

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

Marshall, Catherine dan Gretchen B Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research 2nd Edition*, (California:1994, Sage Publication).

Mas'oed, Mohtar , *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Disiplin dan Metodologi*, (Yogyakarta, 1990, Pusat Antar Universitas – Studi Sosial Universitas Gadjah Mada).

Viotti, Paul R, dan Mark V. Kauppi, *International Relations and World Politics, Fifth Edition*, Pearson, USA, 2012.

Jurnal dan Artikel Ilmiah

Bator ,Peter, “Montenegro’s way to the door of NATO”, *Slovak Atlantic Commision*.

Bufon, Milan, “Central-Eastern and South-Eastern Europe: An Area od Geopolitical and Geocultural Contact”, *University of Primorska, Science and Research Center of Koper*.2004.

Centre for European Securityuy Studies (CESS), “The Western Balkan Candidates for NATO Membership and Partnership”, 2005.

Clark, David dan Dr Andrew Foxall, “Russia’s Role in the Balkans - Cause for Concern?”, *The Henry Jackson Society*, 2014.

Drewett, Michael, “Montenegro and NATO: the likelihood of accession and its repercussions”, *Centre for Geopolitics & Security in Realism Studies*. (United Kingdom: 2015).

Dzankic, Jelena, ”Montenegro’s Foreign Policy.”, *European International Studies Association*. 2014.

Fabrizio, Eva, “The Geopolitical Importance of Eastern Europe for the European Union and Italy”, *University di Milano*, 2001.

J.. Pejic, “Western Balkans In The Light of Regional Security Complex Theory”, *RUDN University*, Russia, 2016.

Kovacevic, Filip, *Montenegro’s Political System*, Academic Foresight, NO.10: January-April 2014, <http://www.academic-foresights.com/Montenegro.pdf>.

Lanoxzaka, Alexander, "Russian hybrid warfare and extended deterrence in eastern Europe", *The Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 2016, UK.

Lambeth, Benjamin S., "NATO'S Air War for Kosovo: A Strategic and Operational Assessment.", *RAND Corporation*, 2001.

Luksic, Igor, Milorad Katnic, "The Making of A State: Transition in Montenegro," *Cato Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 3, *Cato Institute*. 2016.

Mahmedin, Tahirovic, "Montenegro and the NATO Partnership for Peace Program", 2008.

Nunlist, Christian, Martin Zapfe, "NATO after Wales : Dealing with Russia - Next Steps", *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, 2014.

Radoman, Jelena , "Montenegrin debate on accession to NATO", *WBSO*, 2009.

Rafael, Biermann, "NATO Enlargement - Approaching a Standstill ". *The George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies*, 2009.

Roberts, Adam, "NATO's 'Humanitarian War' over Kosovo", *The International Institute for Strategic Studies*. 1999.

Scekic, Redenko, Zeljko Rutovic, "Political Life in Montenegro in the Transition Period", *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 2016.

Orlandic, Srdan, "Predetermined Foreign Policy-Aligning National Policies of The Candidate Countries With The CFSP and CSDP: Case of Montenegro", *University of Ljubljana*. 2014.

Prazky Student Summit, "Background Report : NATO-Russia relations", Praha, 2014.

The Research Council of Norway, "Security policy in the Western Balkan Countries", 2012.

Sarper Agir, Bulent, "Non-Traditional Security Issues of the Western Balkans : Actors, Causes and Implications", *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations*, *Ankara University*, Vol.45, 2014.

Slobodnaevropa.org: Djukanovic: "Russia is Meddling in Montenegro".

Silmina, Fadiyah, "Alasan Rusia Menganggap NATO Sebagai Ancaman dalam Sistem Pertahanan Anti Rudal Pasca Perang Dingin Tahun 2008-2015", *UMY*, 2016.

Violante, Antonio, "Evolution of the national identity in the independent Montenegro", *University of Milan*, 2014.

Dokumen Resmi

“Agreement on Principles of Relations between Serbia and Montenegro within the State Union”,
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/declarations/73447.pdf.

BTI Project, Montenegro Country Report, 2016.

Central Bank of Montenegro, *Montenegro’s Economy SWOT Analysis*, Working Paper 24. (Podgorica: 2016).

CSCE-106-2-1, “Promoting and Protecting Democracy in Montenegro”, Hearing before One Hundred Sixth Congress Commission on the Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Februari, 2000.

Draft Defence Strategy, Montenegro, 2008

European Parliament: Directorate General External Policies of The Union, Briefing Paper: *The Russian Economic Penetration in Montenegro*, December 2007.

European Commission, *Montenegro 2016 Report*, Commission Staff Working Document. (Brussels: 2016).

OSCE Final Report : *Republic of Montenegro Referendum on State-Status*. (Warsaw: 2006).

Pidato Perdana Menteri Montenegro pada 2BS Forum 5 Juni 2015, Budva.

Montenegrin Investment Promotion Agency, *Montenegro Country Report*, 2017.

Screening Report Montenegro, *Chapter 31 – Foreign, security and defence policy*. 2013.

THE CONSTITUTION OF MONTENEGRO, 2007.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, “Crime and its Impact on the Balkans and Affected Countries”.

Dokumen Online

Global Security: “Military of Montenegro”,
<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/me-vojiska.htm>.

Global Security, “Montenegro – Ministry of Defence”,
<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/me-odbrana.htm>.

Global Security, “Montenegro – Politics”,

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/me-politics.htm>.

Government Guide Series, “Montenegro Facts”, 2013.

Index mundi, “Montenegro - Military expenditure (% of GDP)”,

<http://www.indexmundi.com/facts/montenegro/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS>

Index mundi, *Montenegro Demographics Profile*, 2016.

NATO: “Partnership Work Program for 2000-01”,

www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001.

SIPRI Military expenditure data: 1988-2015, Share of GDP. 2015.

U.S Department of State, “Invitation to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro to Join Adriatic Charter”, <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2008/sept/110324.htm>.

Sumber Elektronik

“15 years on: Looking back at NATO’s ‘humanitarian’ bombing of Yugoslavia”,
<https://www.rt.com/news/yugoslavia-kosovo-nato-bombing-705/>.

Balkan Insight, “Montenegro Debt Level Hits New Record”,

<http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/montenegro-govt-debt-hits-new-peak>.

Business Insider, “The US is putting tanks and troops right in Russia’s backyard”,

<http://www.businessinsider.co.id/tanks-poland-2017-1/?r=US&IR=T>.

CIA, The World Factbook: “Montenegro”,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mj.html>.

Departemen Dalam Negeri Montenegro,

<http://www.mup.gov.me/vijesti/148451/U-Crnoj-Gori-registrovano-45-politickih-partija.html>.

History: “1999 NATO bombs Yugoslavia”,

<http://www.history.com>this-day-in-history/nato-bombs-yugoslavia>.

Kuhn, Ulrich, “U.S-Russian Relations and the Future Security of Europe”, Carnegie

Endowment for International Peace, Januari 2017,

<http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/01/24/u.s.russianrelationsandfuturesecurityofeuropepub67784>.

Lomonosov, Marvey, “If Montenegro joins NATO, get ready for a firm Russian response”, Russia Direct, www.russia-direct.org/opinion/if-montenegro-joins-nato-get-ready-firm-russian-response.

NATO: “What is NATO?”, <http://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html>.

NATO : “Alliance invites Montenegro to start accession talks to become member of NATO.”, 2 Desember 2015.
http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_125370.htm.

NATO : “Relations with Montenegro”,
http://www.nato.int/cps/cs/natohq/topics_49736.htm.

NATO : “NATO-Russia relations : the facts”,
[#c1409">http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_111767.htm">#c1409](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_111767.htm).

NATO : “Members and NATO Enlargement”, <http://nato.md/en/membri-si-parteneri/>.

NATO: “Strategic Concepts”, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_56626.htm.

NATO: “The Kosovo Air Campaign”,
http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49602.htm?selectedLocale=en.

Naslovi.net: “Campaign for Greater Support to NATO Membership”,
<http://www.naslovi.net/2009-01-09/e-novine/kampanjom-za-vecu-podrsku-uclanjenju-u-nato/990176>.

Nationalia: “Nine years after independence, Montenegro receives invitation to join NATO”,
<http://www.nationalia.info/new/10665/nine-years-after-independence-montenegro-receives-invitation-to-join-nato>.

“Montenegro National Debt”, <http://countryeconomy.com/national-debt/montenegro>

MacDonal, Scott B., “The National Interest: Eastern Europe’s New Geopolitical Fault Lines”, 7 Juli 2016.
<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/easterneurope's-new-geopolitical-fault-lines-16883?page=show>.

OSLOBODENJE, “Economic benefits of NATO membership for Montenegro: Security, stability, speeding up the EU integration process”,
<http://www.oslobodenje.ba/vijesti/daily-news/economic-benefits-of-nato-membership-for-montenegro/199275>.

Providing For Peacekeeping, “Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Montenegro”.
<http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2015/06/18/peacekeepingcontributorprofilemontenegro/>.

Russell Mead, Walter, “Eastern Europe and the Return of Geopolitics, Center for International Relations and Sustainable Development”,
<http://www.cirsd.org/en/horizons/horizons-autumn-2015--issue-no5/eastern-europe-and-the-return-of-geopolitics>.

RBTH Indonesia: “Mengapa Rusia Menentang Bergabungnya Montenegro ke dalam NATO?”, http://indonesia.rbth.com/politics/2015/12/07/mengapa-rusia-menentang-bergabungnya-montenegro-ke-dalam-nato_548249.

Sari Nastiti, Kurnia, “Eropa Timur Dan Tengah (Central Eastern Europe)”,
<https://www.scribd.com/doc/47842041/Eropa-Timur-Dan-Tengah-central-eastern-europe>.

Sherr, James, “NATO-Russia relations: 20 years after the USSR”.
http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2011/nato_russia/Dissapointment/EN/index.htm.

The American Interest: “Letter from Montenegro: Organized Crime’s State of Play”,
<https://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/10/27/letter-from-montenegro-organized-crimes-state-of-play/>.

Tradingeconomics.com, “Montenegro GDP Annual Growth Rate”. 2017.

UNDP in Montenegro, “About Montenegro”,
<http://www.me.undp.org/content/montenegro/en/home/countryinfo/>.

World Bank : “Montenegro”, <http://data.worldbank.org/country/montenegro>.

Tanjug, B92.net, Montenegro to keep troops in Afghanistan.
http://www.b92.net/eng/news/region.php?yyyy=2013&mm=06&dd=06&nav_id=86527.

subway.mapdictionary.com/peta-eropa-timur/.