

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Ayunts, A., & Kose, T. (2019). *Armenia and Turkey: An Overview of Relations and Prospect for Normalisation*. Hrant Dink Foundation Publications.
- Askerov, A. (2020). The Nagorno Karabakh Conflict- The Beginning of the Soviet End. In *The Post-Soviet Conflicts: The Thirty Years' Crisi* (p. 55-57). Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.
- Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (2007). *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods* (5th ed.). Pearson Education, Inc.
- Carlsnaes, W. (2016). Actors, structures, and foreign policy analysis. In S. Smith, A. Hadfield, & T. Dunne (Eds.), *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* (3rd ed., pp. 113–124). Bell and Bain Ltd.
- Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T., & Simmons, B. A. (2002). *Handbook of International Relations*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research* (4th ed.). Pearson Education, Inc.
- Cornell, S. E., McDermott, R. N., O'Malley, W., Socor, V., & Starr, S. F. (2004). *Regional Security in the South Caucasus: The Role of NATO*. Central Asia-Caucasus Institute.
- Dragneva, R., & Wolczuk, K. (2013). *Eurasian Economic Integration*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Elanchenny, S., & Maraşlıyan, N. (2012). *Breaking the Ice: The Role of Civil Society and Media in Turkey-Armenia Relations*. IKU.
- Garner, B. A. (2009). *Black's Law Dictionary* (Ninth Edit). West Publishing Company.
- Gorgulu, A. (2008). *Turkey-Armenia Relations: A Victious Circle* (8th ed.). Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV).
- Ismayilov, M., & Graham, N. A. (2016). *Turkish-Azerbaijani Relations: One state-two nations*. Routledge.
- Jemadu, A. (2008). *Politik Global dalam Teori dan Praktik*. Graha Ilmu.
- Lexy J, M. (2017). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Lichtman, M. (2006). *Qualitative Research in Education: A User's Guide*. Sage Publications, Inc.
https://books.google.com.jm/books?id=_q0xZ93fLGwC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

- Lune, H., & Berg, B. L. (2017). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (9th ed.). Pearson Education Limited.
- Mas'ood, M. (1996). *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi*. LP3ES.
- Mills, A. J., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (2010). *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research* (1st ed.). Sage Publications, Inc.
- Moleong, L. J. (2010). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Revisi). PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- NGO. (2013). *Brief History of Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh)*. MIA Publishers.
- O'Ballance, E. (1997). *Wars in the Caucasus, 1990–1995* (1st ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Oliker, O., Crane, K., Schartz, L. H., & Yusupov, C. (2009). *Russian Foreign Policy: Sources and Implications*. RAND Corporation.
- Philips, D. L. (2012). *Diplomatic History: The Turkey-Armenia Protocols*. Columbia University.
- Rofii, M. S. (2021). *Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Revolusi dalam Sunyi* (A. Y. Elga (ed.)). IRCiSoD.
- Salkind, N. J. (2012). *Exploring Research* (8th ed.). Pearson Education, Inc.
- Smele, J. D. (2015). *Historical Dictionary of the Russian Civil Wars, 1916-1926*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Soekanto, S. (2006). *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*. PT. Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Yavuz, M. H. (2009). Introduction: what is an Islamic party? Is the AKP an Islamic party? In *Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey* (pp. 1–13). Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511815089.003>
- Yilmaz, S., & Yorulmaz, M. (2021). *The Changing Perspectives and “New” Geopolitics of The Caucasus in The 21st Century*. Astana Yayinlari.

Jurnal

- Abilov, S. (2015). The Discourse “One Nation Two State”: The Position of Turkey in The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict. *Journal of Caspian Affairs*, 1(2), 29–58.
- Abilov, S. (2018). OSCE Minsk Group: Proposals and Failure, the View from Azerbaijan. *Insight Turkey*, 20(1), 143–163.
- Abrhamyan, E. (2018). Armenia Annuls Zurich Protocols With Turkey, but Hopes for New Engagement. *The Jamestown Foundation*, 15(44), 1–6.

- Aslanlı, A. (2010). Azerbaijan-Russia Relations: Is the Foreign Policy Strategy of Azerbaijan Changing? *TURKISH POLICY QUARTERLY*, 9(3), 137–145.
- Balci, B. (2014). Strengths and Constraints of Turkish Policy in the South Caucasus. *Insight Turkey*, 16(27), 43–52.
- Bolukbasi, S. (1997). Ankara's Baku-Centered Transcaucasia Policy: Has It Failed? *Middle East Journal*, 51(1), 84.
- Carkoglu, A. (2002). Turkey's November 2002 Elections: A New Beginning. *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 6(4), 30–41.
- Carlsnaes, W. (1992). The Agency-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis. *International Studies Quarterly*, 36(3), 245–270.
- Carlsnaes, W. (2007). International Relations and Foreign Policy Analysis. *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, 109(2), 128–132.
- Cinar, M. (2006). Turkey's Transformation Under the AKP Rule. *The Muslim World*, 96(3), 469–486.
- Fatoni, M. A. (2019). Kegagalan Upaya Mediasi Antara Armenia dan Azerbaijan dalam Konflik Nagorno-Karabakh. *Journal of International Relations Universitas Diponegoro*, 5(2), 448–457.
- Febriani, H. (2018). Isu Kejahatan Perang dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Azerbaijan-Armenia Memperebutkan Nagorno-Karabakh. *Journal International Relations Universitas Diponegoro*, 4(1), 56–63.
- Fraser, N. M., Hipel, K. W., Jaworsky, J., & Zuljan, R. (1990). A Conflict Analysis of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Dispute. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 34(4), 652–677.
- Goble, P. (2021). Joint Russian-Turkish Karabakh Monitoring Center Opens Amidst Fresh Controversy. *The Jamestown Foundation*, 18(20).
- Hartati, A. Y. (2020). Konflik Azerbaijan dengan Armenia atas Wilayah Nagorno-Karabakh dalam Konteks Hukum Internasional. *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Hukum QISTIE*, 13(2), 184–213.
- Haryanto, A., Maulida, S. I., & Darmawan, A. B. (2019). The Influence of AKP Party on Turkey's State Identity during Erdogan Administration. *Jurnal Global Strategis*, 13(2), 93–108.
- Heshmatollah, F. P., Vahid, S., & Mohammad Mahdi, M. (2015). Turkey's foreign policy in the South Caucasus and the Interests of Iran and Russia. *Political Strategic Studies*, 3(12), 37.
- Hikmata, S. A., & Syauqillah, M. (2019). Ketahanan Energi Gas Alam Turki Pasca Konstruksi Tanap (Trans-Anatolian Pipeline). *Jurnal Perspektif Ekonomi Darussalam*, 5(2), 199–226.

- Ibrahimov, R. (2015). Turkish-Azerbaijani Energy Relations: Significant Leverage in the Implementation of the Foreign Policy Interests of Both Countries. *Insight Turkey*, 17(2), 2015.
- Kasapoglu, C. (2020). Turkey's Critical 'S-400 Moment' Has Arrived. *The Jamestown Foundation*, 17(61).
- Koolae, E. (2016). Turkey-Armenia Rapprochement and Its Impact on Iran-Armenia Relations. *HEMISP*, 30(1), 60.
- Lisbet. (2020). The Armenia-Azerbaijan Conflict and International Communities Peace Efforts. *Info Singkat*, 12(19), 7–12.
- Mahmudlu, C., & Ahmadov, A. (2014). High Degree Autonomy Status for Nagorno Karabakh and its Possible Role in The Solution of The Conflict. *Journal of Qafqaz University-History, Law and Political Sciences*, 2(2), 115–123.
- Mandaci, N. (2014). Reconciliation Under The Shadow of Diapora Politics: Some Lessons from The Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission (TARC). *DEU Journal of GSSS*, 16(2), 235–257.
- Mikail, E. H., Atun, Y., & Atun, A. (2019). Turkey-Azerbaijan Economical and Political Relations. *Open Journal of Political Science*, 9, 512–524. <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.4236/ojps.2019.93029>
- Minasyan, S. (2010). Prospects for Normalization between Armenia and Turkey: A View from Yerevan. *Insight Turkey*, 12(2), 21–30.
- Modebadze, V. (2021). The escalation of conflict between Armenians and Azerbaijanis and the problems of peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh war. *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, 6(3), 103.
- Oztarsu, M. F. (2011). Military Relations of Turkey and Azerbaijan. *Strategic Outlook*, 1(2), 1–14.
- Sagbansua, L., & Can, N. (2011). Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Turkic Republics and Turkey: Economic and Business Dimensions. *Canadian Social Science*, 7(2), 82.
- Shiriyev, Z., & Davies, C. (2013). *The Turkey-Armenia-Azerbaijan Triangle: The Unexpected Outcomes of the Zurich Protocols*. *Perceptions*, 28(1), 185–206.
- Srifauzi, A., & Ardiyanti, D. (2020). Dinamika Hubungan Kerjasama Turki-Rusia dalam Bidang Hankam Tahun 2015-2019. *Jurnal FISK*, 1(1), 34–45.
- Socor, V. (2020a). The Minsk Group: Karabakh War's Diplomatic Casualty (Part Four). *The Jamestown Foundation*, 17(173).
- Socor, V. (2020b). The Minsk Group: Karabakh War's Diplomatic Casualty (Part Three). *The Jamestown Foundation*, 17(172).

- Vatankhah, Z. (2021). Turkey's Approach to the Nagorno-Karabakh Crisis (2003-2020). *The Quarterly Journal of Political Studies of Islamic World*, 9(36), 19–39.
- Valiyev, A. (2011). Azerbaijan-Russia relations after the five day war: friendship, enmity or pragmatism? *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 10(3), 133–143.
- Yadav, R. S. (2019). Energy Diplomacy In Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy. *Think India (Quarterly Journal)*, 22(3), 570–580.

Laporan Resmi

- CVCE. (2016). *The 1991 coup d'état*.
https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2011/10/7/951d6ce2-ac93-4928-bdad-2a15716d1c59/publishable_en.pdf
- International Crisis Group. (2005). *Nagorno-Karabakh: A Plan for Peace*.
- Martin Russell. (2020). *Armenia and Azerbaijan on the brink of war*.
- Nichol, J. (2012). *Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests*.
- SIPRI. (2020). *Trends in International Arms transfers, 2019*.
- Cornell, S. E. (1999). *The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict*. Uppsala University

Kertas Kerja

- Aydin, S., & Cakir, R. (2007). *Political Islam in Turkey* (No. 265). Center of European Policy Studies
- Freire, M. R., & Simão, L. (2007). *The Armenian Road to Democracy Dimensions of a Tortuous Process* (No. 267). CEPS
- Goksel, D. N. (2010). *The Rubik's Cube of Turkey - Armenia Relations* (No. 23). UNISCI
- Goswami, A. (2020). *History of the U.S.A: From Reconstruction to New Age Politics* (No. 12316708). University of Delhi
- International Crisis Group. (2020). *Improving Prospects for Peace after the Nagorno Karabakh War* (No. 91). International Crisis Group
- Isachenko, D. (2020). *Turkey–Russia Partnership in the War over Nagorno-Karabakh: Militarised Peacebuilding with Implications for Conflict Transformation* (No. 53). Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik
- Ismailzade, F. (2011). *The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: Current Trends and Future Scenarios* (No. 11). Istituto Affari Internazionali

- Kogan, E. (2016). *Armenia: Caught between a Rock and a Hard Place* (No. 38). FOI
- Lorusso, M. (2016). *A Deepening and Widening Conflict: The Nagorno-Karabakh Dispute and The Regional Context* (No. 299). ISPI
- Strachota, K., & Wilk, A. (2019). *The S-400 for Turkey The crisis in Turkish-American relations escalates* (No. 305). OSW
- Tol, G., & Goren, N. (2017). *Turkey's Quest for Air Defense: Is The S-400 Deal a Pivot to Russia ?* (No. 5). Middle East Institute
- Susler, B. (2019). *Turkey: An Emerging Middle Power in a Changing World ?*. LSE Ideas
- Shirinyan, A. (2019). *Armenia ' s Foreign Policy Balancing in an Age of Uncertainty*. The Royal Institute of International Affairs Chatham House
- Sargsyan, I. (2003). *International Mediation in Theory and Practice: Lesson of Nagorno-Karabakh*. The Armenian Center for National and International Studies
- Raptis, K. (1998). *Nagorno Karabakh and the Eurasian Transport Corridor*. ETH
- Raetchi, O. (2021). *Russia and Turkey: Enemies with Benefits*. Global Focus Center
- Rácz, A. (2021). *In Russia's Hands: Nagorno-Karabakh after the ceasefire agreement* (No. 8). European Union Institute for Security Studies
- Punsmaann, B. G. (2013). *Paving the Way for Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation: A Personal Account*. FES Turkey
- Makili-Aliyev, K. (2013). *Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy: Between East and West* (No. 13). IAI
- Isachenko, D. (2021). *Turkey and Russia: The Logic of Conflictual Cooperation*. Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik
- Evers, F. (2003). *Mission Information Package South Caucasus*. Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg

Situs Resmi Pemerintah Armenia

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Armenia. (2019). *Bilateral Relations Russia*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Armenia. <https://www.mfa.am/en/bilateral-relations/ru> pada 15 Maret 2022

Situs Resmi Pemerintah Azerbaijan

Embassy of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Republic of Turkey. (2020). *Azerbaijan-Turkey economic relations*. Embassy of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Republic of Turkey. <https://ankara.mfa.gov.az/en/content/99/economic-relations> pada 16 Maret 2022

Ministry of Defence of The Republic of Azerbaijan. (2021). *The opening ceremony of the Turkish-Russian Joint Monitoring Center was held*. <https://mod.gov.az/en/news/the-opening-ceremony-of-the-turkish-russian-joint-monitoring-center-was-held-video-34670.html> pada 17 Maret 2021

Ministry of Energy of The Republic of Azerbaijan. (2020). *The Southern Gas Corridor*. Ministry of Energy of The Republic of Azerbaijan. https://minenergy.gov.az/en/layiheler/cenub-qaz-dehlizi_2196 pada 27 Maret 2022

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. (2020). *Ilham Aliyev was interviewed by TRT Haber TV channel*. President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. <https://president.az/en/articles/view/41763> pada 29 Maret 2022

Republic of Azerbaijan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2020). *The Russian Federation*. Republic of Azerbaijan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. <https://www.mfa.gov.az/en/category/avropa/the-russian-federation> pada 15 Maret 2022

Situs Resmi Pemerintah Turki

Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Turkey. (2011). *Relations between Turkey and Armenia*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Turkey. <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-armenia.en.mfa> pada 25 September 2021

Presidency of The Republic of Turkiye. (2020a). *Equations in which Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus are not fairly included cannot yield a Pax Mediterranea*. Presidency of The Republic of Turkiye. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/122196/-equations-in-which-turkey-and-the-turkish-republic-of-northern-cyprus-are-not-fairly-included-cannot-lead-a-pax-mediterranea-> pada 27 Februari 2022

Presidency of The Republic of Turkiye. (2020b). *Phone Call with President Vladimir Putin of Russia*. Presidency of The Republic of Turkiye. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/speeches-statements/558/122748/phone-call-with-president-vladimir-putin-of-russia-> pada 5 Februari 2022

Presidency of The Republic of Turkiye. (2020c). *Press Statement on the Phone Call between Presidential Spokesperson İbrahim Kalın and U.S. National Security Advisor Robert C. O'Brien*. Presidency of The Republic of Turkiye. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/spokesperson/1696/122209/press-statement-on->

the-phone-call-between-presidential-spokesperson-ibrahim-kalin-and-u-s-national-security-advisor-robert-c-o-brien pada 24 Februari 2022

Presidency of The Republic of Türkiye. (2020d). *“The ceasefire agreement signed in Libya is not a ceasefire at the highest level.”* Presidency of The Republic of Türkiye. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/122462/-the-ceasefire-agreement-signed-in-libya-is-not-a-ceasefire-at-the-highest-level-> pada 29 Maret 2022

Presidency of The Republic of Türkiye. (2020e). *We have built bridges from heart to heart between our nation and the Africans.* Presidency of The Republic of Türkiye. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/122326/-we-have-built-bridges-from-heart-to-heart-between-our-nation-and-the-africans-> pada 27 Februari 2022

Presidency of The Republic of Türkiye. (2020f). *“We primarily opt for a settlement of disputes regarding the sharing of political and economic potential in the Mediterranean on an equitable basis.”* Presidency of The Republic of Türkiye. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/122223/-we-primarily-opt-for-a-settlement-of-disputes-regarding-the-sharing-of-political-and-economic-potential-in-the-mediterranean-on-an-equitable-basis-> pada 23 April 2022

Presidency of The Republic of Türkiye. (2020g). *“We will show the entire world that Turkey is one of the top countries that will yield the highest and the most secure income when invested in.”* Presidency of The Republic of Türkiye. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/122762/-we-will-show-the-entire-world-that-turkey-is-one-of-the-top-countries-that-will-yield-the-highest-and-the-most-secure-income-when-invested-in-> pada 27 Februari 2022

Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2011). *Turkish Foreign Policy During Atatürk’s Era.* Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs. <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkish-foreign-policy-during-aturturks-era.en.mfa> pada 6 Maret 2022

Republic of Türkiye Ministry of National Defence. (2020a). *Dağlık Karabağ’daki Ateşkese İlişkin Gerçekleşen Mutabakat Zaptı İmza Töreninden Görüntüler.* Republic of Türkiye Ministry of National Defence. <https://www.msb.gov.tr/SlaytHaber/11112020-74373> pada 22 April 2022

Republic of Türkiye Ministry of National Defence. (2020b). *Türk-Rus Ortak Merkezi’nin Kuruluşuna İlişkin Mutabakat İmzalandı.* Republic of Türkiye Ministry of National Defence. <https://www.msb.gov.tr/SlaytHaber/1122020-35285> pada 22 April 2022

Republic of Türkiye Ministry of National Defence. (2021a). *Dağlık Karabağ’da Ateşkesin Gözlemlenmesi İçin Kurulan Türkiye-Rusya Ortak Merkezi Faaliyetlerine Başladı.* Republic of Türkiye Ministry of National Defence. <https://www.msb.gov.tr/SlaytHaber/3012021-61746> pada 22 April 2022

Republic of Türkiye Ministry of National Defence. (2021b). *Türkiye-Rusya Ortak Merkezi, Ateşkes İhlallerini Önlemeye Yönelik Tedbirler Alıyor*. Republic of Türkiye Ministry of National Defence.

<https://www.msb.gov.tr/SlaytHaber/522021-27152> pada 22 April 2022

Situs Resmi Pemerintah Rusia

President of Russia. (2020a). *Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia and President of the Russian Federation*. President of Russia. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/64384> pada 16 Maret 2022

President of Russia. (2020b). *Statement by the President of Russia*. President of Russia. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/64381> pada 17 Desember 2021

Situs Resmi OSCE Minsk Group

OSCE. (n.d.-a). *Mandate*. OSCE. <https://www.osce.org/minsk-group/108308>, pada 24 Desember 2021

OSCE. (n.d.-b). *Who we are*. OSCE. <https://www.osce.org/whatistheosce>, pada 12 Desember 2021

OSCE. (n.d.-c). *Who we are*. OSCE. <https://www.osce.org/minsk-group/108306>, pada 12 Desember 2021

OSCE. (2020a). *Press Statement by the Co-Chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group*. OSCE. <https://www.osce.org/minsk-group/468204>, pada 15 Desember 2021

OSCE. (2020b). *Press Statement by the Co-Chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group*. OSCE. <https://www.osce.org/minsk-group/468984>, pada 15 Desember 2021

OSCE. (2020c). *Statement by the Co-Chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group*. OSCE. <https://www.osce.org/minsk-group/466998>, pada 15 Desember 2021

Skripsi/Tesis

Aliyev, E. (2012). *Azerbaijan-Turkish Relations (1992-2012): A Foreign Policy Account*. Middle East Technical University.

Arianto, M. T. (2019). *Peran Recep Tayyip Erdogan dalam Membangun Sektor Ekonomi Politik di Negara Turki*. Universitas Sumatera Utara.

Azhar, I. Y. (2018). *Alasan Turki Bekerjasama dengan Rusia dalam Membangun Reaktor Nuklir Akkuyu*. Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang.

Fiansyah, R., & Basyar, H. (2013). *Perubahan Partai Politik Islamis ke Partai*

- Politik Pos-Islamis: Studi Kasus Partai Keadilan dan Pembangunan (Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi atau AKP) di Turki (1983-2011)*. Universitas Indonesia.
- Hasanov, A. (2014). *Participation and role of the EU in resolving the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh*. University of Prague.
- KM, R. G. Y. (2020). *Dampak Kerjasama Pembelian Sistem Rudal S-400 Turki-Rusia Terhadap AS Tahun 2017-2019*. UIN Syarif Hidayatullah.
- Leckie, C. A. (2005). *The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: Obstacles and Opportunities for a Settlement*. Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.
- Nikkar-Esfahani, H. (2009). *The Nagorno Karabakh Conflict. Causes of the conflict and obstacles to conflict resolution*. University of Bradford.
- Regina, P. (2018). *Pembaruan Glasnost oleh Mikhail Gorbachev di Bidang Politik Tahun 1985-1991*. Universitas Sanata Dharma.
- Rimta, J. (2021). *Militer vs Civil Society di Turki: Analisis Penyebab Gagalnya Kudeta di Turki Tahun 2016*. Universitas Sumatera Utara.
- Rofii, M. S. (2008). *Partai AKP dan Ideologi Islam di Turki (2001-2007)*. Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.
- Sienrukos, H. (2007). *Oil, Democracy and The Globalization of The Nagorno Karabakh Conflict* [Tufts University]. <https://dl.tufts.edu/concern/pdfs/sn00b849x>
- Widigo, A. (2015). *Pengaruh Azerbaijan terhadap Upaya Normalisasi Turki dengan Armenia*. Universitas Airlangga.

Website

- AK Parti. (2012). *Political Vision of AK Parti 2023: Politics, Society, and the World*. AK Parti. <https://www.akparti.org.tr/english/akparti/2023-political-vision> pada 17 Oktober 2021
- Akkuyu Nuclear Rosatom. (2020). *Akkuyu NPP Construction Project*. Akkuyu Nuclear Rosatom. <http://www.akkuyu.com/index.php> pada 4 Januari 2022
- Aljazeera. (2020). *Fighting Erupts Between Armenia, Azerbaijan Over Disputed Region*. Aljazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/9/27/heavy-fighting-erupts-in-disputed-nagorno-karabakh-region> pada 20 Maret 2021
- Anadolu Agency. (2020a). *France sides with Armenia in conflict with Azerbaijan*. Anadolu Agency. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/france-sides-with-armenia-in-conflict-with-azerbaijan/1990924> pada 28 Desember 2021
- Anadolu Agency. (2020b). *Presiden Turki dan Rusia resmikan pipa gas TurkStream*. Anadolu Agency. <https://www.aa.com.tr/id/dunia/presiden->

- turki-dan-rusia-resmikan-pipa-gas-turkstream-/1695586 pada 17 Maret 2021
- BBC. (2020a). *Armenia, Azerbaijan and Russia sign Nagorno-Karabakh peace deal*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-54882564> pada 16 Maret 2021
- BBC. (2020b). *Armenia - Azerbaijan: Mengapa perang kedua negara berpotensi munculkan konflik lebih besar yang melibatkan Rusia dan Turki?* BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-54375206> pada 15 September 2021
- BBC. (2020c). *Nagorno-Karabakh: Nearly 5,000 dead in conflict, Putin says*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-54652704> pada 7 Maret 2021
- CNN. (2020). *Erdogan vs Macron: Dari Suriah hingga Penghinaan Islam*. CNN. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20201027113534-134-563185/erdogan-vs-macron-dari-suriah-hingga-penghinaan-islam> pada 28 Desember 2021
- Collective Security Treaty Organization. (2022). *From the Treaty to the Organization*. Collective Security Treaty Organization. <https://en.odkb-csto.org/25years/> pada 28 Maret 2022
- DW. (2020). *Azerbaijan-Armenia cease-fire takes effect*. DW. <https://www.dw.com/en/azerbaijan-armenia-cease-fire-takes-effect/a-55224851> pada 17 Oktober 2021
- France 24. (2020). *Armenia, Azerbaijan to attend peace talks in Russia on Nagorno-Karabakh*. France 24. <https://www.france24.com/en/20201008-nagorno-karabakh-russia-invites-leaders-of-armenia-azerbaijan-for-urgent-peace-talks> pada 13 Desember 2021
- Genocide Watch. (2020). *Genocide Emergency Alert: Azerbaijan's Invasion of Artsakh November 2020*. Genocide Watch. <https://www.genocidewatch.com/single-post/genocide-emergency-alert-on-the-war-in-artsakh-nagorno-karabakh> pada 28 Maret 2022
- Global Fire Power. (2022). *Military powers ranked since 2005 according to Global Firepower*. Global Fire Power. <https://www.globalfirepower.com/global-ranks-previous.php> pada 16 Maret 2022
- Gonca, I. B. (2016). *Nagorno Karabakh: Armenia's Claims, Azerbaijan's Position, and the Peace Efforts*. E-International Relations. <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/64104>
- Goshgarian, R. (2006). *Breaking The Stalemate: Turkish-Armenian Relations in The 21st Century*. Turkish Policy Quarterly. <http://turkishpolicy.com/article/174/breaking-the-stalemate-turkish-armenian-relations-in-the-21st-century-winter-2005> pada 17 Oktober 2021

- Independent. (2020). *Armenia-Azerbaijan: A local conflict with a frightening global reach*. Independent. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/armenia-azerbaijan-conflict-nagorn-karabakh-russia-turkey-iran-b675408.html> pada 5 Juni 2021
- Ismailzade, F. (2006). *Turkey-Azerbaijan: The Honeymoon is Over*. Turkish Policy Quartely. <http://turkishpolicy.com/article/165/turkey-azerbaijan-the-honeymoon-is-over-winter-2005> pada 17 September 2021
- Kompas. (2021). *Presiden Turki dan Presiden Rusia Resmikan Bersama Reaktor Nuklir Ketiga Milik Turki*. Kompas. <https://www.kompas.tv/article/154328/presiden-turki-dan-presiden-rusia-resmikan-bersama-reaktor-nuklir-ketiga-milik-turki> pada 4 Januari 2022
- Reuters. (2020). *Pompeo criticizes Turkey's involvement in Nagorno-Karabakh conflict*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-armenia-azerbaijan-pompeo-idUSKBN2702U7> pada 5 Maret 2022
- RFE/RL. (2001a). *Presidential Envoys Gain More Staff*. RFE/RL. <https://www.rferl.org/a/1142345.html> pada 17 September 2021
- RFE/RL. (2001b). *Turkey Proposes Tripartite Talks with Armenia, Azerbaijan*. RFE/RL. <https://www.rferl.org/a/1142344.html> pada 17 September 2021
- SIPRI. (2021). *Arms transfers to conflict zones: The case of Nagorno-Karabakh*. SIPRI. <https://www.sipri.org/commentary/topical-backgrounder/2021/arms-transfers-conflict-zones-case-nagorno-karabakh> pada 27 Oktober 2021
- TANAP. (2018). *About TANAP*. TANAP. <https://tanap.com/en/tanap-project> pada 19 September 2021
- TASS. (2020a). *Russia signs contract with Turkey on 2nd batch of S-400 air defense systems*. TASS. https://tass.com/defense/1192793?utm_source=google.com&utm_medium=organic&utm_campaign=google.com&utm_referrer=google.com pada 3 April 2022
- TASS. (2020b). *Turkey, Russia sign agreement to set up joint center for Nagorno-Karabakh*. <https://tass.com/world/1229873> pada 17 Maret 2021
- TASS. (2020c). *Turkey's F-16 fighter downs Armenia's Su-25 from Azerbaijani territory — Yerevan*. TASS. <https://tass.com/emergencies/1206495> pada 5 Juni 2021
- Uppsala University. (n.d.). *UCDP Definitions*. Uppsala University. https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/#tocjump_8164190134283713_11 pada 11 April 2022
- VOA. (2020). *Turkey Vows Support for Azerbaijan in Escalating Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict*. VOA. <https://www.voanews.com/south-central-asia/turkey-vows-support-azerbaijan-escalating-nagorno-karabakh-conflict>

pada 5 Juni 2021