

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku :

- Allison, G. T. (1971). *Essence Of Decision Explaining The Cuban Missile Crisis*. Little, Brown & Company.
- Hale, W. (2013). *Turkish Foreign Policy since 1774*. Routledge.
- Istanbul University. (2024). *Pursuing Sustainable Development Goals: The Performance of Türkiye in the Centennial of the Republic*. Istanbul University Press.
- Mas'oed, M. (1990). *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Disiplin dan Metodologi*. LP3ES.
- Murdiyanto, E. (2020). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (1st ed.). LPPM Universitas Pembangunan Nasional 'Veteran' Yogyakarta
- Topsakal, I. (2021). *Turkish Russian Relations in the Soviet and Post Soviet Period*. Istanbul University Press.
- Tsygankov, Andrei. P. (2019). *Russia's Foreign Policy Change and Continuity in National Identity*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Zurcher, E. J. (2003). *Sejarah Modern Turki* (R. K. Diningrat, Trans.; Revisi). Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Jurnal :

- Allison, G. . T. (1969). Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis. *The American Political Science Review*, 63(3). <https://doi.org/10.2307/1954423>
- Al-Saidi, M. (2023). Caught off guard and beaten: The Ukraine war and food security in the Middle East. *Frontiers*, 10. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fnut.2023.983346>
- Andelija, D., Dejan, V., & Milos, M. (2022). Odnosi Rusije i Turske u kontekstu savremenih međunarodnih zbivanja [Hubungan Antara Rusia dan Turki Dalam Konteks Konflik Internasional Modern]. *Srpski Citatni Indeks* , 74(1). <https://doi.org/10.5937/vojdelo2201001D>
- Arman, M. N., & Gursoy, B. (2022). Challenges In The Regional Energy Complex Of Russia, Ukraina, Turkey, And The European Union. *International Journal*

- of Humanities and Social Development Research* , 6(1).
<https://doi.org/10.30546/2523-4331.2022.6.1.7>
- Austvik, O. G., & Rzayeva, G. (2017). Turkey in the Geopolitics of Energy. *Energy Policy*, 107. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2017.05.008>
- AY, Hakki. M., & Soylemez, A. (2023). Grain Corridor Agreement and Turkey's Role in the Russia-Ukraine War. *Journal of Islamic World and Politics*, 7(1).
<https://doi.org/10.18196/jiwp.v7i1.27>
- Azzahra, H. J., & Saragih, H. M. (2023). Implikasi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Netralitas Aktif Turki Sebagai Mediator Invasi Rusia ke Ukraina 2022. *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai*, 3(7).
<https://jptam.org/index.php/jptam/article/view/10509/8431>
- Balta, E., & Bal, H. B. (2025). How do middle powers act? Turkey's foreign policy and Russia's invasion of Ukraine. *International Politics*.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-025-00679-9>
- Bardakci, M. (2021). Is a Strategic Partnership Between Turkey and Russia Feasible at the Expense of Turkey's Relations with the EU and NATO? *Comparative Southeast European Studies*, 69(4). <https://doi.org/10.1515/soeu-2021-0001>
- Bilbil, E. T., Firtin, C. E., & Karlsson, T. S. (2024). *More than just numbers: Exploring the transformative role of accounting practices in the Black Sea Grain Initiative for mitigating human-made crises*. 45(3).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09540962.2024.2389950>
- Cakir, O. D., & Chasnouski, M. E. (2020). Turkey In NATO : An Extraordinary Position. *Journal of the Belarusian State University. International Relations*, 2. <https://elib.bsu.by/handle/123456789/258003>
- Cheterian, V. (2023). Friend and Foe: Russia–Turkey relations before and after the war in Ukraine. *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, 34(7), 1271–1294.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2023.2185443>
- Colakoglu, A. (2024). Food Insecurity in the Middle East, the Black Sea Grain Initiative, and Türkiye. *Güvenlik Stratejileri Dergisi*, 20(47).
<https://doi.org/10.17752/guvenlikstrjtj.1423303>

- Demir, S. (2022). THE 2022 Russia-Ukraine War : Reasons and Impacts*. *Rusya-Ukrayna Savaşı 2022: Nedenler ve Etkileri*, 6(1). <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/2369182>
- Dervis, L. (2023). Transformation of Geopolitical Perception in the Russian-Ukraine War : Impact on Regional Relations in the Future. *Futurity Of Social Science* , 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.57125/FS.2023.03.20.02>
- Erol, M. S., & Oguz, S. (2021). Turkey and NATO : Questioning The Solidarity. *Uluslararası İlişkiler Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 1(2). <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/jirs/issue/68261/1064077>
- Gayatri, P., Olivia, Y., & Nizmi, Y. E. (2024). Strategi Rusia dalam Menghadapi Sanksi Ekonomi dari Negara-Negara Barat Akibat Invasinya ke Ukraina Tahun 2022. *INNOVATIVE: Journal Of Social Science Research*. <https://j-innovative.org/index.php/Innovative/article/view/10119/7153>
- Gökay, B. (2021). Turkish Neutrality in the Second World War and Relations with the Soviet Union. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 23(6), 845–853. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2021.1935082>
- Götz, E., & Ekman, P. (2024). Russia’s War Against Ukraine: Context, Causes, and Consequences. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 71(3). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2024.2343640>
- Gozkaman, A. (2022a). Türkiye’s Foreign Policy vis-à-vis the War in Ukraine: A New Version of Active Neutrality. *Dergipark*, 27(2). <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/perception/issue/75102/1231543>
- Gurpinar, D. (2020). Foreign Policy as a Contested Front of the Cultural Wars in Turkey: The Middle East and Turkey in the Era of the AKP. *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 17(65). <https://dx.doi.org/10.33458/uidergisi.660644>
- Hassen, T. Ben, & Bilali, H. El. (2022). Impacts of the Russia-Ukraine War on Global Food Security: Towards More Sustainable and Resilient Food Systems? *MDPI*, 11(15). <https://doi.org/10.3390/foods11152301>
- Ilin, A. (2024). Turkiye-NATO Deal : What Russia Preparing For And The Essence Of Erdogan’s Political Benefits. *Russia and the Moslem World*, 1. <https://doi.org/10.31249/rimm/2024.01.07>

- Kalayci, R. (2019). Agent Structure Relations In Foreign Policy : An Analysis Of Turkey-Syria Relations During The Arab Spring On A Dynamic Foreign Policy Analysis Model. *Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 21(2). <http://dx.doi.org/10.16953/deusosbil.449199>
- Kara, M. (2024). Hedging strategy of Turkey in great power competition. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2024.2352894>
- Karademir, R. F., & Gök, G. O. (2024). Searching for a Place in Global IR Through Exceptionalism: Turkey and the Mediation for Peace Initiative. *All Azimuth*, 13(2). <https://doi.org/10.20991/allazimuth.1505836>
- Kaspar, M. A. H., Hardiwinoto, S., & Setiyono, J. (2016). Legalitas Pelaksanaan Referendum Di Crimea Dalam Hukum Internasional. *Diponegoro Law Journal*, 5(3). <https://doi.org/10.14710/dlj.2016.12591>
- Khudaykulova, M., Obrenovic, B., & Khudaykulov, A. (2022). Economic Consequences and Implications of the Ukraine-Russia War. *The International Journal Of Management Science and Business Administration*, 8(4). <https://doi.org/10.18775/ijmsba.1849-5664-5419.2014.84.1005>
- Kormykh, B., & Averochkina, T. (2023). Black Sea Grain Initiative is Dead, Long Live the New Trade Corridor. *Lex Portus*, 9(4). <https://doi.org/10.26886/2524-101X.9.4.2023.1>
- Kutlay, M., & Onis, Z. (2021). Turkish foreign policy in a post-western order: strategic autonomy or new forms of dependence? *International Affairs*, 97(4). <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iab094>
- Lin, F., Li, X., Jia, N., Feng, F., Huang, H., Huang, J., Fan, S., & Song, X. P. (2023). The impact of Russia-Ukraine conflict on global food security. *Global Food Security*, 36. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gfs.2022.100661>
- Mamishova, N. (2022). ПОЗИЦІЯ ТУРЕЧЧИНИ ЩОДО РОСІЙСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ВІЙНИ: ТАКТИЧНЕ МАНЕВРУВАННЯ ЧИ СТРАТЕГІЧНИЙ ВИБІР? [Posisi Turki Dalam Perang Rusia-Ukraina : Manuver Taktis Atau Pilihan Strategis?]. *Міжнародні Відносини, Суспільні*

Комунікації Та Регіональні Студії / МІЖНАРОДНІ ВІДНОСИНИ, 14(3).

<https://doi.org/10.29038/2524-2679-2022-03-31-43>

Marco, R. (2022). NATO vs. Russia: from the USSR's Threat of World War III to NATO Enlargements to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine, 1949-2023. *Florida Political Chronicle*, 29(1).

https://openurl.ebsco.com/EPDB%3Agcd%3A14%3A23606158/detailv2?sid=ebsco%3Aplink%3Aresult-item&id=ebsco%3Agcd%3A163205532&bquery=NATO%20vs.%20Russia%3A%20from%20the%20USSR%27s%20Threat%20of%20World%20War%20III%20to%20NATO%20Enlargements%20to%20Russia%27s%20Invasion%20of%20Ukraine%2C%201949-2023%22&page=1&link_origin=scholar.google.com

Mearsheimer, John. J. (2022). The Causes And Consequences Of The Ukraine War. *Center for International Relations and Sustainable Development*, 21. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/48686693>

Mosteller, F. (1959). Review: 'Models of Man'. *American Sociological Review*, 24(3). <https://doi.org/10.2307/2089392>

Munduate, L., Medina, Francisco. J., & Euwema, M. . C. (2022). Mediation: Understanding a Constructive Conflict Management Tool in the Workplace. *Journal of Work and Organization Psychology*, 38(3). <https://doi.org/10.5093/jwop2022a20>

Nadkarni, V., D'Anieri, P., Kerr, S., Sharafutdinova, G., Pu, X., Ollapally, D. M., Junior, P. V., Moore, C., & Divsallar, A. (2024). Forum: The Russia–Ukraine War and Reactions from the Global South. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 17(4). <https://doi.org/10.1093/cjip/poae021>

Nino, C., d'Auria, L., & Pinto, A. C. (2023). Enemy-based foreign policy as a framework for understanding Russia's invasion of Ukraine. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 29(3). <https://doi.org/10.1080/11926422.2023.2210701>

Novikau, A., & Muhasilovic, J. (2023). Turkey's quest to become a regional energy hub: Challenges and opportunities. *Heliyon Cell Press*, 9(11). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e21535>

- Orhan, E. (2022). The Effects Of Russia-Ukraine War On Global Trade. *Journal Of International Trade, Logistics, and Law*, 8(1).
<https://www.jital.org/index.php/jital/article/view/277>
- Parmeter, I. (2023). Strategic ambiguity Turkey Russia and the war in. *Journal Of European Studies*, 15(2). <https://doi.org/10.30722/anzjes.vol15.iss2.17975>
- Sacchi, C. (2022). Protection of perinatal mental health during the war in Ukraine. *Correspondence*, 15. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lanepe.2022100362>
- Saeed, S. (2023). The Impact of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict on the Middle East: The Role of Turkey. *The Commentaries*, 3(1).
<https://doi.org/10.33182/tc.v3i1.3185>
- Saeri, M., Jamaan, A., Surez, M. F., Gayatri, P., Utami, H. I., & Zarina. (2023). Konflik Rusia-Ukraina Tahun 2014-2022. *Jurnal Dinamika Global*, 8(2).
<https://doi.org/10.36859/jdg.v8i2.1887>
- Salsabila, S., & Muttaqin, M. I. (2023). Impact of Russia-Ukraine Conflict on Turkey's Economic Stability. *International Journal of Social Service and Research*, 3(7).
<https://ijssr.ridwaninstitute.co.id/index.php/ijssr/article/view/453>
- Sariciek, E., & Ozturk, T. (2024). The Annexation of Crimea and Türkiye's Balancing Role in the Russia-Ukraine War. *Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 22(2). <https://doi.org/10.18026/cbayarsos.1425589>
- Sergei, G. (2022). The Russia-Ukraine War In The Study Of Historical Conflict Of State Security Area. *International Journal of Law Recontruction*, 6(2).
<http://dx.doi.org/10.26532/ijlr.v6i2.23687>
- Shlykov, Pavel. V. (2023). The State of Strategic Hedging : Turkey's Foreign Policy and Relations With Russia. *Russia in Global Affairs*, 21(3).
<https://doi.org/10.31278/1810-6374-2023-21-3-134-158>
- Steinbach, S., & Yildirim, Y. (2024). Grain Futures Market Response to the Black Sea Grain Initiative. *German Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 73(2).
<https://doi.org/10.52825/gjae.v73i2.1343>

- Suyundikov, S., & Gokbel, A. (2024). Türkiye's Search for Solutions and Strategies in the Russia-Ukraine War . *Turkish Studies-Economy*, 19(3). <https://doi.org/10.7827/TurkishStudies.75461>
- Ulasan, F. (2023). The Future Crimea In The context Of Ukraine, Russia and Turkiye. *Avrasya Sosyal ve Ekonomi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 10(4). <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/asead/issue/80484/1369317>
- Urak, F. (2023). Unraveling Turkish agricultural market challenges: Consequences of COVID-19, Russia–Ukraine conflict, and energy market dynamics. *Agribusiness*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/agr.21888>
- Wengle, S. (2023). Russia's War on Ukrainian Farms: The Black Sea Theater. *Russian Analytical Digest*, 304. <https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-b-000643679>
- Wodka, J. (2023). Turkey's Middlepowermanship, Foreign Policy Transformation and Mediation Efforts in the Russia-Ukraine War. *Studia Europejskie – Studies in European Affairs*, 4. <https://doi.org/DOI:10.33067/SE.4.2023.12>
- Yanik, Lerna. K. (2023). Turkey and the Russian invasion of Ukraine: an interplay of bloc (de)formation, recognition and asymmetric interdependencies? *Globalizations*, 20(7). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2023.2232189>

Artikel Internet :

- Akuyyu Nuclear Rosatom. (2025). *Akkuyyu Nuclear Rosatom*. Akuyyu Nuclear Rosatom. <https://akkuyu.com/en/about/info>
- AlJazeera. (2022a). 'Provocations': Erdogan decries Western policy towards Russia. AlJazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/7/erdogan-says-western-nations-using-provocations-against-russia>
- AlJazeera. (2022b). *Timeline: Six months of Russia's war in Ukraine*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/8/24/timeline-six-months-of-russias-war-in-ukraine>
- AlJazeera. (2023a). *Russia halts participation in Ukraine grain deal*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/7/17/russia-halts-participation-in-black-sea-grain-deal-kremlin-2>

AlJazeera. (2023b). *Russia-Ukraine Black Sea grain Deal: All You Need To Know*.

AlJazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/7/17/russia-ukraine-black-sea-grain-deal-all-you-need-to-know>

AlJazeera. (2023c). *Turkish neutrality: How Erdogan manages ties with Russia, Ukraine amid war*. AlJazeera.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/9/28/turkish-neutrality-how-erdogan-manages-ties-with-russia-ukraine-amid-war>

AlJazeera. (2024). *Russia-Ukraine war: List of key events, day 1,024*. AlJazeera.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/12/14/russia-ukraine-war-list-of-key-events-day-1024>

Anadolu Ajansi. (2022). *Turkish, Russian officials to discuss Ukraine exports corridor on June 8*. Anadolu Ajansi.

<https://www.aa.com.tr/en/politics/turkish-russian-officials-to-discuss-ukraine-exports-corridor-on-june-8/2602234#>

Anadolu Ajansi. (2025). *Azerbaijan exports around 3 bcm gas to Europe, 2.3 bcm to Türkiye in 1st quarter*. Anadolu Ajansi.

<https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/natural-gas/azerbaijan-exports-around-3-bcm-gas-to-europe-23-bcm-to-turkiye-in-1st-quarter/48575>

Atlantic Council. (2024). *The Ukraina-Turkey Defense Partnership With The Potential To Transform Black Sea and Euro-Atlantic Security*. Atlantic Council.

<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/turkeysource/the-ukraine-turkey-defense-partnership-with-the-potential-to-transform-black-sea-and-euro-atlantic-security/>

Aydogan, M. (2022). *Meeting of Turkish, Ukrainian, Russian foreign ministers begins*. Analodu Ajansi. <https://www.aa.com.tr/id/dunia/pertemuan-menteri-luar-negeri-turki-ukraina-rusia-dimulai/2530045#>

Balkan Insight. (2022). *Turkey Rules Out Sanctioning Russia, Citing Risk to Economy*. Balkan Insight. <https://balkaninsight.com/2022/03/14/turkey-rules-out-sanctioning-russia-citing-risk-to-economy/>

Baykar. (2022). *Turkey's Baykar to complete plant in Ukraine in two years - CEO* Turkey's Baykar to complete plant in Ukraine in two years -CEO. Baykar.

<https://www.baykartech.com/en/press/turkeys-baykar-to-complete-plant-in-ukraine-in-two-years-ceo/>

Baykar. (2024). *Bayraktar TB2*. Baykar. <https://baykartech.com/en/uav/bayraktar-tb2/>

BBC. (2025). *The start of the Cold War 1945 - 55*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/topics/z8k9q6f/articles/z77cg7h#zmm9cmn>

Borshchevskaya, A., Dugit-Gros, L., & Henneberg, S. (2022). *MENA Countries Stand to Lose the Most If the Ukraine Grain Initiative Falters*. The Washington Institute. <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/mena-countries-stand-lose-most-if-ukraine-grain-initiative-falters>

Cagaptay, S. (2023). *Unpacking Turkey's Non-Binary Ukraine War Policy*. The Washington Institute. <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/unpacking-turkeys-non-binary-ukraine-war-policy>

CNBC. (2022). *Russian forces invade Ukraine*. CNBC. <https://www.cnbc.com/2022/02/24/russian-forces-invade-ukraine.html>

CNN. (2022). *Russia's invasion of Ukraine unfolded*. CNN. <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/02/24/europe/ukraine-russia-attack-timeline-intl/index.html>

Coksun, A., Gabuev, A., Pierini, M., Siccardi, F., & Umarov, T. (2024). *Understanding Türkiye's Entanglement With Russia*. <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/10/understanding-turkiyes-entanglement-with-russia?lang=en>

Colibasanu, A. (2024). *Turkey's Evolving Geopolitical Strategy in the Black Sea*. Foreign Policy Research Institute. <https://www.fpri.org/article/2024/12/turkeys-evolving-geopolitical-strategy-in-the-black-sea/>

Council Of The EU. (2024). *Timeline - Packages of sanctions against Russia since February 2022*. Council Of The EU. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/sanctions-against-russia/timeline-packages-sanctions-since-february-2022/>

- Council of the European Union. (2023). *How the Russian invasion of Ukraine has further aggravated the global food crisis*. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/infographics/how-the-russian-invasion-of-ukraine-has-further-aggravated-the-global-food-crisis/>
- Council On Foreign Relations. (2024). *1991-2024 Ukraine's Struggle for Independence in Russia's Shadow*. Council On Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/ukraines-struggle-independence-russias-shadow>
- Crimea Platform. (2014). *Timeline Of Crimea Occupation And Annexation Attempt*. Crimea Platform. <https://crimea-platform.org/en/occupation-chronology/>
- Defence Turkey. (2023). *T929 ATAK-II Performed Its First Flight Successfully*. Defence Turkey. <https://www.defenceturkey.com/en/content/t929-atak-ii-performed-its-first-flight-successfully-5544>
- Defense Express. (2023). *Turkiye Shows Tests of the ATAK-2 Attack Helicopter With Ukrainian Engines (Video)*. Defense Express. https://en.defence-ua.com/weapon_and_tech/turkiye_shows_tests_of_the_atak_2_attack_helicopter_with_ukrainian_engines_video-6545.html
- European Parliament. (2022). *The EU's preferential treatment of Turkey with regard to sanctions against Russia*. European Parliament. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-9-2022-001281_EN.html
- Explore More Turkey. (2024). *The Role Of Turkey In NATO*. <https://exploremoreturkey.com/whats-new/the-role-of-turkey-in-nato/>
- Gunter, S. (2020). *Turkey shifts the focus of its foreign policy: from Syria to the eastern Mediterranean and Libya*. <https://doi.org/10.18449/2020C06>
- Gurer, C., & Freriks, J. (2022). *Deep Dive in the Black Sea: Turkey's Role and Potential in the Region*. <https://www.marshallcenter.org/en/publications/clock-tower-security-series/deep-dive-black-sea-turkeys-role-and-potential-region/deep-dive-black-sea-turkeys-role-and-potential-region>
- IEA. (2025). *Average Russian oil exports by country and region, 2021-2024*. IEA. <https://www.iea.org/data-and-statistics/charts/average-russian-oil-exports-by-country-and-region-2021-2024>

- International Trade Administration. (2022). *Energy Resource Guide - Turkey - Oil and Gas*. International Trade Administration. <https://www.trade.gov/energy-resource-guide-turkey-oil-and-gas>
- Kaddorah, E. (2022). *Türkiye and the Debate on Neutrality in the Ukraine War*. Doha Institute. <https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/Lists/ACRPS-PDFDocumentLibrary/turkey-and-the-debate-on-neutrality-in-the-ukraine-war.pdf>
- Kasapoglu, C. (2020). *Turkey and Ukraine Boost Mutual Defense Ties*. Eurasia Daily Monitor . <https://jamestown.org/program/turkey-and-ukraine-boost-mutual-defense-ties/>
- Kirisci, K. (2016). *The End of the Cold War and Changes in Turkish Foreign Policy Behaviour*. Turkey Foreign Policy. <https://foreignpolicy.org.tr/the-end-of-the-cold-war-and-changes-in-turkish-foreign-policy-behaviour-kemal-kirisci/>
- Kruk, K. (2019). *The Crimean Factor: How the European Union Reacted to Russia's Annexation of Crimea*. Warsaw Institute. <https://warsawinstitute.org/crimean-factor-european-union-reacted-russias-annexation-crimea/>
- Kyiv Post. (2024). *1,000 Days of War – A Short Timeline of Ukraine's Triumphs and Tribulations*. <https://www.kyivpost.com/post/42412>
- Latyshev, A., & Komarova, A. (2023). «У Евросоюза слишком много претензий»: что стоит за словами Эрдогана о «разных путях» Турции и ЕС [[UE punya terlalu banyak klaim”: apa yang melatarbelakangi pernyataan Erdogan tentang “jalan berbeda” Turki dan UE]. Russian.Rt. <https://russian.rt.com/world/article/1204389-turciya-es-vstuplenie-erdogan>
- Mankoff, J. (2022). *Russia's War in Ukraine: Identity, History, and Conflict*. CSIS. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/russias-war-ukraine-identity-history-and-conflict>
- Maps Russia. (2025). *Maps Russia*. Maps Russia. <https://id.maps-russia.com/>
- Maps Turkey. (2024). *Peta Turki*. Maps Turkey. <https://id.maps-turkey.com/>

- Medyascope Turkey. (2025). *Russia alleges Ukraine attacked TurkStream natural gas pipeline*. Medyascope Turkey. <https://medyascope.tv/2025/01/14/russia-alleges-ukraine-attacked-turkstream-natural-gas-pipeline/>
- MFA Cyprus. (2025). *urkish military invasion and occupation*. MFA Cyprus. <https://www.gov.cy/mfa/en/documents/turkish-military-invasion-and-occupation/>
- MFA Republic Of Turkiye. (2020a). *Relations between Türkiye and the Russian Federation*. <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-russian-federation.en.mfa>
- MFA Republic Of Turkiye. (2020b). *Relations between Türkiye and Ukraine*. <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-ukraine.en.mfa>
- MFA Republic Of Turkiye. (2022a). *Türkiye-Russia-Ukraine Trilateral Foreign Ministers Meeting, 10 March 2022*. <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-rusya-ukrayna-uclu-disisleri-bakanlari-toplantisi--10-mart-2022.en.mfa>
- MFA Republic Of Turkiye. (2022b). *Türkiye's Relations with NATO*. MFA Republic Of Turkiye. <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/nato.en.mfa>
- MFA Republic Of Turkiye. (2023a). *QA-7, 18 May 2023, Statement of the Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Tanju Bilgiç, in Response to a Question Regarding the Anniversary of the Crimean Tatar and Circassian Exiles*. MFA Republic Of Turkiye. https://www.mfa.gov.tr/sc_-7_-kirim-tatar-ve-cerkes-surgunlerinin-yildonumleri-hk-sc.en.mfa
- MFA Republic Of Turkiye. (2023b). *Yılına Girerken Girişimci ve İnsani Dış Politikamız [Kebijakan Luar Negeri Kami yang Berwawasan Kewirausahaan dan Kemanusiaan]*. MFA Republic Of Turkiye. https://www.mfa.gov.tr/site_media/html/2023-yilina-girerken-girisimci-ve-insani-dis-politikamiz.pdf
- MFA Republic Of Turkiye. (2024). *No: 35, 24 February 2024, Regarding the Two Year Anniversary of the Beginning of the War in Ukraine*. Ministry Of Foreign Affairs Turkiye. https://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-35_-ukrayna-savasi-nin-baslangicinin-ikinci-yil-donumu-hk.en.mfa

- MFA Russian Federation. (2022). *Foreign Ministry statement on the Black Sea Grain Initiative for the export of Ukrainian grain*. MFA Russian Federation. https://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1835797/
- MFA Russian Federation. (2023). *Press release on Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's telephone conversation with Foreign Minister of Türkiye Hakan Fidan*. MFA Russian Federation. https://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1897368/
- Millen, A. R. (2024). *Stability Challenges and Opportunities Regarding the Russo-Ukrainian War*. European Center For Security Studies. <https://www.marshallcenter.org/en/publications/perspectives/stability-challenges-and-opportunities-regarding-russo-ukrainian-war-0>
- Mongilio, H. (2022). *Turkey Closes Bosphorus, Dardanelles Straits to Warships*. <https://news.usni.org/2022/02/28/turkey-closes-bosphorus-dardanelles-straits-to-warships>
- NATO. (2022). *A Short History Of NATO*. NATO. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/declassified_139339.htm
- NATO. (2023a). *Collective defence and Article 5*. NATO. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_110496.htm
- NATO. (2023b). *The North Atlantic Treaty*. NATO. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_17120.htm
- NATO. (2024). *Relations with Ukraine*. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_37750.htm
- NBC News. (2022). *U.S. intel helped Ukraine sink Russian flagship Moskva, officials say*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/us-intel-helped-ukraine-sink-russian-flagship-moskva-officials-say-rcna27559>
- OHCHR. (2022). *UN report details summary executions of civilians by Russian troops in northern Ukraine*. OHCHR. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/12/un-report-details-summary-executions-civilians-russian-troops-northern>

- Ozdemir, H. (2024). *Mediating Conflicts and Türkiye's Role as a Mediator for Peace*. <https://researchcentre.trtworld.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/Mediating-Conflicts.pdf>
- Pearson, W. R. (2022). *Turkey between Ukraine and Russia*. Middle East Institute. <https://www.mei.edu/publications/turkey-between-ukraine-and-russia>
- Reuters. (2022). *Timeline: The events leading up to Russia's invasion of Ukraine*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/world/timeline-the-events-leading-up-to-russias-invasion-of-ukraine-idUSKBN2KX2AM/>
- Reuters. (2023). *Turkey's Erdogan says Black Sea grain deal can be restored soon*. <https://www.reuters.com/markets/commodities/with-grain-deal-focus-putin-meet-erdogan-russia-2023-09-04/>
- Seeger, P. (2014). *The Law of Neutrality*. Oxford Academic. <https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/43487/chapter-abstract/363759923?redirectedFrom=fulltext&login=false>
- Sputnik. (2023). *Turkey Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant*. Sputnik. <https://sputnikmediabank.com/media/8419669.html>
- Stein, A. (2022). *Turkey's Response To The Russian Ukraine Crisis*. Foreign Policy Research Institute. <https://www.fpri.org/article/2022/01/turkeys-response-to-the-russia-ukraine-crisis/>
- Szczepanski, M. (2023). *Russia's war on Ukraine: US sanctions*. In *European Parliamentary Research Service*. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2023/739358/EPRS_BRI\(2023\)739358_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2023/739358/EPRS_BRI(2023)739358_EN.pdf)
- TASS Russian Agency. (2022a). *Istanbul meeting on 'grain corridor' over — Turkish Defense Ministry*. TASS Russian Agency. <https://tass.com/world/1479579>
- TASS Russian Agency. (2022b). *Turkey will not join sanctions against Russia — Erdogan*. TASS Russian Agency. <https://tass.com/politics/1427365>
- TASS Russian Agency. (2024). *Military Operation In Ukraine*. TASS Russian Agency. <https://tass.com/military-operation-in-ukraine>

- TASS Russian New Agency. (2023). *Turkey not to join sanctions against Russia — Erdogan's press secretary*. <https://tass.com/world/1599995>
- The Conference Board. (2022). *War in Ukraine: A View from Turkey*. The Conference Board. <https://www.conference-board.org/topics/geopolitics/war-in-ukraine-view-from-turkey>
- The Diplomatic Insight. (2022). *Foreign Ministers of Russia, Ukraine & Turkey meet in Antalya*. The Diplomatic Insight. <https://thediomaticinsight.com/meeting-between-foreign-ministers-of-turkey-russia-ukraine/>
- The New York Times. (2023). *How Russia's war in Ukraine has unfolded, month by month*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/article/ukraine-russia-war-timeline.html>
- Trading Economics. (2024a). *Turkey Exports to Russia*. Trading Economics. <https://tradingeconomics.com/turkey/exports/russia>
- Trading Economics. (2024b). *Turkey Natural Gas Imports From Russia*. Trading Economics. <https://tradingeconomics.com/turkey/natural-gas-imports-from-russia>
- TRT World. (2024). *Türkiye's Erdogan slams NATO allies' support for PKK terrorists*. TRT World. <https://www.trtworld.com/turkiye/turkiyes-erdogan-slams-nato-allies-support-for-pkk-terrorists-18184486>
- Turkish Atlantic Council. (2023). *Turkiye and NATO*. Turkish Atlantic Council . <https://www.tak.org.tr/en/turkiye-and-nato/>
- TurkStream. (2025). *TurkStream*. TurkStream. <https://turkstream.info/>
- UN News. (2023). *One year of the Black Sea Initiative: Key Facts and Figures*. UN News. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2023/07/1138532>
- United Nations. (2017). *International Day of Neutrality 12 December*. United Nations. <https://www.un.org/en/observances/neutrality-day>
- United Nations. (2022). *Black Sea Grain Initiative Joint Coordination Centre*. United Nations. <https://www.un.org/en/black-sea-grain-initiative>
- United Nations. (2023). *Black Sea Grain Initiative Joint Coordination Centre*. <https://www.un.org/en/black-sea-grain-initiative/faq>

United Nations Turkiye. (2022). *The Black Sea Grain Initiative: What it is, and why it's important for the world*. United Nations Turkiye. <https://turkiye.un.org/en/201845-black-sea-grain-initiative-what-it-and-why-it%E2%80%99s-important-world>

US Department Of The Treasury. (2024). *As Russia Completes Transition to a Full War Economy, Treasury Takes Sweeping Aim at Foundational Financial Infrastructure and Access to Third Country Support*. US Department Of The Treasury. <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy2404>

Walker, N. (2023). *Conflict in Ukraine: A timeline (2014 - eve of 2022 invasion)*. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-9476/CBP-9476.pdf>

World Atlas. (2022). *Maps Of Ukraine*. World Atlas. <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/ukraine>

Laporan :

Center For International & Security Studies Maryland. (2018). *The NATO/US-Turkey-Russia Strategic Triangle: Challenges Ahead*. <https://cisism.umd.edu/research-impact/publications/natous-turkey-russia-strategic-triangle-challenges-ahead>

Tol, G., & Taspinar, O. (2019). *Turkey's Russian Roulette*. <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/mena-region-great-power-competition-24090>