

Daftar Pustaka

BUKU

- Allison, G. (1971). *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Boston: Little Brown.
- Asmus, R. D. (2006). *Next Steps in Forging a Euroatlantic Strategy for the Wider Black Sea*. Washington DC: German Marshall Fund.
- Burchill, S. (2005). *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Chervonnaya, S. M. (1994). *Conflict in the Caucasus: Georgia, Abkhazia and the Russian Shadow*. Gothic Image Publications.
- Coene, F. (2010). *The Caucasus: an Introduction*. New York : Routledge.
- Cornell, S. E. (2001). *Small Nations and Great Powers: A Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict in the Caucasus*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Cowen, R. (1993). *Central and Eastern Europe: The Challenge of Transition*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cresswell, J. (1998). *Research Design: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Dorpalen, A. (1966). *The World of General Haushofer: Geopolitics in Action*. New York: Kennikat Press.
- Finnemore, M. (2004). *The purpose of intervention: changing beliefs about the use of force*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Francis, C. (2011). *Conflict Resolution and Status: The Case of Georgia and Abkhazia (1989-2008)*. Brussels: VUBPRESS Brussels University Press.
- Gearoid O Tuathail, S. D. (1998). *Geopolitics Reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Hewitt, G. (2013). *Discordant Neighbours: A Reassessment of the Georgian-Abkhazian and Georgian-South Ossetian Conflict*. Brill.
- Huberman, M. B. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis Second Edition*. London, New Delhi: Sage Productions.
- Jeong, H. (2000). *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction* . Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Joseph S. Nye, J. (2007). *Understanding International Conflict: An Introduction to Theory and History Sixth Edition*. Longman: Harvard University.
- Jackson, R. a. (2013). *Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional: Teori dan Pendekatan. Edisi Kelima*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

- Konig, M. (2004). The Georgian-South Ossetian Conflict. *OSCE Yearbook*, 240.
- Mackinder, H. J. (1942). *Democratic Ideals and Reality*. London: Constable.
- Mangott, G. (1999). *Brennpunkt Südkaukasus*. Vienna: Braumüller.
- Morgenthau, H. (1948). *Power and Ideology in International Politics*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Nicholson, M. (1992). *Rationality and the Analysis of International Conflict*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Nogee, D. a. (2009). *The Foreign Policy of Russia*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.
- Pletniova, S. (1982). *Nomads of the Middle Ages: A Search for Consistent Historical Patterns*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Seybolt, T. B. (2008). *Humanitarian Military Intervention The Conditions For Succes and Failure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Simon, H. (1957). *Models of Man*. New York: John Wiley.
- Snyder, R. (1962). *Foreign Policy Decision- Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics*. New York: Glencoe.
- Spykman, N. J. (1942). *America's Strategy in World Politics, the United States and the Balance of Power*. New York: Brace and Harcourt.
- Spykman, N. J. (1944). *The Geography of the Peace*. New York: Brace and Harcourt.
- Tuathail, G. O. (1996). *Critical Geopolitics*. London: Sage.
- Waltz, K. N. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. New York: McGraw-Hill; Reading: Addison-Wesley.

JURNAL

- Allison, R. (2008). Russia resurgent? Moscow's campaign to 'coerce Georgia to peace'. *International Affairs* 84: 6, 1162.
- Abushov, K. (2009). Policing the near abroad: Russian foreign policy in the South Caucasus. *Australian Journal of International Affairs* Vol. 63, No. 2, 187-200.
- Afinotan, L. (2014). Decision Making in International Relations: A Theoretical Analysis. *Canadian Social Science* Vol. 10, No. 5.
- Badalyan, L. (2011). Interlinked Energy Supply and Security Challenges in the South Caucasus. *Caucasus Analytical Digest*, 2.
- Baran, Z. (2008). Security Aspects of the South Stream Project. *Center for Eurasian Policy*, 9-11.
- Bartuzi, K. P.-N. (2008). Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh: Unfrozen Conflicts Between Russia and the West. 6-7.

- Barysch, K. (2004). The EU and Russia: Strategic partners or squabbling neighbors? *the Centre for European Reform (CER)*, 15.
- Bebler, A. (2015). Crimea and the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict. *Romanian Journal of European Affairs*.
- Brooks, W. (1995). "Russia's conquest and pacification of the Caucasus: relocation becomes a pogrom in the post-Crimean period. *Nationalities Papers*, 75-86.
- Chang, C. (2011). Ethical foreign policy? US humanitarian interventions. 11.
- Clinton, W. (1986). The National Interest: Normative Foundations. *The Review of Politics*, 48(4), 495-519. Retrieved July 5, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/1407381
- Cvetkovksi, D. S. (1996). The Georgia-South Ossetia Conflict. *Confidence-Building Matters*, 10.
- Eniayejuni, A. T. (2012, April 7). *The Role of the West and Military Intervention in Libya*. Diambil kembali dari Foreign Policy Journal: <https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2012/04/07/the-role-of-the-west-and-military-intervention-in-libya/>
- German, T. (2006). Abkhazia and South Ossetia: Collision of Georgian and Russian Interests. *Research Programme Russia*.
- German, T. (2006). Abkhazia and South Ossetia: Collision of Georgian and Russian Interests. *Russie Nei Visions No. 11*, 8.
- German, T. C. (2008). Corridor of Power: The Caucasus and Energy Security. *Caucasian Review of International Affairs*. Vol. 2, 64-65.
- Gerrits, W. &. (2016). Russian Patronage over Abkhazia and South Ossetia: Implications for conflict resolution. *East European Politics*, 307.
- Gogberashvili, S. (2010). Why Does the South Caucasus Matter For the EU and Russia. 32.
- Garb, P. (2008). The View from Abkhazia of South Ossetia Ablaze. *Central Asian Survey*, 235-246.
- Hewitt, G. B. (1993). Abkhazia: a problem of identity and ownership. *Central Asian Survey*, 267-323.
- Ikhsan, S. B. (2016). Kepentingan Rusia Melakukan Intervensi Militer dalam Konflik di Ossetia Selatan dan Abkhazia Georgia. 6.
- Indians, I. (2007). 'Relations of Russia and Georgia: development and future prospects. , *Baltic Security & Defence Review*, 131.
- Islam Tekushev, S. M. (2013). ABKHAZIA: HISTORICAL CONTEXT. *Abkhazia: Between the Past and the Future*, 16-17.
- Jasutis, G. (2018). *GEORGIA-ABKHAZIA: THE PREDOMINANCE OF IRRECONCILABLE POSITIONS* . Geneva Academy.

- Kafarneh, D. A. (2013). Decision-making in foreign policy . *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization*, 59.
- Kamp-Alons, G. v. (2005). The State between Internal and External Pressure: Exploring the Impact of Power Structures at Different Levels of Analysis on State Preference Formation with Regard to Foreign Policy. *ECPR Joint Sessions Granada 2005*, 23.
- Kegley, C. a. (1996). How democracies use intervention: A neglected dimension in studies of peace. *Journal of Peace Research*.
- Krever, V. Z. (2001). *Biodiversity of the Caucasus Ecoregion: An Analysis of Biodiversity and Current Threats and Initial Investment Portfolio*. Moscow: WWF.
- Kulhánek, J. (2006). Russia and Near Abroad: Past and Present .
- Kuznetsova, Y. (2005, February 8). *The Near Abroad: Increasingly Far Away from Russia*. Diambil kembali dari Russia in Global Affairs: <https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/articles/the-near-abroad-increasingly-far-away-from-russia/>
- Laksono, A. W. (2008). KONFLIK GEORGIA DAN RUSIA DI OSSETIA SELATAN PADA BULAN AGUSTUS 2008 . *Tesis Program Kajian Wilayah Eropa Timur*, 68.
- Laksono, A. W. (2012). Konflik Georgia dan Rusia di Ossetia Selatan pada Bulan Agustus 2008.
- Larson, R. L. (2008). European Caspian energy: Dodging Russia, Tackling China. Dalam S. C. Nilsson, *Europe's Energy Security: Gazprom's Dominance and Caspian Supply Alternatives* (hal. 20-21). Central Asia – Cascasu.
- Lavrov, A. (2010). Post-War Deployment of Russian Forces in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Dalam R. Pukhov, *The Tanks of August*. Moscow: Centre for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies.
- Mackinder, H. J. (1904). The Geographical Pivot of History. *The Geographical Journal* , 298-321.
- Mackinder, H. J. (1943). "The Round World and the Winning of the Peace. *Foreign Affairs*, 595-605.
- Markedonov, S. (2012). The Unrecognized States of Eurasia as a Phenomenon of the USSR's Dissolutio. "*Demokratizatsiya*". *The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, 2.
- Markedonov, S. (2018). Russia and the conflicts in the South Caucasus: main approaches, problems, and prospects. *Journal of Conflict Transformation: Caucasus Edition Volume 3, Issue 2* , 24.
- Nilsson, N. (2008). The Nabucco Pipeline: Reemerging Momentum in Europe's Front Yard. Dalam S. E. Nilsson, *Europe's Energy Security: Gazprom's Dominance and Caspian Supply Alternatives* (hal. 127).
- Nuechterlein, D. E. (1976). National Interests and Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis and Decision-Making. *British Journal of International Studies*.

- Otarashvili, M. (2015). Russia's Quiet Annexation of South Ossetia. *Foreign Policy Research Institute Journal*, 1-2.
- Popescu, M. L. (2007). A Power Audit of EU-Russia Relationship. *European Council on Foreign Relations*, 13-16.
- Poviliunas, A. (2015). SOUTH CAUCASUS IN THE CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY.
- Pushkov, A. K. (1995). NATO enlargement: A Russian Perspective. *Institute for National Security Studies*, 2.
- Rizal, S. (2009). *Defence Cooperation Agreement (CDA) RI-Singapura ditinjau dari Perspektif Ketahanan Nasional*.
- Robinson, T. (1967). A National Interest Analysis of Sino-Soviet Relations. *International Studies Quarterly*, 11(2), 135-175. doi:10.2307/3013925
- Roth, K. (2006). Was the Iraq War a Humanitarian Intervention? *Journal of Military Ethics*, 84-92, Vol. 5.
- Souleimanov, E. A. (2017). The South Caucasus: Turmoil in the Shadow of Russo-American Relations.
- Thomas, T. L. (2009). The Bear Went Through the Mountain: Russia Appraises its Five-Days War in South Ossetia. *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 39-41.
- Widia, T. (2018). *ANALISIS KEBIJAKAN THAILAND DALAM SENGKETA PERBATASAN DENGAN KAMBOJA STUDI KASUS: KONFLIK WILAYAH SEKITAR KUIL PREAH VIHEAR 2008*. Yogyakarta.
- Xing, Y. (2015). Analysis of Political Decision-Making and Its Influencing. *Journal Cross-Cultural Communication Vol. 11, No. 3*, 42-43.

LAPORAN

- Europe Report. (2012). *THE NORTH CAUCASUS: THE CHALLENGES OF INTEGRATION (I), ETHNICITY AND CONFLICT*. International Crisis Group.
- HRW. (1995, March). *VIOLATIONS OF THE LAWS OF WAR AND RUSSIA'S ROLE IN THE CONFLICT*. Diambil kembali dari Human Right Watch: <https://www.hrw.org/reports/1995/Georgia2.htm>
- ICG. (2007). *Georgia: Sliding toward Authoritarianism*. Tbilisi/Brussels: Europe Report No. 189.
- International Crisis Group. (2004). *Georgia: Avoiding War in South Ossetia*. Tbilisi/Brussels: Europe Report No. 159.
- International Crisis Group. (2007). *Georgia: Sliding toward Authoritarianism?* Tbilisi/Brussels: Europe Report No. 189.
- Knight, R. (1995). *Knock, Knock*. US News and World Report.

Nichol, J. (2008). *Russia-Georgia Conflict in South Ossetia: Context and Implications for U.S. Interests*. CRS Report for Congress.

UN Security General. (2004, January 14). *Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Abkhazia, Georgia*. Diambil kembali dari UN Digital Library:
<https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/520083>

DOKUMEN

NATO. (2001). *NATO Handbook*. Diambil kembali dari NATO Online Library:
<https://www.nato.int/docu/handbook.htm>

NATO. (2020). *NATO Membership*. Diambil kembali dari What is NATO?:
<https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html>

NTI. (2011, October 26). *Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)*. Diambil kembali dari NTI: <https://www.nti.org/learn/treaties-and-regimes/commonwealth-independent-states-cis/>

UNSC. (1992, September 8). *Moscow Agreement*. Diambil kembali dari UN Security Council/Peacemaker: <https://peacemaker.un.org/georgia-moscow-agreement92>

UNSC. (1992, June 24). *Sochi Agreement*. Diambil kembali dari UN Peacemaker:
<https://peacemaker.un.org/georgia-sochi-agreement92>

UNSC. (1994, May 14). *Agreement on a Ceasefire and Separation of Forces*. Diambil kembali dari UN Peacemaker: <https://peacemaker.un.org/georgia-ceasefire94>

UNSC. (1998, May 25). *Protocol on Ceasefire, Separation of Armed Formations and Guarantees on Inadmissibility of Forcible Activities*. Diambil kembali dari UN Peacemaker: <https://peacemaker.un.org/georgia-protocol-ceasefire98>

WEBSITE

Amadeo, K. (2020, January 27). *Ukraine Crisis Summary and Explanation*. Diambil kembali dari The Balance: <https://www.thebalance.com/ukraine-crisis-summary-and-explanation-3970462>

Antidze, M. (2007, November 14). *Russia closes last military base in Georgia*. Diambil kembali dari Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-georgia-russia-bases/russia-closes-last-military-base-in-georgia-idUSL1387605220071113>

BBC. (2008, August 19). *Georgia conflict: Key statements*. Diambil kembali dari BBC News:
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7556857.stm>

BBC. (2008, August 19). *Georgia Conflict: Key Statements*. Diambil kembali dari BBC News:
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7556857.stm>

BBC. (2011, November 22). *Regions and territories: Ajaria*. Diambil kembali dari BBC News:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/3520322.stm

BBC News. (2005, May 10). *How the Rose revolution happened*. Diambil kembali dari BBC News.co.uk: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4532539.stm>

- Bene, G. (1996). *NATO EXPANSION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE*. Diambil kembali dari FUS: <https://fas.org/man/eprint/bene.htm>
- Britannica. (2020, Maret 20). *Abkhazia*. Diambil kembali dari Encyclopaedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Abkhazia>
- Brule, D. a. (2010, Maret). *Foreign Policy Decision Making: Evolution, Models, and Methods*. Diambil kembali dari Oxford Research Encyclopedias: <https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-185?rskey=GmtzoW&result=8#acrefore-9780190846626-e-185-bibItem-134>
- Chitanava, E. (2016, September 1). *Georgia's politics of piety*. Diambil kembali dari OpenDemocracy: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/georgia-s-politics-of-piety/>
- Cornell, S. E. (2002). *Autonomy and Conflict: Ethnoterritoriality and Separatism in the South Caucasus – Cases in Georgia*. Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Report No. 61.
- Defence24. (2018, August 6). *Frozen partnership. Georgia-NATO Relations After the Brussels Summit*. Diambil kembali dari Defence24.com: <https://www.defence24.com/frozen-partnership-georgia-nato-relations-after-the-brussels-summit>
- Der Spiegel. (2008, September 15). *The West Begins to Doubt Georgian Leader*. Diambil kembali dari Der Spiegel: <https://www.spiegel.de/international/world/did-saakashvili-lie-the-west-begins-to-doubt-georgian-leader-a-578273.html>
- Dobbs, M. (1996, October 22). *Eastern European Countries Lobby for Seat at the NATO Table*. Diambil kembali dari The Washinton Post: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1996/10/22/eastern-european-countries-lobby-for-seat-at-the-nato-table/c2397abe-5d0b-4544-909a-76e5da434cd6/>
- EU. (2008, December 3). *Eastern Partnership*. Diambil kembali dari European Commision: http://www.ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com03_104_en.pdf
- Friedman, G. (2008, September 2). *The Medvedev Doctrine and American Strategy*. Diambil kembali dari Stratfor Worldview: <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/medvedev-doctrine-and-american-strategy>
- Golubock, J. W. (2015, January 24). *South Ossetia*. Diambil kembali dari Geohistory Today: <https://geohistory.today/south-ossetia/>
- Harding, L. (2010, April 21). *Ukraine extends lease for Russia's Black Sea Fleet*. Diambil kembali dari The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/apr/21/ukraine-black-sea-fleet-russia>
- Menabde, G. (2020, February 19). *Russia Boosts Its Military Contingent in Georgia's Occupied Territories*. Diambil kembali dari The Jamestown: Global Research and Analysis: <https://jamestown.org/program/russia-boosts-its-military-contingent-in-georgias-occupied-territories/>

- Polgeonow. (2018, December 30). *Which Countries Recognized Abkhazia and South Ossetia in 2018?* . Diambil kembali dari Political Geography Now: <https://www.polgeonow.com/2018/12/map-who-recognizes-abkhazia-and-south-ossetia.html>
- Population Data. (2019, February 5). *South Ossetia-Alania*. Diambil kembali dari Population Data: <https://en.populationdata.net/countries/south-ossetia-alania/>
- PopulationData. (2018). *Abkhazia*. Diambil kembali dari Population Data: <https://en.populationdata.net/countries/abkhazia/>
- Regnum. (2006, July 27). *Saakashvili: V abkhaziyu vozvrashchaetsya legetimnoye pravitel'stvo (Saakashvili: the legitimate government returns to Abkhazia)*. Diambil kembali dari Regnum.ru: <https://regnum.ru/news/680582.html>
- Seal, G. (1997, June 30). *Minimum Requirements for NATO Membership*. Diambil kembali dari US Department of State: https://1997-2001.state.gov/regions/eur/fs_members.html
- Shenfield, D. (2008, October 15). *Origins and Evolutions of the Georgian-Abkhaz Conflict*. Diambil kembali dari Abkhaz World: <http://abkhazworld.com/aw/conflict/31-origins-and-evolutions-of-the-georgianabkhaz-conflict>
- Stratfor. (2008, September 2). *The Medvedev Doctrine and American Strategy*. Diambil kembali dari Stratfor Worldview: <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/medvedev-doctrine-and-american-strategy>
- TASS. (2018, 5 29). *Countries that recognized South Ossetia's and Abkhazia's independence*. Diambil kembali dari TASS: <https://tass.com/world/1007058>
- Tomiuc, E. (2002, March 7). *NATO: What Does It Take To Join?* Diambil kembali dari Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty: <https://www.rferl.org/a/1099020.html>
- U.S Press Release. (2008). *Secretary's Remarks: Remarks En Route Prague, Czech Republic*. U.S. Department of State.
- Walker, P. (2008, Agustus 9). *Georgia declares 'state of war' over South Ossetia* . Diambil kembali dari The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/aug/09/georgia.russia2>
- Wipo. (2006). *The Constitution of Georgia*. Diambil kembali dari <http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/details.jsp?id=7523>
- World Atlas. (2019, August 19). *Is South Ossetia a Country?* Diambil kembali dari World Atlas: <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/where-is-south-ossetia.html>