

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Address of the President of The United States : Recommendation for Assistance to Greece and Turkey. House of Representatives. 1947.
- ABC News. *Distribution of Kurdish Population Maps*.
<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-09-10/kurdish-map/6763626> (diakses 1 Maret 2019)
- Al-Jazeera. *Al-Qaeda tirade against Turkey*.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2010/08/201081513118391787.html> (diakses 1 April 2019)
- Al-Jazeera. *Erdogan: NATO gives arms to 'terrorists' but not to Turkey*.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/02/erdogan-nato-arms-terrorists-turkey-190218142920831.html> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- Al-Jazeera. *Syria's war: Who controls what?*,
<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2015/05/syria-country-divided-150529144229467.html> (diakses 1 Maret 2019)
- Al-Jazeera. *Turkey says over 800 detained in anti-ISIL operations*.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/02/turkey-detains-hundreds-major-anti-isil-operation-170205124649016.html> (diakses 1 Maret 2019)
- Al-Jazeera. *Turkey's S-400 purchase not a message to NATO: official*.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/11/turkey-400-purchase-message-nato-official-171112122033735.html> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- Al-Jazeera Turk. *Çavuşoğlu: Rakka'yı Rakkalılara teslim edebiliriz*,
<http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/cavusoglu-rakkayi-rakkalilara-teslim-edebiliriz> (diakses 1 Maret 2019).
- Ataman, Muhittin. *July 15 Coup Attempt in Turkey*. Istanbul:SETA. 2017.
- Allison, Graham T. *Conceptual Models and The Cuban Missile Crisis*. Harvard University. September 1969.
- Alison, Graham dan Phillip Zelikow. *Essence of Decision Making: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis Second Editio*. Addison Wesley Longman, Inc.1999.
- Altinors, Mehmet Nur. *Turkish Foreign Policy during World War II*, *Asian Journal of Social Science Studies* Vol. 2 No. 4 2017
- Aybet, Gulnur *Turkey's Security Challengens and NATO*. Carnegie Europe. 2012.
- A. Miles, B. Matthew dan Michael Huberman. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Sage Publications. 1994.

- Barro, Robert J. *Convergence and Modernization Revisited*. National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 18295
- Bassil, Youssef. *The 2003 Iraq War: Operations, Causes, and Consequences*. JHSS.2012.
- BBC. *IS conflict: Turkey-backed Syrian rebels take Jarablus*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-37171995> (diakses 1 Juni 2019)
- BBC. *Syria conflict: Turkey says US plea on Kurds 'unacceptable'*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-46792329> 1 Juni 2019
- BBC. *US warns Turkey over Russian S-400 missile system deal*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-47809827> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- Center for Strategic & International Studies. *The Geostrategic Importance of the Black Sea Region: A Brief Histor*. CSIS : 2007.
- CNN. *September 11 Terror Attacks Fast Facts*. <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/27/us/september-11-anniversary-fast-facts/index.html> (diakses 1 April 2019)
- Corbin, Juliet dan Anselm Strauss,. *Basics of Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications. 2015.
- Daily Sabah. *Turkey to develop its own Long range air Defense System Siper : Erdogan says*. <https://www.dailysabah.com/defense/2018/10/31/turkey-to-develop-its-own-long-range-air-defense-system-siper-erdogan-says> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- Dayton, Ross. *Identity and Conflict: PKK vs Turkey (1984-Present)*. Florida International University Student Research : 2013.
- Defense News. *Going it alone: Turkey staunch in efforts for self-sufficient defense capabilities*. <https://www.defensenews.com/land/2017/04/24/going-it-alone-turkey-staunch-in-efforts-for-self-sufficient-defense-capabilities/> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- Defense News, *Raytheon missile defense chief: Turkey Patriot decision 'is all political'*, <https://www.defensenews.com/digital-show-dailies/farnborough/2018/07/17/raytheon-missile-defense-chief-turkey-patriot-decision-is-all-political/> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- Defense News. *Turkey defense minister announces timeline for S-400 deployment*. <https://www.defensenews.com/land/2018/10/26/turkey-defense-minister-announces-timeline-for-s-400-deployment/> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- Defense News. *Turkey hires 3 companies to build indigenous long-range air defense system*.

<https://www.defensenews.com/industry/techwatch/2018/11/02/turkey-hires-3-companies-to-build-indigenous-long-range-air-defense-system/>
(diakses 1 Mei 2019)

Derigil, Selim. *Turkish foreign policy during the Second World War : an active neutrality*. Cambridge University Press : 2004.

Euractiv. *The Brief – Replacing Turkey in NATO*.
<https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/the-brief-replacing-turkey-in-nato/> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)

Eurasiareview. *Turkey: Al Qaeda Cell Accused Of Planning To Bomb Churches*.
<https://www.eurasiareview.com/09122011-turkey-al-qaeda-cell-accused-of-planning-to-bomb-churches/> (diakses 1 April 2019)

Ekurd Daily. *Kurdish PKK leader: We will not withdraw our autonomy demand*.
<https://ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2011/1/turkey3107.htm> (diakses pada 1 Maret 2019.)

Global Fire Power. *Turkey : Overview*. https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=turkey diakses 1 Mei 2019

Global Fire Power. *NATO Member States Ranked by Military Strength*.
<https://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing-nato-members.asp>
(diakses 1 Mei 2019)

Global Security. *Kudistan Wokers Party (PKK)*.
<https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/pkk.htm> (diakses pada 1 maret 2019)

Global Terrorism Index. <http://globalterrorismindex.org/> (diakses 1 April 2019).

Gorka, Alex. *Turkey Under Fire For Bucking NATO Suppliers, Signing Arms Deal With Russia*. Mint Prss News 19 September 2017.
<https://www.mintpressnews.com/turkey-signing-arms-deal-russia-bucking-nato/232176/> (diakses pada 1 Oktober 2017)

Gozen, Ramazan. *Turkish-American Relations in 2009*. PERCEPTIONS:2010.

Gönül, Vecdi. *Turkey-NATO Relations and NATO's New Strategic Concept*. Turkish Policy Quarterly. 2010

Haaretz. *The Free Syrian Army Follows Orders From Turkey*.
<https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-the-free-syrian-army-follows-orders-from-turkey-1.5466362> (diakses 1 Maret 2019)

Hasanli, Jamil. *Stalin and the Turkish Crisis of the Cold War, 1945–1953*. Lexington Books. 2011.

- Hassanpour, Amir. *Kurdish Language Policy in Turkey*. Kurdish Academy Language : 1992
- Huff Post. *Remove the PKK From The Terror*. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/pkk-terror-group-status_b_3289311 (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- Hurriyet Daily News. *Germany to end Turkey Patriot missile deployment*. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/germany-to-end-turkey-patriot-missile-deployment-87002> (diakses pada 25 Agustus 2018.)
- Hurriyet Daily News. *No room for 'terrorist' YPG at Syria talks, says Turkish deputy PM*. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/no-room-for-terrorist-ypg-at-syria-talks-says-turkish-deputy-pm-108401> (diakses pada 26 September 2018)
- Hurriyet Daily News. *Rocket fired from Syria by YPG hits Turkey's Kilis*. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/rocket-fired-from-syria-by-ypg-hits-turkeys-kilis-126659> (diakses pada 26 September 2018)
- International Crisis Group. *Turkey's PKK Conflict : The Rising Toll*. <https://www.crisisgroup.be/interactives/turkey/#pre2015> (diakses 1 Maret 2019)
- Institute Economic & Peace. *Global Terrorism Index 2018 : Measuring the Impact of terrorism*.
- Jamilah, Maryam. *Motif Kerjasama antara KRG (Kurdish Regional Government) Irak dengan Pemerintah Turki (2013-2016)*. *Andalas Journal of International Studies*. 2018
- Kadir Has University. *Türkiye Sosyal-Siyasal Eğilimler Araştırması-2018*. 2019.
- Kaya, Karen. *Turkey's Role in Afghanistan and Afghan Stabilization*. *Military Review*. 2013.
- Kayaoğlu, Barin. *Strategic imperatives, Democratic rhetoric: The United States and Turkey, 1945–52*. *Cold War History*. 2009.
- Kegley Jr, Charles W. dan Shannon L. Blanton. *World Politics:Trend and Transformation, 2010-2011 Edition*. Wadsworth: Cengage Learning. 2011.
- Kegley Jr, G. A Raymond. *When Trust Breaks Down : Alliance Norms and World Politics*, University of South Carolina Press:1990.
- Kibaroğlu, Mustafa. *Global Security Watch--Turkey: A Reference Handbook*. Praeger Security International. 2009.

- Koc, Cagan. *U.S. Says It Will Sanction NATO Ally Turkey for Russian Defense System*. Bloomberg. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-06-27/u-s-says-it-will-sanction-nato-ally-turkey-for-russian-missiles> (diakses pada 1 Oktober 2018.)
- Lani, Remzi dan Fabian Schmidt. *Albanian foreign policy between geography and history*. *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*. 1998.
- Lika, Idir. *The Quest for Security : Soviet Union's Demands From Turkey. 1945-1946*. Ihsan Dogramaci Bilkent University, 2015.
- Meick, Ethan. *China's Potential Air Defense System Safe to Turkey and Implications for the United States*. *U.S-China Economic and Security Review Commisio*. 2013.
- Middle East Eyes. *Anti-US sentiment in Turkey reaches a new high, poll shows*. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/anti-us-sentiment-turkey-reaches-new-high-poll-shows> (diakses 1 Mei 2019).
- Middle East Eye. *Criticism mounts on Erdogan over ISIL kidnapping of Turkey hostages*. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/criticism-mounts-erdogan-over-isil-kidnapping-turkey-hostages> (diakses 1 Maret 2019)
- Migaux, Philippe. *Al Qaeda: Al-Qaeda's Strategy of Unification (1989-2001). The History of Terrorism, fro Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, University of California Press : 2007.
- Miliyet. *26 yilin kanli bilançosu*. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/26-yilin-kanli-bilançosu-gundem-1254711/> (diakses pada 1 Maret 2019)
- Missile Defense Advocacy Alliance. *Turkey*. <http://missiledefenseadvocacy.org/intl-cooperation/turkey/> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- Morin, Jean-Frederic dan Jonathan Paquin. *Foreign Policy Analysis : A Toolbox*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2018.
- Morrow, James D. *Arms versus Allies : Trade-offs in the search of Security*, International Organization Vol. 47 : 1993
- Mortimen, Caroline. *Nato's second biggest army just bought nearly £2bn of weapons from Russia*. Independent UK. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/nato-army-buys-2-billion-dollars-weapons-from-russia-military-deal-a7942521.html> (diakses pada 2 oktober 2018.)
- Munyar, Vahap. *Turkey has put down a deposit on S-400 missiles to Russia : Erdogan*. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-has-put-down-a->

deposit-on-s-400-missiles-to-russia-erdogan--117844 diakses pada 26 September 2018.

NATO. An Introduction to the Transatlantic Alliance. NATO Public Diplomacy Division : 2012.

NATO. Augmentation of Turkey's Air Defence. NATO. 2016.

NATO. *basic points*. <https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)

NATO. *ISAF's mission in Afghanistan (2001-2014)*. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_69366.htm (diakses 1 Mei 2019)

NATO. *ISAF Key Fact and Figures*. diakses melalui https://www.nato.int/isaf/placemats_archive/2007-01-29-ISAF-Placemat.pdf (diakses 1 Mei 2019)

NATO. *International Security Assistance Force (ISAF): Key Facts and Figures*

NATO. Kosovo Force (KFOR) Key Facts and Figures. Februari 2018.

NATO. *NATO support to Turkey : Background and timeline*. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_92555.htm? (diakses pada 26 September 2018.)

NATO. *NATO Conducts Focused Security Patrol in Eastern Mediterranean Sea*. <https://mc.nato.int/media-centre/news/2018/nato-conducts-focused-security-patrol-in-eastern-mediterranean-sea.aspx> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)

NATO. *Operations and missions : past and present*. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_52060.htm (diakses 1 Mei 2019)

NATO. *Operation Active Endeavour*. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_7932.htm (diakses 1 Mei 2019)

NATO. *Operation Sea Guardian*. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_136233.htm (diakses 1 Mei 2019)

NATO. Strategic Concept For The Defence and Security of The Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO : 2010.

Ozertem, Hasan Selim. Turkey and Russia :A Fragile Friendship. Turkish Policy Quarterly.2017.

Rawdanowicz, Lukasz. *Turkey 2008 2008-09 Crisis in Turkey: Performance, Policy Responses and Challenges for Sustaining the Recovery*. OECD Economics Department Working Paper No.819

Reuters. *Turkey tells Syria's Assad: Step Down!*.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-idUSL5E7MD0GZ20111122>
(diakses 1 Maret 2019)

Reuters. *Turkish border town hit by rockets, 13 wounded: governor*.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-turkey-rocket/turkish-border-town-hit-by-rockets-13-wounded-governor-idUSKBN1FD29D> (diakses 1 Maret 2019)

RT. *US won't even sell us rifles': Turkey's FM explains purchase of Russian S-400 air-defense systems*. <https://www.rt.com/news/420955-turkey-explains-s400-russia> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)

Seren, Merve. *Turkey's Quest for National Missile Defense System : Prospects & Challenges*. (SETA:2017)

Stein, Aaron. *Reconciling US-Turkish Interest in Northern Syria*. Council on Foreign Relations:2017.

The Guardian. *Kurdish leader Abdullah Ocalan declares ceasefire with Turkey*.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/21/pkk-leader-ocalan-declares-ceasefire> (diakses pada 1 Maret 2019).

The Guardian. *Turkey says Islamic State is main suspect in Ankara bombing*.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/12/turkey-blames-ankara-bombings-on-islamic-state> (diakses 1 Maret 2019)

The Guardian. *Turkey primed to start offensive against US-backed Kurds in Syria*.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/dec/12/turkey-primed-to-start-offensive-against-us-backed-kurds-in-syria> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)

The New York Times. *U.S. Jets to Use Turkish Bases in War on ISIS*.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/24/world/europe/turkey-isis-us-airstrikes-syria.html> (diakses 1 Maret 2019)

The Telegraph. *Turkey condemns violence as Assad's helicopters open fire*.
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/8569383/Turkey-condemns-violence-as-Assads-helicopters-open-fire.html> (diakses pada 1 Maret 2019)

The World Bank. *Turkey GDP (current US\$)*.
<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=TR>
(diakses 1 Mei 2019)

- Trading Economics. *Turkey GDP Annual Growth Rate*.
<https://tradingeconomics.com/turkey/gdp-growth-annual> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- Trading Economics. *Turkey Military Expenditure*,
<https://tradingeconomics.com/turkey/military-expenditure> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- TRT World. *Turkey aims to have self-sufficient defence industry by 2023*.
<https://www.trtworld.com/turkey/turkey-to-have-self-sufficient-defence-industry-by-2023-97573> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Turkey Perspectives and Policies on Security Issues*.
http://www.mfa.gov.tr/i_-turkey_s-security-perspective_-historical-and-conceptual-background_-turkey_s-contributions.en.mfa
(diakses 19 Februari 2019)
- Turkish Exporters Assembly. *Export Figures*. <http://www.tim.org.tr/en/export-export-figures.html> (diakses 1 Mei 2019)
- Turkish Weekly. *Chronology of the Important Events in the World/PKK Chronology (1976-2006)*, October 2010,
<https://web.archive.org/web/20101006073753/http://www.turkishweekly.net/article/217/chronology-of-the-important-events-in-the-world-pkk-chronology-1976-2006-.html> (diakses pada 1 Maret 2019)
- U.S Department of State. *Sections 231 and 235 of CAATSA*.
<https://www.state.gov/t/isn/caatsa/275115.htm> (diakses pada 2 Oktober 2018)
- Waltz, Kenneth. *Theory of International Politics*. Addison-Wesley Publishing : 1979.
- Webber, Mark dan Michael Smith. *Foreign Policy in Transformed World*. Prentice Hall. 2002.
- World Bulletin. *Turkey requests Patriot missiles from NATO*.
<https://www.worldbulletin.net/politics/turkey-requests-patriot-missiles-from-nato-h99024.html> (diakses pada 26 September 2018)
- Yesiltas, Murat dan Merve Seren. *Operation Euphrates Shield Implementation and Lesson Learned*. SETA. 2017.

