winter, 1995-1996): 80-97.
- Cornell, Svante E. *Georgia after the Rose Revolution: Geopolitical Predicament and Implications for U.S. Policy*. Strategic Studies Institute, Februari 2007.
- Garnett, Sherman. "Russia's Illusory Ambitions". *Foreign Affairs* 76:2 (Maret-April 1997): 61-76.
- Goldman, Minton F. "Soviet Military Intervention in Afghanistan: Roots and Causes". *Polity* 16:3 (Spring, 1984): 384-403.
- Granville, Johanna. "1956 Reconsidered: Why Hungary and Not Poland?". *The Slavonic and East European Review* 80:4 (Oktober 2002): 656-687.
- Hendrickson, Gordon B. "The Future of NATO-Russia Relations (Or, How to Dance with a Bear and Not Get Mauled)", *The Atlantic Council of the United States Occasional Paper*, Desember 2005.
- Jackson, William D. "Encircled Again: Russia's Military Assesses Threats in a Post-Soviet World". *Political Science Quarterly* 117:3 (Autumn, 2002): 373-400.
- Lambeth, Benjamin S. "Russia's Wounded Military". *Foreign Affairs* 74:2 (Maret-April 1995): 86-98.
- Liakhovsky, Aleksandr. "Inside the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan and the Seizure of Kabul, December 1979". *Cold War International History Project Working Paper #51*, Januari 2007. <www.cwihp.org>

- Lynch, Allen C. "The Realism of Russia's Foreign Policy". *Europe-Asia Studies* 53:1 (Januari 2001): 7-31.
- Pushkov, Alexei K. "Letter from Eurasia: Russia and America: The Honeymoon's Over". *Foreign Policy* No. 93 (Winter, 1993-1994): 76-90.
- Sakwa, Richard. "'New Cold War' or twenty years' crisis? Russia and international politics". *International Affairs* 84:2 (2008): 241-267.
- Schröder, Hans-Henning. "'A Short, Victorious War?' Russian Perspectives on the Caucasus Crisis". *The Caucasus Crisis: International Perceptions and Policy Implications for Germany and Europe*. Ed. Hans-Henning Schröder. SWP-Berlin Research Paper No. 9, November 2008: 7-11.
- Shevtsova, Lilia. "After the Battle: What the August Conflict will mean for Russia's Domestic Politics". Chatham House briefing note REP BN 08/02, September 2008. <www.chathamhouse.org.uk>
- Shlykov, Vitaly V. *The Crisis in the Russian Economy*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 30 Juni 1997. <www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil>
- Tillema, Herbert K. & John R. Van Wingen. "Law and Power in Military Intervention: Major States after World War II". *International Studies Quarterly* 26:2 (1982): 220-250.
- Trenin, Dmitry. "Russia's Coercive Diplomacy". *Carnegie Moscow Center Briefing Vol. 10 Issue 1*, Januari 2008.
- . "Russia's Strategic Choices". *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Policy Brief #50*, Mei 2007.
- . "Russia's Threat Perception and Strategic Posture". *Russian Security Strategy Under Putin: U.S. and Russian Perspectives*. R. Craig Nation & Dmitry Trenin. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, November 2007. <www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil>
- Valenta, Jiri. "Revolutionary Change, Soviet Intervention, and 'Normalization' in East-Central Europe". *Comparative Politics*, 16:2 (Januari 1984): 127-151.

ARTIKEL DALAM MAJALAH & SURAT KABAR

- Brzezinski, Zbigniew. "Staring Down the Russians". *TIME Asia* 25 Agustus 2008: 18-19.

- The Economist*. "Russia Resurgent". Edisi 14 Agustus 2008.
- Power, Samantha. "A Question of Honor". *TIME Asia* 25 Agustus 2008: 15.
- Stengel, Richard. "Choosing Order Before Freedom". *TIME Asia* 31 Desember 2007-7 Januari 2008: 22-23.
- Trenin, Dmitry. "Waiting for a Democratic Godot in the Kremlin". *The Moscow Times*, 21 Juli 2008. <<http://www.themoscowtimes.com>>
- Walt, Vivienne. "The Bear Is Back on The Prowl". *TIME Asia* 25 Agustus 2008: 20-21.

LAPORAN & DOKUMEN RESMI:

- Federasi Rusia. *National Security Concept of the Russian Federation* (2000).
<<http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/gazeta012400.htm>>
- . *The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation* (2008).
<<http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/econcept.htm>>
- . *The Russian Federation Military Doctrine* (2000).
<<http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/russia-mil-doc.html>>
- International Crisis Group. *Georgia: Avoiding War in South Ossetia* (Europe Report No. 159). Tbilisi/Brussels: ICG, 26 November 2004.
- . *Georgia: Sliding towards Authoritarianism?* (Europe Report No. 189). Tbilisi/Brussels: ICG, 19 Desember 2007.
- . *Georgia: What Now?* (Europe Report No. 151). Tbilisi/Brussels: ICG, 3 Desember 2003.
- . *Russia vs Georgia: The Fallout* (Europe Report No. 195). Tbilisi/Brussels: ICG, 22 Agustus 2008.