

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- Atatürk, K. (1981). *A speech delivered by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 1927*. <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BA11351951>
- Azak, U. (2010). *Islam and secularism in Turkey*. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780755610730>
- Aybet, G. (2000). *A European Security Architecture after the Cold War: Questions and Legitimacy*. Macmillan. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1-332.
- Buzan, B., & Wæver, O. (2003). *Regions and Powers: the structure of international security*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511491252>
- Cagaptay, S. (2017). *The new sultan: Erdogan and the crisis of modern Turkey*. I.B. Tauris.
- Dalay, G. (2020). *Turkey and NATO: Shaky future?* Brookings Institution Press.
- Davutoglu, A. (2001). *Stratejik derinlik: Türkiye'nin uluslararası konumu [Strategic depth: Turkey's international position]*. Küre Yayınları.
- Hermann, M. G. (2005). *Assessing leadership style: A trait analysis*. Social Science Automation. <https://socialscience.net/docs/LTA.pdf>
- Rofii, M. S. (2021). *Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Revolusi dalam Sunyi*. IRCISOD.
- Taspınar, O. (2017). *The Turkish crisis: Modern Turkey and the decline of Islamist democracy*. Oxford University Press.

### Jurnal

- Ayata, B. (2014). *Turkish foreign policy in a changing Arab world: rise and fall of a regional actor?* *Revue D'intégration Européenne/Journal of European Integration*, 37(1), 95--112. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2014.975991>
- Aybet, G. (2006). *Turkey's long and winding road to the EU: implications for the Balkans*. *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 8(1), 65--83. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14613190600595572>

- Aydin, M. (2021). The political economy of Turkey under the AKP rule. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 21(1), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2021.1882267>
- Bilgin, P. (2007). "Only Strong States Can Survive in Turkey's Geography": The uses of "geopolitical truths" in Turkey. *Political Geography*, 26(7), 740--756. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2007.04.003>
- Buzan, B., & Diez, T. (1999). The European Union and Turkey. *Survival*, 41(1), 41--57. <https://doi.org/10.1093/survival/41.1.41>
- Dai, H. D. (2005). Transformation of Islamic political identity in Turkey: Rethinking the West and westernization. *Turkish Studies*, 6(1), 21--37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1468384042000339302>
- Davutoglu, A. (2010). Turkey's zero-problems foreign policy. *Foreign Policy*, 20.
- Doğan, Z. (2022). Turkish foreign policy in the Erdogan Era (After 2014) in a global, regional and national context. *Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi İktisadi Ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 24(3), 1155--1182. <https://doi.org/10.26745/ahbvuibfd.1177670>
- Grafov, D. (2022). Strategy of balancing in Turkish foreign policy. *Vestnik MGIMO-universiteta*, 15(3), 115--142. <https://doi.org/10.24833/2071-8160-2022-3-84-115-142>
- Gros, L. (1977). The Dispute between Greece and Turkey Concerning the Continental Shelf in the Aegean. *American Journal of International Law*, 71(1), 31--59. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2200324>
- Güner, S. Ş. (2004). Aegean Territorial Waters Conflict: an Evolutionary Narrative. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 21(4), 297--312. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07388940490882578>
- Güney, A., & Karatekelioğlu, P. (2005). Turkey's EU candidacy and Civil-Military Relations: challenges and prospects. *Armed Forces and Society*, 31(3), 439--462. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327x0503100306>
- Hale, W. (1992). Turkey, the Middle East and the Gulf crisis. *International Affairs*, 68(4), 679--692. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2622709>
- Heraclides, A. (2011). The Greek-Turkish conflict in the Aegean: imagined enemies. *Choice/Choice Reviews*, 48(09), 48--5346. <https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.48-5346>

- Karagiannis, E. (2012). The 2008 Russian--Georgian war via the lens of Offensive Realism. *European Security*, 22(1), 74--93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2012.698265>
- Kili, S. (1980). Kemalism in Contemporary Turkey. *International Political Science Review*, 1(3), 381--404. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019251218000100308>
- Leffler, M. P. (1985). Strategy, diplomacy, and the Cold War: the United States, Turkey, and NATO, 1945-1952. *the Journal of American History*, 71(4), 807. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1888505>
- Minasian, S. (2003). The Turkish-Israeli military and political Co-Operation and regional security issues. *Iran & the Caucasus*, 7(1), 309--326. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157338403x00169>
- Murinson, A. (2006). The *strategic depth* doctrine of Turkish foreign policy. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 42(6), 945--964. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263200600923526>
- Öniş, Z., & Yılmaz, Ş. (2009). Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era. *Turkish Studies*, 10(1), 7--24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840802648562>
- Özdamar, Ö., & Ceylan, S. (2020). Comparing leadership styles of Erdoğan and Davutoğlu: A leadership trait analysis. *Turkish Studies*, 21(6), 891-908. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2020.1720293>
- Özlük, E., & Özlük, D. (2014). NATO'yu Anlamak: Dönüşümü, Yeni Kimlikleri ve Uyum Süreçleri. *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 31, 209--225. <http://dergisosyalbil.selcuk.edu.tr/susbed/article/download/136/120>
- Saraçoğlu, C., & Demirkol, Ö. (2014). Nationalism and foreign policy discourse in Turkey under the AKP rule: Geography, history and national identity. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 42(3), 301--319. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2014.947152>
- Serfaty, S. (2011). Moving into a Post-Western World. *the Washington Quarterly*, 34(2), 7--23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660x.2011.562080>
- Shannon, V. P., & Keller, J. W. (2007). Leadership style and international norm violation: The case of the Iraq war. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3(1), 79-104. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2007.00041.x>
- Tanıyıcı, Ş. (2003). Transformation of political Islam in Turkey. *Party Politics*, 9(4), 463--483. <https://doi.org/10.1177/135406880394003>

- Tüysüzoğlu, G. (2014). *Strategic depth: A Neo-Ottomanist Interpretation of Turkish Eurasianism. Mediterranean Quarterly*, 25(2), 85--104. <https://doi.org/10.1215/10474552-2685776>
- Van Dyke, J. M. (2005). An Analysis of the Aegean Disputes under International Law. *Ocean Development and International Law*, 36(1), 63--117. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00908320590909088>
- Yavaş, G. (2013). Europeanization of the Aegean Dispute: An analysis of Turkish Political elite Discourse. *Turkish Studies*, 14(3), 520--539. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2013.833020>
- Yeşiltaş, M. (2013). The transformation of the geopolitical vision in Turkish foreign policy. *Turkish Studies*, 14(4), 661--687. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2013.862927>
- Yılmaz, I. (2005). State, law, civil society and Islam in contemporary Turkey. *the Muslim World*, 95(3), 385--411. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.2005.00101.x>
- Огузлу, Т. (2012). Turkey's eroding commitment to NATO: From identity to interests. *the Washington Quarterly*, 35(3), 153--164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660x.2012.706578>
- Огузлу, Т., & Dal, E. P. (2013). Decoding Turkey's Rise: An Introduction. *Turkish Studies*, 14(4), 617--636. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2013.861112>
- Огузлу, Т., & Kibarоğlu, М. (2009). Is the Westernization Process Losing Pace in Turkey: Who's to Blame? *Turkish Studies*, 10(4), 577--593. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840903384836>

### **Laporan Resmi:**

- ACLED. (2019). NATO Expenditure (Version 2019) [Data set]. Newlines Institute. Retrieved from <https://newlinesinstitute.org/strategic-competition/regional-competition/mapping-the-rise-of-turkeys-hard-power-part-2-domestic-industry/>
- Department of Defense US. (2018, November 26). Status of the U.S. Relationship with the Republic of Turkey. Federation of American Scientists. Retrieved from <https://fas.org/man/eprint/dod-turkey.pdf>

NATO. (2022). NATO expenditure data [Dataset]. In *Defence Expenditure of NATO countries (2014-2021)*.  
<https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news193983.htm>.

## Website

Carter, C. (2014). 7 August 1946: Turkish Straits crisis reaches its climax. -- MoneyWeek, 7 August 2014.

İletişim Başkanlığı. (2022, January 21). Stratejik İttifakın Güçlü Üyesi [PDF]. Retrieved from <https://iletisim.gov.tr>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey. 2022 (n.d.). NATO. Retrieved from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/nato.en.mfa>

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). Milestones: 1945--1952. Retrieved January 6, 2022, from <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/nato>

Statista. (2021). Number of Military Personnel in NATO Countries in 2021 [Data set]. Retrieved from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/584286/number-of-military-personnel-in-nato-countries/>

## Video

*An interview with NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg | GZERO World.* (2021). [Video]. <https://www.gzeromedia.com/>. Retrieved April 17, 2024, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KMv7fqcAOWk>

## Kertas Kerja

Aybet, G. (2012). Turkey's Security Challenges and NATO, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1-6.

Coşkun, B. B. (2015). Neighbourhood narratives From "Zero problems with neighbours" to "Precious loneliness": Turkey's resecuritized Middle East policy after the Arab Spring. In *Palgrave Macmillan UK eBooks* (pp. 187--203). [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137503978\\_10](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137503978_10)

Egeli, S. (2018). Making Sense Turkey's Air and Missile Defense Merry-Go-Around. *All Azimuth A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace*, 0, 19. 82

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328291957\\_Making\\_Sense\\_of\\_Turkey's\\_Air\\_and\\_Missile\\_Defense\\_Merry-go-round](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328291957_Making_Sense_of_Turkey's_Air_and_Missile_Defense_Merry-go-round)

Erşen, E. (2016). The Turkish Russian Reconciliation Process: The Implications For the Middle East. In Alshar Forum. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325417679\\_The\\_TurkishRussian\\_Reconciliation\\_Process\\_The\\_Implications\\_For\\_The\\_Middle\\_East](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325417679_The_TurkishRussian_Reconciliation_Process_The_Implications_For_The_Middle_East)

Ferik, M. (2015). Recep Tayyip Erdogan'li yillar: 13 yilik iktidarın tum olaylari.

Habibie, O., Ozertem, H. S., Has, K., & Demirtepe, M. T. (2013). Turkey-Russia Relations in the Post Cold War Era: Current Dynamics and Future Prospects. *International Strategic Research Organization*, 13(06), 25. [https://www.academia.edu/29170629/TurkishRussian\\_Relations\\_in\\_The\\_Post\\_Cold\\_War\\_Period\\_Current\\_Dynamics\\_Future\\_Prospects](https://www.academia.edu/29170629/TurkishRussian_Relations_in_The_Post_Cold_War_Period_Current_Dynamics_Future_Prospects)

Kasapoğlu, C., & Ulgen, S. (2018). Is Turkey Sleepwalking Out of the Alliance? An Assessment of the F-35 Deliveries and the S-400 Acquisition. *Center for Economic and Foreign Policy Studies*, 6, 23. <https://edam.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Is-Turkeysleepwalking-out-of-NATO.pdf>

Loudermilk, B. (2017). Operation Deliberate Force -- NATO Bosnian Intervention. 17 April 2017. Accessible: <http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/operation-deliberate-forcenato-bosnian-intervention.html>, 21 October 2017.

Ludger Kühnhardt (ed.),. (2019). *The Geopolitical Environment in the 21st Century : Challenges for European Defence*, 28.

Mann, S. F. (2001). The Greek-Turkish dispute in the Aegean Sea: its ramifications for NATO and the prospects for resolution. *Naval Postgraduate School (U.S.)*. <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA389730.pdf>

Pratt, M., & Schofield, C. (1996). The Imia/Kardak Rocks Dispute in the Aegean Sea.

Szenes Zoltan (ed.), The Adaptation of NATO to a New World. NATO 4.0 and Hungary. Edt. Szenes Zoltan and Siposne Kecskemethy Klara, Budapest: Zrinyi Kiado, 2019, p. 19.

Tol, G., & Goren, N. (2017). Turkey's Quest for Air Defense: Is the S-400 Deal a Pivot to Russia? *Middle East Institute*, 5. [https://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/publications/PF5\\_TolGoren\\_Turkey\\_0.pdf](https://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/publications/PF5_TolGoren_Turkey_0.pdf)

Vassalotti, J. (2011). Rough Seas: The Greek-Turkish Aegean Sea Dispute and Ideas for Resolution. *Aegean Sea Dispute Turkey Vs Yunani*, 33(3), 387. <https://digitalcommons.lmu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1667&context=ilr>

### **Artikel atau Bab dalam Buku**

Anadolu Agency. (2018, March 25). Erdogan says Turkey has no issue with Kurds, only terrorists. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/americas/erdogan-says-turkey-has-no-issue-with-kurds-only-terrorists/1097363>

Army Technology. (2018). S-400 Triumph Air Defence Missile System. Army Technology. <https://www.army-technology.com/projects/s-400-triumph-air-defence-missilesystem/>

Aydintasbas, A. (2019). From mythology to reality: How Turkish policy in Syria is divorcing Turkey from the Atlantic world. *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 17(4), 83-96.

Bensaid, A. (2019). The Real Reasons Behind US Opposition to Turkey S-400 Purchase. TRT World. <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/the-real-reasons-behind-us-opposition-to-turkey-s-s-400-purchase-42381>

Davutoglu, A. (2008). Turkey's foreign policy vision: An assessment of 2007. *Insight Turkey*, 10(1), 77-96.

Davutoglu, A. (2009). Turkish foreign policy and the EU in 2010. *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 8(3), 11-17.

Haaretz. (2017, May 16). Erdogan: Turkey will 'buy air defense systems from whomever we want'. <https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/turkey/2017-05-16/ty-article/.premium/erdogan-turkey-will-buy-air-defense-systems-from-whomever-we-want/0000017f-e3af-d8fa-a77f-fbff7acf0000>

Heper, M. (2013). Islam, conservatism, and democracy in Turkey: Comparing Turgut Ozal and Recep Tayyip Erdogan. *Insight Turkey*, 15(2), 141-156

Hermann, C. F. (1980). Explaining foreign policy behavior using the personal characteristics of political leaders. *International Studies Quarterly*, 24(1), 7-46. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600126>

Hermann, M. G. (1984). Personality and foreign policy decision making: A study of 53 heads of government. In D. A. Sylvan & S. Chan (Eds.), *Foreign policy decision making: Perceptions, cognition, and artificial intelligence* (pp. 53-80). Praeger.

Hermann, M. G. (1999). *Assessing leadership style: A trait analysis*. Social Science Automation, Inc.

- Hermann, M. G. (2003). Assessing Leadership Style: Trait Analysis. Dans J. M. Post (dir.), *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders* (p. 39-62). University of Michigan Press.
- Kaarbo, J., & Hermann, M. G. (1998). Leadership styles of prime ministers: How individual differences affect the foreign policymaking process. *Leadership Quarterly*, 9(3), 243-263. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843\(98\)90012-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(98)90012-5)
- Kesgin, B. (2013). Leadership traits of Turkey's Islamist and secular prime ministers. *Turkish Studies*, 14(1), 136-157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2013.766159>
- Mackinder, H. J. (2014). The geographical pivot of history. In Routledge eBooks (pp. 32-36). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203092170-4>
- Öniş, Z. (2011). Multiple faces of the "new" Turkish foreign policy: Underlying dynamics and a critique. *Insight Turkey*, 13(1), 47-65.
- Pastusiak, L. (2021). Turkey as a key NATO ally: Asset or liability?. *International Journal*, 76(1), 71-86. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020702021995391>
- Peimani, H. (1998). Regional security and the future of Central Asia: the competition of Iran, Turkey, and Russia. <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BA39903045>
- Stamouli, N. (2022, December 29). Turkey renews threat of war over Greek territorial sea dispute. POLITICO. <https://www.politico.eu/article/turkey-mevlut-cavusoglu-threat-wargreece-territorial-sea-dispute/>
- Falk, T. O. (n.d.). Why Turkey, Greece remain on collision course over Aegean islands. Retrieved July 25, 2023, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2022/6/20/why-turkeygreece-remain-on-collision-course-over-aegean-islands>
- Walker, S. G., Schafer, M., & Young, M. D. (2003). Profiling the operational codes of political leaders. In J. Post (Ed.), *The psychological assessment of political leaders* (pp. 215-245). University of Michigan Press.
- Erdoğan, R. T. (2016b, 2017a, 2021) Berbagai pidato dan pernyataan terkait kebijakan luar negeri dan keamanan Turki.